THE GENERALL HISTORIE of the Turkes, from The first beginning of that Nation to the rising of the Othoman Familie: with all the notable expeditions of the Christian Princes against them.

Together with

THE LIVES AND [illegible]VESTS OF THE OTHOM[illegible]INGS and Emperours

Written by Richard Knolles, sometime fellowe of Lincolne College in Oxford.

With a new continuation, from ye yeare of our Lord 1629 vnto the yeare 1638 faithfully collected.

The Fift edition. printed by ADAM ISLIP. 1638 *

Laurence Johnson, Sculpsit.

Genua quem genuit, genui quam deinde vicissim,
Auria qui merui Carolo *sub Cæsare quinto.*
Turcarum terror, piratarumque Subiector,
Barbara quem sensit tellus, & captà Thunissa,
Arx & Aphrodisium, Moriaque vrbs celsa Corone,
Mors rapuit Lustris decies prope quinque peractis.

As Genoa did me beget, so I preserv'd the same:
And seruing vnder *Charles* the fifth, exalted haue my name.
A terrour to the Turks I was, I brought the pyrats low:
And spoiling the Barbarian coast, made them my force to know.
Faire Tunes and strong Aphrodise, both by my help were won:
And Corone in Morea, by me was ouerrun.
So hauing spent ninety foure yeares in treading honours trace:
Full fraught with honour and with yeares, I ended haue my race.

1561 The Turks the yere following, with their gallies robbed and spoiled diuers places vpon the M
coasts of Italy, Sicily, and Malta: against whom *Philip* King of Spaine sending forth his gallies, by force of tempest lost twenty fiue of them, the eighteenth day of September, together with *Mendoza* Admirall of that fleet.

A great shipwracke.

Ferdinand the Emperour, hauing with long sute and much intreating obtained peace of *Solyman*,

A *lyman*, and being now well stricken in yeares, and carefull both of the state of the Empire and of the aduancement of his posterity, began to deale with the Princes Electors for a choice to be made of a King of the Romans; who after his death might without the trouble of Germany, succeed him in the Empire: commending vnto them his son *Maximilian*, a Prince of great hope, then King of Bohemia. Whereupon an assembly of the Princes Electors was appointed to be holden at Franckford: who there meeting at the appointed time, with generall consent the 24 day of Nouember in the yeare 1562, chose *Maximilian* the Emperors son King of the Romans, and with all the accustomed solemnities crowned him: who also the yeare after was at Presburg the eight of September with much solemnity crowned King of Hungary. Vnto this solemne assembly of the Empire at Franckford, *Solyman* the Turkish Emperor sent

1562 *Maximilian chosen King of the Romans, & after crowned King of Hungary.*

B *Ibrahim Bassa*, otherwise called *Abraham Strozza* (a Polonian borne, of whom we haue before spoken) his Embassador with presents and letters to *Ferdinand* the Emperor, to confirme the peace for eight yeares betwixt them before concluded; who the seuenteenth day of Nouember in presence of the Emperour, the King of the Romans, and all the Princes Electors, had audience: where after much glorious speech in setting forth his masters greatnesse, with his loue towards the Emperour and his son the new chosen King, as wishing vnto them all happinesse, he deliuered his letters of credence vnto the Emperor: the coppy wherof I haue not thought amisse here to set downe, for that therein is notably to be seene the most insolent pride of that barbarous Prince, and miserable estate of the rent kingdome of Hungary, diuided as it were at his pleasure betwixt him and the Emperour.

Solyman by his embassador confirmeth a peace with Ferdinand the emperor for eight yeares.

C

I the Lord of Lords, ruler of the East and of the West, who am of power to do and not to do whatsouer pleaseth me, Lord of all Grecia, Persia and Arabia, Commander of all things which can be subject to King and command; the great Worthy of these times, and strong Champion of the most wide World, Lord of all the white and blacke sea, and of the holy city of Mecha shining with the brightnesse of God, and of the City of Medina, and of the holy and chaste City of Ierusalem, King of the most noble Kingdome of Ægypt, Lord of Ionia, and of the City of Athens, Senau, of the sacred Temple of God, Zabilon and Bassio, Rethsan and Magodim, the seat and throne of the great King Nashin Rettam, *and Lord of the Island of Algiers, Prince of the Kingdomes of Tartary, Mesopotamia, Media, of the Georgians, Morea, Anatolia, Asia, Armenia, Valachia, Moldauia, and of all Hungary, and of many other Kingdomes and*

Solymans proud Letters to the Emperor Ferdinand.

D *territories, whereof I am Emperour; the most mighty Monarch Sultan* Solyman, *sonne of the great Emperour Sultan* Selym, *who hath power from God to rule all people with a bridle; and strength to breake open the gates and barres of all cities and strong places: into whose mighty hand are deliuered all the ends of the World, none accepted. I the ruler of the East, from the Island of Tsein vnto the farthest bounds of Africa, whom God hath appointed a mighty warriour in the edge of the sword: amongst whose most mighty kingdomes the impregnable castle of Cesarea is reputed for the least, and in whose hereditary dominions the Kingdome or Empire of* Alexander *the Great is accounted of vs a trifle: with me is the strength of the whole World and vertue of the firmament. Forasmuch as thou King* Ferdinand, *which art the mighty Lord of Christendome, and the chosen vessell of the mighty Christian Faith, created and Elected Emperour of the Roman people, of Bohemia, Vandalia, Crabatia, and many other Countries*

E *King and Lord, &c. Not long since sent vnto our Court (which is the refuge of all Kings, the protection and sanctuary of all that fly thereunto, and the throne of Grace for all Princes of these times which repaire vnto it) one* Augerius Busbecke, *thy faithfull Counsellour and Embassadour, with letters of consideration, to renew with vs a peace, and to enter into a further league and bond of amity: Which letters beare date the yeare from the Prophet Iesu (vpon whom and our Prophet* Mahomet *rest the brightnesse and peace of God) 1562, the first day of Iune, requesting of vs, That granting you peace for eight yeares, we would not with any hostility hereafter molest your Cities, Castles, or Countries, subjects, but to suffer them to liue in secure peace and tranquility, &c. Vnto which your petition we answer you, That from henceforth for the whole space of eight yeares shall be betwixt vs on both parts to be continued anew, true, and firme league: of which agreement, peace, and confederation, These shall be the conditions. First That*

F *you our beloued shall be bound to send yearely to our Court as a pledge of this league thirty thousand Hungarian Duckets, with that remainder which you owe vnto vs for the two yeares last past: For which we promise vnto you, that we from henceforth during this eight yeares league, will take no part either by way of hostility or friendship with King* Iohns *sonne, forasmuch as belongeth to his hereditary Countries, whether*

whether they be in the hither part of Hungary, or on the further side of Teisse: All which for all that, by law of armes belong vnto vs. And the same King Iohns sonne in time of this eight yeares league shall be also bound in such sort to performe vnto vs his obedience, as that from henceforth it shall not be lawfull for him to vse any war or hostility against you, neither to trouble your subjects with fire or sword, nor to surprise your Cities, Castles, or Townes; or by violence to take away or exact of your people or subjects, their sheepe, their cattell, their goods, mony or reuenewes. We also our selues shall haue no right, nor take occasion to driue away your people, to burne your countries, or carry away any captiues: but rather in this eight yeares space religiously keepe peace and concord with you. And vnder these conditions of peace shall also be comprehended Michael Balascus, Nicholas Bathor, with all their goods and territories, and diuers other such like, which shall be subject vnto you and King Iohns sonne. To be briefe, if happily any of yours or King Iohns sonnes subjects shall haue now before in time of warre thrust one another out of his goods, lands, or possessions, whereof new quarrels or discord may arise; We well and decree, that all such controuersies, quarrels, and claimes shall be deferred vntill this definite time of the league be expired. Beside, if by chance any dissention shall hereafter arise betwixt vs about our jurisdiction, which can by no meanes be composed and ordered; We will that yours shall in the meane time remaine as yours, and ours as ours; all contention and enmity set apart: also many Townes scituate here and there by Danubius and Tatta, shall be suffered to vse the same law they did in former time; so that the souldiers which are yet in garrison in the Castle of Tatta, shall haue no right to infest or vexe those townes scituate neere vnto Danubius. Furthermore, if after this peace concluded, any of your Noblemen or Gentlemen shall fortune to haue any of our Noblemen by reuolt or other occasion whatsoeuer, captiues, they shall dismisse them and set them at liberty, to returne vnto their friends freely without hurt or ransome; that so the concord and peace begun betwixt vs, may be the more firmely kept, and our subjects liue in more security. All and euery one of these things we grant and promise to be of vs from henceforth vntill the end of the aforesaid eight yeares, without all fraud or guile religiously obserued and kept: and for that purpose haue caused these our letters of this peace and confederation to be published from our royall pallace: and moreouer, haue not onely prouided, that the coppy of the same should together with our edict be proclaimed to all and euery the Generalls, Captaines, Lieutenants, of our armies both by sea and land, in all the parts of our Empire, and to all our mercenary souldiers, but haue also straightly commanded, that it shall be firmely and sincerely kept. We will also, that this agreement of peace and amity shall comprehend and concerne our two chiefe Gouernours or Voyuods of Valachia and Moldauia, so that none of your people of Hungary, Crabatia, Sclauonia, or other your Countries or Islands whatsoeuer, shall in any sort be molested or grieued by our subjects. And if it shall fortune that some shall on your part out of their Castles set vpon our subjects, or by force take away their goods, the same men shall in any case be bound to make thereof restitution. Also if any shall fly from vs, and carry away with them the mony or goods of their Masters whom they serued, or if the like shall be done by any of yours flying to vs, then the same goods on both parts are to be of right demanded and recouered againe, and the fugitiues to the example of others to be corrected and punished: forasmuch as fugitiues goods of right appertaine vnto their Lords and Masters. Furthermore, it shall be lawfull for your Captaines and commanders to fortifie or build Castles, Cities, or Townes, in the borders of Hungary, and to put into the same victuall, armour, and such like, but so, that they doe none of these things out of their owne limits. And during the time of this league, it shall not be lawfull to take or carry away any of your subjects prisoners either in Hungary or in other places of your jurisdiction: which for all that, if it shall by any chance happen, that then such captiues (without delay) be suffered safely to returne home againe. Furthermore, whatsoeuer Christian shall haue any businesse to do in our magnificent court or any part of our dominions, as are Embassadors, officers, seruants, and such others: vnto all these we not only grant and permit, that they may come and goe about their businesse, and so againe depart from our court or prouinces; but also haue willed and commanded, them to be well and courteously entreated by our subjects, and furthered with the interpretation of our language. And if it shall fortune any contention or discord to arise betwixt our subjects on either side, about the bounds and limits of Lands, or other such like causes: such controuersies we will to be decided and determined by discreet and indifferent men on both parts, and the authors of such discord and variance, to be punished as suspected persons and breakers of the league. We also prohibite those skirmishes or combats, which were wont to be sometimes on both sides made vpon the borders. And desire, that the forme of this league and peace, and euery article thereof, may be publikely read and set vp in sundry places of your Dominions; and commandement giuen, that they may with due obedience and reuerence be obserued and kept. Which we likewise haue

haue now before promised faithfully and assuredly to performe: and your Embassador whom a few moneths agone you sent vnto vs, in your name requesting the same of vs, and hath with earnest praiers moued vs, by Imperiall oath and these Letters of credence to witnesse, that we did ratifie and confirme the same; as if we our selues should speake to you in presence. Wherefore we haue giuen vnto him these our Letters of Pacification to you directed, that your Generals, souldiers, and subjects, may be bound also to obserue and keepe all these things: wherefore, so long as nothing contrary to this league shall be done on your part; so long in like maner all these articles of peace shall be of me excepted and assured. For witnesse & confirmation whereof I sweare this oath; By the true and liuing Creator of heauen and earth, by the true signes of our great and reuerend Prophet, by my Imperiall power, and by my true faith; that nothing contrary or repugning vnto the aforesaid articles, conditions, and promises of the eight yeares league agreed vpon betwixt vs, shall be attempted or done by any our Gouernors, Generals, or Voyuods, &c. Commanding moreouer, all our sworne Gouernors of our most mighty Empire in Valachia and Moldauia, and King Stephen himselfe, and others which haue the Gouernment of our Empire confining vpon you, That they all and euery of them as well as our selues, shall justly, faithfully, and religiously accept, reuerence, and keepe these conditions of peace, towards your subjects, cities, castles, townes, and other things appertaining to you; and in the least things not to hurt, injury, or wrong any your subjects. In briefe, we shall as far as our part concerneth vs, giue vnto this most mighty and great new made loue and friendship so great honour, reuerence, and authority, that that which may euen in the least things be had, shall not on our part be wanting. In token whereof we haue suffered certaine Christian captiues, whom by your Embassador you requested to haue set at liberty, franckely to returne vnto you without ransome; out of which captiuity they could neuer haue beene redeemed, if in regard of this our amity and friendship we had not granted them liberty: trusting that you will in like sort set at liberty such of ours as you haue captiues. Giuen at our Imperiall Palace and seat in the most mighty City of Constantinople, the first day of September, in the yeare of our great and reuerend Prophet 969.

Presents from Solyman to the Emperour Ferdinand.

The same Embassador after he had deliuered these letters, presented vnto the Emperor the gifts he had brought from his great Master: which was two great cups of naturall Crystall curiously wrought and set with stones of great price; a couragious Turky horse with a saddle and trappings wrought with gold, and set with pretious stones, and garnished with chaines of pure gold; and foure of the faireſt camels that were to be got in all Constantinople. In deliuering of which Presents the Bassa made his excuse, that the horse and camels had lost their beauty, being with foure moneths trauell from Constantinople, growne somewhat leane and weary.

The death of the Emperor Ferdinand. 1564

This peace thus concluded betwixt the Emperour *Ferdinand* and *Solyman*, held firme vntill the death of *Ferdinand*, who about two yeres after in the yere 1564 vpon S. *James* his day died, being sixty yeres old: whereof he reigned as Emperor not full seuen yeares. In whose place succeeded *Maximilian* his son, before chosen King of the Romans. But immediatly after the death of *Ferdinand*, the Captaines on the frontiers of that part of Hungary which was holden for the Emperour on the one side, and the Turks Captaines with the Vayuod of Transyluania on the other side, weary of their ease, began contrary to the forme of the League, to surprise strong holds and townes one in anothers confines, whereof ensued much trouble: The author whereof was *Melchior Balas* the Emperours lieuetenant in that part of Hungary which bordereth vpon Transyluania, who first surprised certaine townes vpon the frontiers thereabouts: in reuenge whereof, the Vayuod suddenly set vpon Sackmar a towne in the Emperors Territory, which he tooke, and therein *Balas* his wife and children. In despight whereof *Balas* rancacked and burnt Debrezin a great Towne of the Vayuods. But not long after, the Vayuod *Solymans* Vassall, and aided by him with foure thousand Turks and three thousand Moldauians, did much harme vpon the frontiers of that part of Hungary which belonged vnto the Emperour; and first tooke Hadad, and afterwards besieged Vngar. In requitall whereof, *Maximilian* the Emperour sent *Lazarus Suendi* a valiant Captaine; who with an Army of eight thousand besieged the strong Castle of Tokay, which he tooke the fist of February, in the yeare 1565; and after that tooke the rich Towne of Erden. In the meane time *Solyman*, who had in himselfe fully purposed to be reuenged of all these injuries (as well appeared by that he did the yeare following) to stay the Emperour from proceeding further, vntill such time

New troubles in Hungary.

1565

The Turks purposing warre, crafftily sue for peace.

time as he were at better leisure to be reuenged, (for as then he was making great preparation for Malta) sent *Marcus Lilinesius* a renegat Transyluanian of Cibinum, his embassador to *Maximilian*, to put him in remembrance of the league made with his father, and to wish him to haue regard how he further proceeded to the breach thereof. Whereupon the Emperour because he would not seeme vnwilling to hearken to peace, commanded his lieutenants and captains no more to inuade Transyluania or that part of Hungary which the Turks held. Howbeit that whilest this Embassadour was thus intreating of peace at Vienna, the Bassa of Temeswar in the borders of Transyluania, made diuers incursions into the borders of Hungary, and with six thousand souldiers besieged the strong castle of Iula, and the Turks in great number came dayly into Transyluania. At which time also *Suendi* Generall of *Maximilian* his Forces vpon the frontiers, by messengers sent for that purpose, wished him not to giue any credit to the Turks Embassadour, who meaning nothing but warre, vnder the colour of peace sought nothing else, but to take him vpon the sudden vnprouided. Neither ceased these troubles thus, but dayly grew from euill to worse: for in Iune the Transyluanians besieged Erden, before taken by the Imperials, and after two moneths siege had it yeelded vnto them. In the meane time *Chernouich* the Emperours Embassadour to *Solyman*, returned from Constantinople; assuring him that the great Turke for all his faire showes of peace, meant indeed nothing but warres, for which he was (as he said) making great preparation both by sea and land. Whereupon the Emperor began to raise new forces: which thing diuers Noblemen both of Germany and other places hearing of, came vnto him with their followers: and amongst other *Romerus* one of the Knights of Malta, and diuers other of his brethren, with fiue companies of souldiers well appointed, sent thither by *George Hochenheime* grand Prior of that Order in Germany, and then confirmed one of the Princes of the Empire. At the same time also, the Turks being busie vpon the borders of Styria, and the places thereabouts, were many times cut off by *Charles* the Archduke: who taking them at an aduantage, slew at one time three thousand of them. Yet for all, the Turkes Embassadour was still at Vienna treating for peace, and so cunningly handled the matter, that whereas *Eccius Salma* a valiant Captaine, had corrupted the chiefe Iudge with certaine others of Alba-Regalis, to haue betraied the City vnto him; for performance whereof they had deliuered their wiues and children as hostages, and he was now vpon his way from Rab, which is but eight miles off, in an assured hope to haue surprised the City; he was suddenly by Letters in post from the Emperour, called backe againe, for corrupting the hope conceiued of peace: and so was that notoble designement vnfortunately disappointed: of which practise the Turks hauing knowledge, afterwards most cruelly executed forty of the conspiratours, impailing some of them vpon sharpe stakes, and hanging others vpon yron hookes by the jawes vntill they were dead. Shortly after the Turks tooke Neostat, which was not long after recouered againe by the Emperour.

At the same time one of the Turks spies was taken at Zigeth, who but thirteen daies before was sent from Constantinople, of purpose to view the strength and scituation of that place: he being brought before *Charles* the Archduke, and examined, said, That *Solyman* would assuredly the next Spring come in peison himselfe into Hungary, to besiege the strong castles of Zigeth and Iula. At which time also County *Serinus* tooke certaine other of the Turks Spies, by whom he was certainely aduertised of *Solymans* comming the next yeare; and amongst others, *Scapher Vayda* the Bassa of Buda his chiefe Counsellor. Besides this, the country-men contributors both to the Imperials and the Turks, were now streightly commanded by the Turks, to pay no more contribution mony vnto the Imperials: whereupon it was easily gathered, that all that talke of peace was as *Suendi* had oftentimes written, nothing els but to delay the time, and to put them in security. Beside that, the Turks made incursions daily into one place or other of the Emperors territories, shewing their antient hate, and sowing by those light skirmishes, as it were the seed of a greater war against the next Spring: which the Emperor now out of doubt of (being also warned thereof by many Letters from his friends) put strong garrisons into the frontier towns, especially into Rab and Zigeth. But knowing that to be but a poore helpe against so puissant an enemy, he resolued as his father and vncle had done before, to rest vpon the strength of the Empire, and against the next yeare to call a generall assembly

assembly of the Princes of the empire at Augusta, for the better withstanding of the common Enemy. The wars thus beginning again in Hungary, *Solyman* at the same time in reuenge of the manifold harms don to his subiects by the Knights of Malta (whose hand he found euer against him in all his dealings with the other Christian Princes) made great preparation by sea and land, purposing, as seemed by the maner therof, to haue rased the memoriall of those worthy men from off the earth. Whereunto, beside the naturall hatred which he bare against all Christians in general, and them aboue the rest in particular, he was much incited by *Cassanes, Barbarussa's* son, King of Algiers, and *Dragut* gouernor of Tripolis, by whose persuasion he caused a strong fleet to be rigged vp, commanding the lieutenants and gouernors of his ports and hauens al alongst the sea-coast, to put to their helping hands, and to be ready against the next Spring. And not long after, vnderstanding partly of his own certaine knowledge, and partly by the relation of others, in what good forwardnes things were, hee calling together a great assembly of his chief princes and men of Warre, deliuered vnto them his mind as followeth:

Solyman prepares to inuade Malta.

Solymans oration to his captains for inuading of Malta.

What thing I haue these forty years always wished, which was to haue so much leisure from other wars, as to pluck out of their nests and vtterly to root out those crossed pyrats, which vaunt themselues to be the Bulwark of Christendom: that same me-thinks I haue by the fauor of God, and Mahomet *his Prophet, at this time obtained. For we haue so repressed the attempts of the Persians, that they canot let vs. And in Hungary, from whence certain dreadfull motions were reported, we our selues wil shortly do those things which shall inforce our enemies to hide their heads in the heart of Germany, and to sue to vs for peace. You your selues daily hear the pitiifull complaints of our subiects and merchants, whom these Maltases, I say not soldiers, but pyrats, if they but look into those seas, spoil and make prize of: whose iniuries to reuenge, all lawes both of God and man do require. Neither can any thing happen vnto me more pleasing or more honorable, than if I may before I die accomplish those things, that is, to win Malta, and to leaue all things in order in Hungary and Polonia. Except perhaps some man thinke it an harder matter for vs to thrust these crossed Companions from the rocks of Malta, than for our Ancestors to haue driuen them out of Ierusalem, and so quite out of Syria: and for our selues to haue forced them out of the strong Iland of the Rhodes. But this some will say is neerer vnto Italy, from whence aid may easily be sent, and the place defended by a Fleet. Beleeue me, they will neuer aduenture to fight with vs at sea, who remember themselues to haue bin there by vs so often ouerthrown: beside that, so little a place cannot contain any great garison, neither if it could, could it long feed them. Wherfore vnto this expedition we haue determined with the first of the Spring to send a most strong fleet: and euen now we haue already commanded all our sea Captains and Aduenturers which acknowledge our command, to be there present with their ships. The King of Algiers will be there, the garisons of Alexandria are in readines, so also is* Dragut *with his appointed fleet. As for our own, it is by myne own appointment rigged vp: vnto which fleet I doubt not but that all the strength of the West will giue place. Which thing (worthy Captains) we speak, trusting vpon the help of almighty God and* Mahomet *his great Prophet, with your known and approued valor. Now remaines only, that euery one of you think with vs, how this war may best be managed and so to referre your deuices vnto vs. Which that you may the better do, Lo, I here deliuer vnto you the scituation of the whole Iland, and project of all their fortifications, which we haue receiued of most expert and skilfull men.*

Solymans purpose thus made known, and the matter wel considered; after that they which best knew the strong places & maners of the Maltases, had declared their opinions what they thought most expedient; it was decreed, That they should with al speed set forward. Wherfore victual and other things necessary for such an expedition being with wonderfull celerity prepared, they expected but wind.

The grand master aduertised of Solyman his purpose.

Of these things *Io. Valetta* a Frenchman, Grand Master of Malta, and one of the Knights of the Order, being both by Letters and Messengers aduertised (for he had alwaies fit men his intelligencers at Constantinople, who warily noted the purposes and actions of *Solyman*) was not afraid; but knowing that of God depended the victory, and that men were to watch, labor, and foresee: he assembled a Counsel of his Knights, and in few words spake vnto them in this sort:

Valetta's Oration vnto his Knights.

What Solyman *prepareth (most noble and valiant Knights) and what a great War he prouideth against vs, you with me of late knight well vnderstand. Wherfore it is needles for me to vse any long speech with you concerning that matter. The Enemy is known, his insatiable ambition is known, his strength is known, and his mortall hate against vs and the Christian Name is sufficiently known. Wherfore let vs all as one first reconcile our selues to God, and then prouide all such things as shall be needfull for the War. In brief, noble Knights, to reconcile our selues vnto God, and to appease his displeasure, two things are of vs to be performed: whereof the one consists in amendment of life, with a holy conuersation, the other in a religious worshipping of him, with a firm and constant trust in his help, with Prayer, which is called godlinesse. By these means our Ancestors obtained many victories against the Infidels in the East. Neither is it to be doubted, but that if we shall in these things ioyn together, we shall also frustrate all the force and fury of this proud Tyrant. But forasmuch as God vsually helps them which labor and take pains, and not the negligent and sloathfull, we must of necessity ioyn vnto them those helps, which both our profession and the course of war requireth: which partly consistes in our selues, and partly in the other Christian Princes. For victuall, armor, mony, and other such things as in wars are requisit, we will so prouide, that no man shall iustly complain that we spared either cost or pains. I will poure out all my store, neither will I for desire of life refuse any danger. As for the Christian princes, I canot persuade my selfe that they will lie still in so fit an opportunity, and in so great danger, not of our estate only, but much more of their own. Verily I wil not spare to exhort euery one of them both by letters and messengers, which in part we haue already don: and I doubt not but we shall haue aid enough from the Pope, the Emperor, and the king of Spain (such is their Christian Zeal) and they I hope shall moue the rest. As for you, the Princes and very light of this sacred Order, and the rest of our brethren, most valiant Knights, I am well assured you wil so fight for the most holy Christian religion, for your liues and goods, and for the glory of the Latine name, against a most cruell Tyrant, the rooter out of all true Religion, of all ciuility and good learning, the plague of the world, hated of God and man; as that he shall feel the sting of the Crosse, which hee so much contemneth, euen in the city of Constantinople, yea in his houses of pleasure. For we shall not haue now to do with him in the Island of the Rhodes, far from the help of our friends; (from Asia, from Europ, from Egypt inclosed with our enemies both by sea and land) but in the eies of Italy and Spain, in places strongly fortified, from whence the Enemy may easily be vircumuented. Which that it may so fal out, let vs not cease to pray vnto almighty God, and to craue his ready help.*

When the Grand Master had thus said, all that were there present promised with one assent, rather to lose their liues, than in any part to fail the Common Cause, or to fall into the power of *Solyman*. After that, publique prayer and supplication was made in euery Church thorow the Island; and three Colonels chosen out of all the Knights: one an Italian, syrnamed *Imperator*, another *Burneus* a French man, and *Quatrius* a Spaniard the third, all aduised men and most expert souldiers, which should with all diligence prouide all things necessarie and conuenient for the War. By whose appointment the suburbs and trees which might any way be hurtfull to the fortified places, were ouerthrown; the fortifications were thoroughly viewed, the Garrisons strengthned, and all manner of prouision most plentifully distributed: and Letters from the Grand Master sent vnto the Great Bishop and sundry other Christian Princes, requesting their aid against the Common Enemy. Messengers were also dismissed into diuers places, to certifie both the Knights of the Order and others, of the Turks great preparation.

The Knights prepare against the Turks.

Solymans fleet departeth from Constantinople.

Solymans Fleet departing from Constantinople the two and twentieth day of March in the year 1565, kept a direct course toward Peloponesus, and so came to Methon; where *Mustapha Bassa* one of the Turks greatest Captains, a man of seuenty fiue years old, and General of the land forces, mustred the army, wherein were numbred seuen thousand horsemen of them which are of the Turks called Spachi: out of the lesser Asia, conducted by the Gouernour of that country, and two Lieutenants of Cilicia, fiue hundred: and out of the Island of Lesbos, now called Metylene, four hundred: he had of the Ianizaries four thousand fiue hundred, led by two Colonels appointed by *Solyman*; for that the chief Captain of the Ianizaries (which they call the Aga) neuer departeth from the city but when the Sultan goeth himself. Besides these was a certain kind of men amongst the Turks, who liue of the reuenues of the Church; of them there was in the Army thirteene thousand, who had all at Constantinople vowed their

their liues for their superstition. Out of Thracia and Peloponesus were come two Colonels, and one Lieutenant, with twelue hundred horsmen, and 3500 Voluntiers out of diuers Countries. There also *Pial Bassa*, *Solymans* Admirall, took view of the fleet, wherin were found an hundred and thirty gallies, two and twenty ships for burthen, some greater, some lesse; besides one that was cast away neer vnto Methone, where was lost 6000 barrels of pouder, 1300 great shot, and 400 Spahi. Besides these, there were ten gallies from the Rhodes, commaunded by *Halyport* a man of 70 years; two gallies from Mitylene, and 17 galliots and other small pyrats ships. With this strong fleet the Turks departing from Methone the 13 of May, arriued at Malta the 18 of the same month, and put into a hauen in the North-East part of the Isle, called by the inhabitants Marzasiroc: but perceiuing themselues not to be there in safety, they remoued to another port called Major.

The Turks fleet arriues at Malta.

The Island of Malta lying betwixt Africa and Sicilia, might be doubted whether it were to be accounted in Africk or Europ, but that the antient cosmographers and the Moors language, which the Maltæses haue alwaies vsed, claime it for Africke: it is in length from the North-East to the South-West 20 miles; and in the broadest place 12. It regards Africk Southward, ouer against Leptis parva; and Sicilia toward the North, but more towards Pachinum than Lilybeum; and is in circuit threescore miles. It seemeth to take the name Melita of *Mel* or hony, wherof it yeeldeth plenty. The trees there bear fruit twice a year, & they haue oftententimes twice harvest, especially of Barly and Cotton wool; yet is the Island in some places stony, grauelly, and bare of wood. Neuertheles it beareth figs, apples, Almonds, Grapes, and other fruit trees planted by the industry of man, Date trees also, but not fruitful: it beareth thistles of such bignes that the inhabitants vse them for wood. Fresh water is there wonderful scarce, and such wels as they haue are filled with rain in Winter, for in Summer they are either clean dry, or els the water becomes brachy. The Inhabitants are so burnt with the Sun, that they differ little in colour from the Ethyopians: they are of a wholsom constitution of body, spare of dyet, industrous, rather painful than warlike, dying more for age than of sicknes. Their buildings, except it be in the city (which is in the midst of the Island) and suburbs, are long and low like vnto the Moors, couered with turf or reed. It is commonly supposed that Saint *Paul* was by shipwrack cast vpon this Island: but it is with greater reason to be thought that it was the other Melyta in the Adriatick, betwixt Corcyra and Illyria, and better agreeth with that which *Luke* writeth of the Apostles trouble and shipwracke in the Adriatique, out of which sea it is not to be gathered by the Text that *Paul* and the rest were driuen. But again to our purpose; That side of Malta which respecteth Sicilia hath in it many good harbors and commodious hauens fit for shipping; where besides the port Marzasiroc toward the East, where the Turks fleet first landed, and the port of S. *Thomas*, with another called Scala not far off, it hath two other notable hauens, the one called Major, the other Marza Moxet; diuided the one from the other by a narrow piece of ground, which with a ridge runneth in length from the South to the North almost in maner of an Island, hauing the hauen Major on the East, and Marza Moxet on the West. Vpon the head of this high ridge standeth the castle of S. *Elmo*, of great strength both by nature and art. As a man entreth into the hauen Major, on the left hand are four promontories pointing far into the hauen on that side, almost in maner of Islands, making so many Bayes. Vpon the first standeth the Gallows, wherof also it taketh name: vpon the point of the second, on a rough and high rock standeth a most strong castle, called the castle of S. *Angelo*, wherto adjoineth the town, separated from the castle only with a wall and a ditch, and is placed in a hollownes cut out of the main rock; strengthned also with the sea and the industry of man, and is of some called the Burg, of others the New City. In this Castle resideth the grand Master, and the souldiers in the Burg. Vpon the third promontory standeth another strong castle, which they call also the Burg of S. *Michael*. The fourth promontory is not inhabited; from whence the sea runneth alongst the winding banks almost into the midst of the Island, vnto a place called Aqua Marsia. Again, after the port Marza Moxet, Westward is the port of S. *George*: and after that another called Bennorrat: then followeth the port of S. *Paul*, no lesse than the port Marzasiroc. After which comes the port called Salinarum Sinus: but on that side of the Island toward Africke is only one port called Milliaria. Neer to the Island of Malta lie certain other little Islands;

The description of Malta.

Acts 27 & 28

as Gaulosa, now Goza, two other called Cuminia, and another called Piper, all subject to the Maltæses.

Thus much I haue thought good to set down concerning the Turks fleet, and for the description of those places wherin this great action was performed, the brute whereof then filled the World. Now shal it not be amisse in like maner to declare vpon what strength, next vnto God, *Valetta* the Grand Master stood against so mighty and puissant an enemy. First, there was in the Island 1300 Mercinaries, some Spaniards, some French, some Florentines, and the rest of Naples: there were also 1000 sea men of the Knights, and 500 in the Town of S. *Angelo*, and of the country people which were fled into the strong places fiue thousand, men not altogether vnskilfull of the wars. There were also fiue hundred Knights of the Orders, besides Priests and Squires; for of these three sorts of men are they which are called Brethren of the Order. This was the number of them which defended the castles and towns of S. *Elmo*, S. *Angelo* and S. *Michael*; whereunto they were proportionably diuided, and in the city it self, which is called Melita, being in the middle of the Island, was 200 souldiers and as many Citisens, with three hundred of the Country people all horsmen, commanded by *Io. Vagno* a valiant Captain. Besides this, euery place was furnished with plenty of victual; armor, weapons, artillery, and whatsoeuer els was needfull for the induring of a long siege, and a war that should want many things: and that which passed all the rest, minds armed with inuincible courage against whatsoeuer should chance, which oftentimes maketh of the vanquished victors. All these things being in readines and orderly disposed, as soon as they vnderstood that seuen and twenty of the Turks gallies had put into the hauen Marzasiroc, and were there landing their men; *Gyon* Admiral for the Order, a valiant and couragious Knight, marched thither with 500 harquebusiers, to haue skirmished with them. But as soon as the Turks perceiued them comming, they retyred again to their gallies. On the other part where the other fleet lay, two hundred of the Turks going on shore, met by chance with *Riuerius* a Frenchman, and eight Knights more, who hauing his horse killed vnder him, and one of his Companions slaine, fell with the rest into the hands of the enemy. Whilst these things were in doing, a certain Christian mariner fled out from the Turks to the City Melita, who discouered the enemies purposes, telling them, That the Turks by the appointment of *Mustapha* had determined to haue landed the greatest part of their forces, presently to haue besieged some strong place; had not *Pial Bassa* the Admiral exclaimed against it, doubting to be left too weak at sea, saying plainly, That he would attempt nothing before the comming of *Dragut*, who was euery houre expected. For *Solyman* had expressly commanded that they should do nothing without his aduice; so great an opinion had he of his policy and valor. But whether this his report were true or otherwise, the Turks for all that returning with their fleet to Marzasiroc, landed twenty thousand soldiers and fiue field pieces, and so intrenched themselues. This don, *Pial Bassa* with seuen hundred went to view the castle of S. *Michael*; but for fear of the great shot, durst not come nigh it: neuertheles they of the town sallying out, couragiously skirmished with the Turks; in which conflict *Curfelinus*, syrnamed *Parda*, accompanied but with one Spaniard, so furiously assailed the enemy, that he took from him one ensigne, and slew one of the Sanzacks a great commander, with diuers others. When *Pial* was come again to the Camp, the General began to consult with the other Captains, whether it were better to lay siege to the Castle of S. *Elmo*, or to the town of S. *Michael*. In conclusion it was agreed vpon, That they should with all their forces besiege the castle of S. *Elmo*. And going vp the hil to view the castle, they were incountred by the garrison souldiers, in which fight some few were lost on both sides. Thus by degrees things growing hoter and hoter, the grand Master thought it good to certifie *Garzias* of Toledo viceroy of Sicily, how things stood, that he might the sooner rig vp his fleet to come to their rescue. Wherfore he commanded one galley put out of the hauen by night, and to passe ouer into Sicily, with *Salvagus* one of the Knights sent thither on message. In the mean time the Turks cast vp a mount to haue battered the Castle of S. *Elmo*, and beaten the gallies in the hauen Major, and so to haue opened a way for their fleet to haue entred: but they were not able long to keep that mount; for they had scarsly well ended the work, but that it was forthwith by the continual thundring shot out of the castle beaten down again, which thing greatly abated the Turks courage. About that time, *Ochial* came to

Riuerius with other Knights taken of the Turks.

The Turks land

They of the Castle S. Michael skirmish with the Turks.

to the fleet with six ships, drawn out of them which were left for the defence of Alexandria, and in them 900 soldiers. The Turks beaten from their first mount, cast vp another on a higher ground, whereon they placed three great pieces of Ordnance, wherewith they annoied not only the hauen wherin the fleet of Malta rid, but the castle of S. *Angelo* also, the Great masters seat, and with a rolling trench drew neerer and neerer vnto the Castle of S. *Elmo*: which although they had at first in vaine attempted, hindred by them which were in the Castle, yet at last with much labour and trauell they brought it to perfection: for the Turks in that kind of worke, still performed by their multitude, are accounted to excell others. Wherfore in short time they planted their great ordnance in such sort, as that they might batter both the castles of S. *Elmo* and S. *Michael*. There was in the Turks camp a gentleman of Spaine, but then a slaue vnto a Turke, who vnderstanding the enemies purpose for the besieging of the castle of S. *Elmo*, by a Christian fugitiue aduertised the Great master thereof; whereupon he forthwith sent *Cerda* and *Miranda* with two companies of Spaniards into the Castle, who were afterwards a great strength vnto the Castle, and hinderance vnto the enemy. At length came *Dragut* Gouernor of Leptis, long looked for of the Turks, with 13 gallies, and in them 1600 souldiers: after whom followed ten galliots from Bona, and in them two companies. In the mean time *Saluagus* the worthy Knight (sent before into Sicilia) came to Messana, and hauing certified the Viceroy of the State of Malta, was by him commanded to return to Malta in a Galliot, conducted by two gallies of the Great masters; which hauing brought him neer vnto the Island, returned again into Sicilia: but he with his galliot (not without most manifest danger) in the third watch of the night brake into the towne through the middest of the enemies fleet, with the losse of but one of his followers. Where hauing deliuered vnto the great master what he had in charge from the Viceroy, he was the same night sent back again by the Great master into Sicilia, to certifie the Viceroy, That he had need of more aid, requesting him with all speed to send him some supply, whereby he might the better hold out against the force of so great an enemy. *Saluagus* discouraged neither with the labour nor the danger, presently committed himselfe againe to sea, and in short time arriued in the port of Siracusa, where finding the two gallies we before spake of, he sent them to Malta, as he had in charge, with 400 soldiers, among whom were diuers Knights of the Order, and certain skilfull canoniers: willing them to shun the West part of the Island, wheras they must needs come into the enemies sight, and to passe by the East end therof, which was farther about, but safer; & turning Southward, to land in the port Miliare, and from thence by the low places of the Island to conuey the soldiers by night to the city Melita, which was but four miles off; from whence they might easily passe to the castle S. *Michael*. This order taken, he went to Messana, and there declared to the Viceroy the danger of the war, with the smal number of the defendants: requesting of him a thousand footmen, which with those already sent, he thought would suffice to hold out the siege til he with his whole fleet might come to relieue them. But whilst these things were slowly prouided (which with much difficultie and delay could hardly be brought to passe, the Christian Princes as it were sleeping in so great a danger) the Turks vpon the sudden the third of Iune assaulted the castle S. *Elmo*, in hope with short scaling ladders to get ouer that part of the rampiers which was neerest vnto the bulwark of the Castle. But the defendants in the ditch (which before had no flankers to scour the same) had of earth and fagots made a large flanker, from whence the castle also helping them, valiantly resisted the enemy, and filled the ditches with the dead bodies of the Turks. Who for all that, trusting to their multitude (wherewith rather than with true valour, they obtain so many victories) thrust stil on, vntill they had by obstinat force (although long first) gained the flanker: wherby they commanded all that part of the ditch toward the port Marza Moxet. In which place they with wonderfull celerity so fortified themselues, that they could not be hurt by the defendants. Wherin they were much holpen by their own great ordnance planted on the other side the hauen Marza; for with it they draue the defendants from the place, beat downe the corner of the rampier, and battered the front of the bulwark, whose hight and greatnes troubled the enemy, but was not so commodious for the defendants, for that it was made without any flankers. But night comming on, fiue thousand of the nine thousand Turkes which gaue the assault, tarried therewherfore the Christians constrained to forsake the place, retyred into the Castle. The Turks in the mean time couered with the darknes of the night, with sacks filled

The Turks begin the Castle of S. Elmo.

Dragut comes to aid the Turks.

The Turkes assaults S. Elmo.

S. Elmo again assaulted.

filled with row and earth, filled vp the ditch which was vnder the bulwark, but neither of any G
great widenesse or depth; which don, they gaue a fresh assault, wherin 800 of them were slain,
part Ianizaries and part Spachi; and besides them, many wounded, of whom the most part re-
mained half dead in the ditch, where they perished and could not be relieued. Of the Chri-
stians were lost 455 amongst whom were fiue Knights of the Order, *Guardampes* an Auergnois,
Masius a Colonel of Narbona, *Contilia* a Spaniard, *Semaia* a Florentine, and *Neinec* a German.

New supply sent into the Castle S. Elmo.

The same night the Great Master thinking, as reason was, that they in the Castle Saint *Elmo*
might want help, sent two hundred of his Knights and as many other soldiers into the Castle;
who if they had bin more, together with the four hundred which were before in the Castle,
might haply haue driuen the Turks both from the rampiers and the flanker, and also kept the
place longer. But forasmuch as the Great Master wanted soldiers, and had therfore sent *Sal-*
H
vagus into Sicily for new supplies (as we haue before said) he in the mean time courageously
expected their comming, refusing no labor or pain; yet bewailing somtimes with himself the
vnfortunatnes of the Christian Princes, by whose negligence so fit an occasion for the ouer-
throw of the barbarous enemy was let slip. But aboue all things, hee marueled exceedingly
that no help yet came, especially those two gallies, which (as we haue said) were in all haste
sent by *Salvagus*. But they by the Masters default kept not the appointed course: For first,
wheras they should haue shunned the West part of the Ile, and haue turned toward the East,
they shaped their course Westward to the Island of Gaulos; the Master vainly affirming,
That he saw certain of the Turks Galliots lying before port Meleria. Which was afterward
well known not to haue bin so; for the truth was, that he for fear (whereby notable designes
I
are many times frustrated) durst not go forward. Wherby it came to passe that the great ma-
ster was disappointed of so necessary a supply; which thing much grieued both the Viceroy
& others, but especially *Salvagus*. For he saw it would come to passe, that if the Turks should
take the Castle of S. *Elmo* (the most assured bulwark and defence of the Island of Malta) the
other places must of necessity be brought into extream danger; all the way to relieue them
being therby shut vp. And that it might be taken, seemed not to him impossible, the enemy
hauing already taken one fort, and laying hard siege almost on euery side of that little pile.
The due consideration of these and such like things grieued the minds of skilful men, espec-
ially seeing such slack preparation in a case requiring such present relief. Yet in the meane
time soldiers were taken vp at Rome by the commandment of *Pius quartus* then Bishop, to be
K
sent to Malta. And by his example to stir vp other princes, he gaue 100 pounds of gold to
Cambianus Legat for the Order, and commaunded gunpouder and other necessaries for that
War to be taken out of his castle S. Angelo; that so he might seem to be wanting in nothing
that was in him to performe. Ouer these soldiers, in number 600, he appointed *Pompeius Co-*
lumna General; and commanded *Camillus Medices* his Legat to accompany him. With these
went many voluntary men, of purpose to lay down their liues for the eternising of their names
in so religious a war; and that with such an ardent desire, as that euery little delay seemed a
year vnto them. Wherfore comming to Naples, they there found *Iohn Andreas Auria* with
eleuen ships, the Prince of Populonia with nine, *Lanicius* with three, and three others set
forth by other priuat gentlemen. In these ships were imbarqued all those footmen which
L
came from Rome, and so transported to Messana, where the Kings fleet was prouiding. But
whilest the Christians make slow preparation, considering the greatnesse of the danger, the
Turks not ignorant therof, resolued to proue their vtmost, before the strength of the Christi-
ans were ready or drawn together. For the castle of S. *Elmo* once taken, they assured them-
selues with more ease to cary the rest; for that therby they should first haue the hauen Marza
Moxet in their power, wherin their fleet might safely ride as long as they pleased; and the ri-
sing ridge betwixt the two hauens was commodious for them, both to batter the Towne of
S. *Michael*, and to keep the hauen Major, so that none could without their leaue passe in or
out therat. Wherfore vpon these and other such like considerations they began again to bat-
ter the Castle of S. *Elmo*, as it had bin with thunder. Which furious battery they continued
M
by the space of four daies together without intermission. The night following, they sudden-
ly with great force gaue an assault, and with their scaling ladders had almost gained the top

The Turks repulsed.

of the wall. When the Christians desirous of nothing more than to come to handy blowes,
draue them down again with such violence, that neuer after they durst set ladder to the Wall
until

A until the very last conflict. Whilst things were thus hot at the castle S. *Elmo*, *Draguts* soldi-
ers vpon a brauery, as if they had bin the only men, went to a place called Martia Scala, which
is betwixt the gallows & S. *Thomas* rode, as if they would haue don more than the rest: which
the Christians beholding out of the town of S. *Angelo*, to repress their insolencie sallied out
vpon them, and so welcommed them, that they wote glad after they had receiued great losse,
forthwith to retyre to the place from whence they came. Of the Christians were slain *Bonne-*
mius a Frenchman one of the Knights, and seuen others.

The same time *Monserratus* was by the Great Master sent into the castle of S. *Elmo*, to com-
mand there as Gouernor in stead of *Brolia*; for that he with watching and pains taking in de-
fence therof was fallen sick. The same *Brolia* had many times before written to the great ma-
B ster, That the castle was so wel fortified and furnished of al things needful, as that he thought
it impossible to be won by the enemy; and had with cheerful speech and braue behauiour so
incouraged the Knights & other the defendants, that they fought against their enemies with
more than mens strength, and greater courage than is to be beleeued. Neither were the Turks
for that discouraged, although they were with great losse still repulsed; but for certain dayes
battered the castle with greater fury than before, and immediatly gaue an assault. For they
had made a bridge ouer the ditch, of masts & sail-yards, of such a bredth, that ten men might
go theron in rank, and had placed about the ditch 4000 harquebusiers, and brought all their
fleet to S. *Georges* shore, not far from the castle. And when they had by the space of 18 days
sore shaken it, & torn the wals with 13000 great shot, and were now in hope euen presently to *An horrible battery.*
C win the castle, see, *Heraganus* a Biscane one of the Knights, and *Medranus* a Spanish captain,
with certain other valiant men, ranne to the bridge, and to the great admiration of the behol-
ders, opposed themselues against the multitude of the miscreants. The fight hand to hand was
on both sides fierce and terrible; when now one of the Turks had aduanced a Turkish ensigne
vpon the bulwark, which whilst *Medranus* layeth hand vpon, and the Turk on the other side
struggleth to clear him self from him, in striuing together they fel down both dead, shot tho-
tow with one bullet by one of the Turks. At which time the 400 which we said were but a
little before sent thither by the Grand Master, stood in good stead; for seeing all brought to
so great a danger, some of them (whilst other-some fought with the enemy) thrust barrells of
gunpouder vnder the bridge; some cast down wild-fire, stones, and whatsoeuer els came vnto
D hand, vpon the enemy; and others farther off with their harquebuses sore gauled the Turks;
so in short time the bridge was burnt and blown vp, which in the fall therof ouerwelmed 800 *800 Turks slain.*
Turks: the rest as they might retyred, few whole, but most part wounded. In this conflict the
Christians pluckt down two ensignes, the one *Mustapha's*, the other *Draguts*, which the Turks
had set vp vpon the very battlements of the walls. On the other part toward the South-west
a band of the Turks had got to the top of the highest rampier: which so soon as they in the
castle of S. *Angelo* perceiued, thinking to haue beaten them off with a great shot, slew by
chance seuen of the defendants vpon the same rampier, as they were going to and fro. But to
recompence that error, at the next shot they rent in sunder four of the Turks Captains, with
twelue other of their most forward soldiers. Whilst they were here fighting, other Turks in
E the mean time had cast vp a trench on that side of the castle toward S. *Angelo*; out of which
they were quickly driuen, with fire, stones, and other like things thrown down vpon them by
the defendants. The Turks valiantly on euery side retyred into the Camp, when they had in *The Turks retyre.*
this assault lost two thousand of their best soldiers, and of the Christians slain almost a hun-
dred, and wounded as many. The same day *Valetta* the great Master perceiuing the port Mar-
za Moxet not to be very streitly kept by the Turks, commanded a light Brigandine to be car-
ried out of the hauen ouer land to the place called Martia Scala, that from thence hee might
send into Sicilia. For he, as reason was, considering in what danger the castle S. *Elmo* stood,
by letters certified the Viceroy and the Bishop of Rome therof, and of such things as were
there don, requesting their speedy relief. The copy of the letters sent to the Viceroy, I haue
F here set down: as for those which were sent to the great Bishop, because they were almost of
the same purport, I haue purposely omitted.

To

To Garzias of Toledo, Vice-Roy of Sicilia, and Lord Admirall of the Fleet, Greeting.

The great Master letters to the Viceroy of Malta.

Since the time that I sent Salyagus, *I haue sent vnto you two Letters, which I caused to be sent by Melita into Gaulos; which I pray God be come vnto your hands. After that, when as neither letters nor messengers came vnto vs from you, I commanded a man with instructions to hast to Messana, who when he had certain nights attempted to go out, and was at last got out, he was scarsly gon two miles, but hee saw the Turks with might and main making after him; whom to escape, he was glad to run his pinnace on ground, and casting his letters into the sea, to forsake his boat, and by flight to saue himself. Now the Turks hauing remoued their fleet out of the port Vulturnus, I considering how much it concerneth to certifie you of those things which are here don, commanded a Brigandine to be carried to Martia Scala: for seeing the Turks fleet is gon to another part of the Island, I hope my Letters will without let in short time come vnto you. And the things I would haue you to know are these: The fifteenth of this moneth all the Enemies fleet a little before night passed by this port (the comming on of the night hindered vs, that wee could not well perceiue the weakenesse therof) whilst the gallies almost vnarmed were with much difficulty towed forth: want of water caused them chiefly to depart out of the port Vulturnus, and per aduenture fear of your fleet. For as I haue heard, they haue intelligence that 150 sail lye at road in the port of Messana: for which cause also they haue not put themselues into the port of S.* Paul, *but haue placed their fleet aboue the port Marza Moxet, yet a good part of their gallies lie at the port S.* George, *so to be neere to their land forces: yet is not their neermes such, but that if your fleet come vpon the sudden, they will with the same fear retyre to their fleet that they would if they were farther off. No man is now to bee seen at Vulturnus, for they haue left their first camp at S.* Katharines *and Saint* Iohns, *having burnt all the country villages, and now lie with their fleet as I haue said; and with their army at the castle S.* Elmo, *which God hath as yet kept, and as I hope will. Which thing is euen for this to be hoped for, which was but yesterday don; when as our most valiant soldiers by the help of God, for the space of four houres courageously indured a most terrible assault. The Turks hauing also made a bridge Westward toward the Port Marza Moxet, we haue four times repulsed them to their great losse, yet not without some losse also on our part; among st whom* Medranus *a worthy captain was to my great grief slain. With this victory our men are so incouraged, that I am in hope the castle may be defended vntill your comming, especially the Enemies battery not so furiously now as before maintained. If I were relieued with certain companies of fresh soldiers, or at least with those our two gallies, I would neuer think that this Castle could be taken from vs: in defence wherof, whilst we euery hour look for help, we haue spent both our men, and whatsoeuer warlike prouision we had els. We are resolued, although it cost vs all our liues, to go thither, relying vpon you, who as we hope, for your deuotion and noble courage, wil not be vnmindfull of our health and welfare: But knowing the danger wherinto we must needs fall, if you shall defer to aid vs, will send vs out of hand some bands of men, especially when they may so easily be sent. For now that the Turkes are departed from the East part of the Island, our soldiers may be landed at the black rocks. Our liues lie in your hands, on whom (next vnto God) resteth all our hope. Wherfore we beseech you most instantly not to forsake vs, committing our selues and all that ours is to your compassion and protection. Fare you well.*

From Malta the 17 of Iune.

These letters receiued, and the distres of the besieged castle perceiued, the Viceroy was (as he rightly ought) greatly mooued, and made semblance as if he had bin desirous to haue brought forth his whole fleet against the Turks. But forasmuch as the supply of ships from Genoa & Spain were not yet come, and that without them he thought it not good to aduenture the fortune of a battell, he forthwith sent *Ioh. Cordona* with four Gallies, wherof two were of Malta; and with *Cordona* joined one *Robles* Camp-master, with a select company of Spaniards, with whom went also about fourscore Knights of Malta, who stayed at Messana, awaiting some fit occasion to passe ouer. Amongst whom were these chief men of the Order, *Parisot* the Great Masters Nephew, *Vincentius Caraffa, Boninscana,* and *Maldonatus,* both Spaniards, *Centius* of Aquitania, and some others. Who although letted by tempest and other occasions,

For gallies sent to relieue Malta.

casions, they came too late to Malta, as shall be hereafter declared, yet serued they in great stead; and had they come in time before the castle S. *Elmo* was lost, haply it might haue been stil kept.

The Turks making no more account of so great a slaughter of their men, than of so many sheep, desperatly renued the fight, as men resolued to indure all extremities. And first they most horribly thundred day and night with their great ordnance vpon the Castle: afterwards they assaulted the breaches with such a multitude and force, that if true valour and hope of immortality had not excluded al fear out of the hearts of the defendants, the terror of the assault had inforced them either to haue fled or yeelded. Dreadful was the fight, and had they not bin obstinatly set down on both sides, the one to win the castle, and the other to defend it, that day had ended the quarrel. Fiue hours indured that most terrible assault; at length the Turks repulsed by the valor of the Christians, retyred: yet did they not for all that passe the night following in quiet, but with their great ordnance did so beat the defendants, that they had much ado to keep the Turks from scaling the walls: Which that they should not then dare to attempt, was with exceeding indeauour prouided for by the Christians; of whom in this assault was lost 200, and of the Turks a great number. And *Dragut* himself, whilest hee there performed the duty both of a General and most valiant soldier, got a blow on the head with a stone, wherof he in two daies after died. His dead body was afterwards caried to Tripolis, and there honorably buried.

A terrible assault.

Dragut slain

The Commanders of the Turks Army stil more and more inraged with thi svalour of the Christians and slaughter of their men, gathering all their fleet together, commanded them to compas about the Castle, of purpose to giue therunto their last assault with all their forces both by sea and land; and to send new supplies of fresh soldiers one after another, vntill they had taken the castle. Wherfore they with great industry prepared bridges, ladders, engins, armor, weapons, shot, and whatsoeuer thing els was needful for the assault. Which *Valetta* perceiuing out of his castle S. *Angelo*, and fearing (as meet was) left they in the castle should not be able longer to endure so great a fury, called together in counsel his knights, two daies before the Turks gaue their last assault; and told them, That they all as well as hee, saw in what danger they which defended the castle of S. *Elmo* were: and that he doubted not, but that euery one of them, vpon a godly zeal and compassion, was no lesse mooued with the slaughter and danger of their fellows and other their Christian souldiers, than with their own: wherfore he requested them to declare what they thought best to be don for their safety; yet so, as that hastily they should not determin any thing that agreed not with the antient valor and honor of their sacred military profession. Which motion once made, and their opinions in brief deliuered, a Decree was made, That forasmuch as the Castle could not longer be holden, regard should be had for the safegard of them that were therin: for which purpose it was agreed, that 12 pinnaces should be sent to fetch them away. But before, three knights were chosen, who should in hast the night following go thither, to tel them what was in the counceil agreed vpon, & carefully to consider in what state the castle was; which if the defendants thought was to be abandoned, they should poison the water and cloy the great ordnance, that it might not afterward stand the Turks in any stead. The three knights sent thither was *Medina* a Spaniard, *Rocca* a Frenchman, and *Constantinus Castriot* an Italian: who not without danger of death (beeing oftentimes shot at by the Turks) got into the Castle, and declared vnto them that were there in garrison, how carefull the Great Master and the rest were of them. And they on their side first gaue thanks to the grand Master and the rest for the regard they had of them: and afterward concerning the castle said, That if they considered the streitnes of the place, the smal number of the defendants, and multitude of the enemy, they should wel perceiue the danger they were in, if the Turks should often with such obstinacy renue the assault: yet forasmuch as they had euer hitherto felt the help of God so present, who had stil mercifully defended them against the rage of the enemy, & wanted nothing needful for the defence of the place; the keeping wherof they had requested of the grand Master as an honor, although they knew right wel, it could not without most manifest danger of their liues be holden: yet would they for all that keep it to the last man; for that perhaps the like honorable occasion for them to shew themselues in should neuer again be offred: wherfore they had (they said) resolued there to spend their liues for Gods glory and the Christian Religion. The course of this life (they said)

Three Knights sent to view the state of the Castle S. Elmo.

said) was but short, but that honor and fame was for euer: and whereas death is to all men pre- G
fined, it were to be wished, that the life which is to nature due, should rather seem to be by vs
franckly giuen to God and our countrey, than reserued as natures debt: which if it should so
happen, they woould so vse the matter, as that the barbarous enemy should haue neither plea-
sure nor ioy, which should not cost him much bloud euen of his best souldiers. This they wil-
led the knights to tell the Great Master, and to request him not to be too careful of them, but
to promise to himselfe those things of them which best beseemed resolute men, especially of
them who had vowed themselues to that sacred war. This answer of greater resolution than
fortune, receiued; the three Knights, when they had diligently viewed the castle, returned to
the Grand master: who calling to counsel his knights, and hauing heard the answer of the be-
sieged, would needs heare also what opinion the three knights themselues were of concerning H
the keeping of the castle: of whom *Castriot* was of opinion, That the place was still to be defen-
ded, and that if he were there to command, he would vndertake to perform it; and there rather
to lose his life than to forsake it, after he had once taken vpon him the charge therof. But *Rocca*
the French knight was far of another mind, and said plainly, that the place could not possibly
be holden against so strong an enemy; and that if *Iulius Cæsar* himselfe were aliue, and saw to
what streight the place was brought (especially all the rampiers being either beaten down or
sore shaken, and such a power of obstinat enemies lying round about it) he would neuer suffer
so many valiant souldiers to be lost, but quit the place, and reserue his men to further seruice:
for why, it was the part of valiant men to performe so much as was of men to be performed;
but to striue to do more, was no manhood at all: wherfore he thought it best to do that which I
men vse with members mortified, whose recouery is desperat; in which case we doubt not to
make a separation, so to saue the rest of the body with life. The Spanish Knight in most part
agreeing with *Castriot*, said, That he thought it not good, that the place should so easily be for-
saken; first, for that the ditches and bulwarks were yet defencible; and then because he saw so
great a consent among the defendants, and such a cheerfulnesse to withstand the enemy, which
thing (as he said) presaged victory.

Diuers opinions concerning the keeping of S. Elmo.

These opinions of the Knights throughly in counsell debated, and euery particular well
weighed, it seemed good to the greater part, that they which were in the castle, should for cer-
tain daies yet hold it out; especially because it was not the maner of the knights of the Order
easily to abandon their strong holds; but rather to keep them to the last, that euen therein the K
barbarous enemy might perceiue with whom he had to do, and so see his pride abated. For if
they should haue forsaken the place, they might haue been thought to haue done it for feare:
whereby the enemies insolency might haue bin increased, and the honourable Order of those
sacred Knights disgraced.

But the Turks intentiue to that they had before determined, the 23 day of Iune assembling
all their forces both by sea and land round about the castle, in the dead time of the night on
euery side set vp scaling ladders, made bridges, wrought mines, and with 32 great pieces of
artillery battered the rest of the wals yet standing, and presently gaue a most terrible assault.
The defendans on the other side beat downe some, repulsed other, slew many, euer more care-
full how to wound the enemy, than to saue themselues: and where he pressed fastest on, there L
to shew their greatest valour. Great were the outcries made on both sides, mixt with exhorta-
tion, mirth, and mourning; the face of the whole fight was diuers, vncertain, cruell, and dread-
full: and now it was the third houre of the day, when still the victory stood doubtfull; and
had not the fury of the great Ordnance been so terrible, that it now had beaten down all the
wals vnto the very rocke whereon the castle stood, the defendants might for some longer time
haue endured the enemies force. But the very rock bared both of wals & defendants, and more
than foure hundred slain, a man could now scarcely shew himselfe, but he was presently struck
in pieces. *Monserratus* Gouernour of the castle, and *Garas* of Eubœa, men of equall valour, in-
tegrtie, and honour, were both slaine with one shot; for a short and transitory life made par-
takers of immortality together. Yet the rest which stood in defence of the castle, nothing ter- M
rified with so great a losse and slaughter of their fellowes, but augmented rather as it were
with new courage from aboue, fought with greater force than before, ouerthrew the Turks
ensignes now set vp in the castle, slew the ensigne-bearers, captains, and colonels; now respe-
cting nothing more, but honourably to lay downe their liues for their religion and the obtai-
ning

The Turks furiously assault the City

A ning of immortal fame. By this time the sun was mounted to the middle of heauen, great was
the heat, and men exceeding weary; the murthering shot neuer ceased, and such was the multi-
tude of the enemy, that he sent in fresh men in stead of them that were wearied or wounded.
On the other side, the small number of the Christians, and those weakned with labour, watch-
ing, thirst and wounds, did what men might; yet at length were ouercome by a greater force,
and so the castle by the Turks won, but with such slaughter of their men, that it was a wonder
so many should be slain by so few. The defendants were all slain euery man in valiant fight.

The castle of S. Elmo taken by the Turks.

Here may I not in silence passe ouer the inhuman and more than barbarous cruelty of the
Turks, against the dead bodies of the slain Knights; that therby may appear, that cruelty ne-
uer wanteth wheron to shew it selfe merciles, yea euen after death. The Turks after they had
B taken the castle, finding certain of the knights yet breathing, & but halfe dead, first cut their
hearts out of their brests, and then their heads from their bodies: after that, they hanged them
vp by the heels in their red cloaks with white crosses (which maner of attyre they after an an-
tient custom vse in time of war, as they do black in time of peace) in the sight of the Castles
S. *Angelo* and S. *Michael*. And yet *Mustapha* the Turks General not so contented, commanded
them afterwards to be fast bound together, and so cast into the sea, whose dead bodies were in
few daies after by the surge of the sea cast vp in the hauen Major, and known by their friends,
were by the commandement of the sorrowfull great Master honorably buried. With which
barbarous cruelty of the enemy he was so mooued, that he commanded no Turk should from
that time be taken prisoner, but to be presently slain. And therupon all that were before taken
C were forthwith put to the sword, and their heads thrown ouer the wals on that side toward the
enemy. From the beginning of the siege to the taking of the castle, of the Christians were slain
1300, among whom were 130 of the knights of the Order, all worthy to be registred in the
book of euerlasting Fame.

Barbarous cruelty of the Turks.

The castle of S. *Elmo* thus lost, *Valetta* although his mind (as he had good cause) was exceed-
dingly grieued inwardly; yet made semblant otherwise, because he would not daunt his soul-
diers minds: telling them, *That nothing was hapned vnprouided for or vnforeseen. This was* (as he
said) *the will of God, and the chance of war, that somtimes one, somtimes another should be ouercome: and
that cowardise, not such valor as was in them that were gon, gaue occasion to liuing friends to lament. Yet
that the Enemy was not for that to be feared, who had also receiued such a losse, as hee might thereby ra-*
D *ther seem conquered, than a victorious Conquerour: whereas the losse of his Knights was recompenced
with honor and immortality, things of themselues sufficient to inflame all Noble mindes to behaue them-
selues valiantly. As for himself* (he said) *that trusting not in his own strength, but in the help of Al-
mighty God, he had not yet cast off the hope of victory ouer the reliques of the discomfited enemy: & that
he well hoped they were all of the same mind, wherin he most earnestly requested them to persist to the end.*
When he had thus said, he being a man armed against all fortunes, withdrew himselfe a little
aside; where casting many things in his troubled mind, he determined to send letters to *Pe-
trus Mesquina* gouernor of the city of Melita, to certifie him and the Knights of the order that
were at Messana, and the Viceroy, of the losse of S. *Elmo*. The copy whereof, because in them
euidently appeareth the Christian mind of him the Great Master, I haue thought good here
E to set down as followeth:

Valetta's Letters to the Gouernor of Melita.

*Whilst these Knights are setting forward, in the mean time chanced the miserable misfortune of the
Castle S.* Elmo: *which although it brought vnto vs that grief you may easily imagin, yet for all that,
as if it had hapned by some secret appointment of God, haue taken it in such part, that he as a most mer-
cifull father purposeth therby to warn vs, but not vtterly to destroy vs. Neither do I thinke it lawfull to
doubt of his mercy and power. Yet for all that, I may neuertheles complain, That we are of them forsaken,
of whom it least beseemed. So that in the space of seuen and thirty daies, wherin our most valiant souldi-
ers endured all the force of the enemy (which truly was don rather by the power of God than of man) we
were holpen of our own (which owe so much vnto vs) not so much as with the least help, which they often-
F times might haue sent vnto vs. But I list to ascribe it, whatsoeuer it is, to God, of whom alone we haue
hitherto receiued so many good things, so rest we in hope hereafter to receiue also. For, for any thing that
I can see, we must not now trust to mans help; forasmuch as wee could by no Letters, no diligence, no
prayers, no admonitions, and to be briefe, by no commaunds moue them, who of all other ought most
to*

to haue obeyed it. The shortnes of the time suffreth vs not to write to the Viceroy of these things, it shall be your part to certifie both him and other our friends therof, who if they had obeyed our commaund, or aided vs with neuer so small a supply of soldiers, haply we had not lost the castle of S. Elmo, in defence wherof we haue spent the best part of our soldiers. Wherfore except the Viceroy make hast to deliuer vs from this siege, I fear that he cannot in time come; but especially if we bee here besieged before the comming of those our small helps which we as in a dream haue promised vnto our selues, and which we now scarse hope will be in time present. For all that, we do not distrust of Gods loue and prouidence, by whose diuine inspiration the rare courage of the Viceroy being shortly stirred vp, will hasten hither to relieue vs. For all our welfare consists in celerity. Our enemies hauing drawn all their fleet into the hauen Marza Moxet, are busied in clensing the castle and repairing the breaches, that they may afterward vse them the better against vs. Wherfore vpon sight of these our letters, send vnto vs the captains Catherin, Belcacar, Belmest, *and* Zoricius, *with their companies, that we may vse their valiant and faithful seruice. God of his mercy send vs aid from some place, and keep you. Fare you well.* G H

From our Castle S. Angelo *the 24 of Iune, 1565.*

Mesquita hauing receiued these letters, commanded a Galliot forthwith to be launched, & therin imbarqued *Masius Codonellus* one of the Knights, to whom he deliuered both the letters of the grand Master, and others of his own almost of the same purport, directed to the knights of the Order which lay at Messana, requesting him with all speed possible to passe ouer with them into Sicilia. I

Mustapha Bassa sends messengers vnto the Great Master.

In the mean time *Mustapha* the Turks General sent a messenger to *Valetta*, and with him an old Spanish captain, with promise of liberty if he would go with his messenger to the Town, to talk with *Valetta* concerning the yeelding vp thereof, and to try if he would by any meanes come to agreement. Who comming to the town, the Turk still waiting at the gate, the Christian was let in and brought to the Great Master, to whom he declared what he had in charge from the Bassa. But so soon as *Valetta* heard of the name of composition and yeelding, he was so filled with indignation, that had he not bin a Christian, he would presently haue commanded him to haue bin hanged. Wherfore he gaue him choice either to tarry stil in the town, if he thought so good, or els forthwith to return and tel his Companion, that if he got him not quickly packing, he would send him farther off with a great shot. With this shorte answer the Turk suddenly returned into the camp. Wherupon *Mustapha* fel into such a rage, that openly he protested, neuer from that to forbear any kind of cruelty against the Christians. There was then with *Mustapha* one *Philip*, one of the noble Grecian family of *Lascaris*, who of a boy taken prisoner by the Christians in Patras a city of Achaia, & by them honestly & curteously vsed, was euer after wel affected toward the Christians. He priuy to certain of *Mustaphas* designes, by a certain diuine motion thought hee should not a little profit the Christians by reuolting vnto them: wherfore he resolued to fly to the Castle S. *Michael*. Which thing when he had often attempted, at length the first of Iuly he cast himself into the sea (for by land he could no way escape) & swam to the castle, not without danger of his life, for discouered by the Turks, he was many times shot at both with their arrows and small shot. Hee, brought to the Great Master, reuealed vnto him many of the enemies secrets, and also aduised him what was to be don at the point of S. *Michaels*, to frustrat the enemies purpose for assailing that place; with many other things, which were vnto the defendants no small help; and afterward as often as need was, during the siege, fought valiantly against the Turks. K E

The great Masters answer.

Whilst these things were doing, *Codonellus* (sent as we haue before said into Sicily) came in safety to Messana, where he found the Christian fleet not yet ready to relieue the distressed Maltæses; for the Spanish ships were not yet come, and *Iohn Andreas Auria* with eight and twenty ships was ready to return to take in four thousand footmen, which were taken vp in Etruria by *Capinus Vitellius*. Which backwardnes the Knights of the Order considering, and what danger was in delay, after they had wel debated the matter amongst themselues, they resolued by the power of God, by all means possible to help their brethren. And for this expedition chose two most fit Generals of their own fellows (the Commanders of Messana and Baroli) who forthwith went to *Garzias* the Viceroy, declaring to him what things the sacred M

knights

A Knights of their Order had done, not for the King of Spaine only, but for the Christian commonweale, and also what great charge they had been at the yeare before in the Pinionian expedition, wherein they had neither spared ships, victual, nor munition, neither their own liues, to profit the King and the Christian commonweale. Besides this, they besought him well to consider, that the losse of Malta concerned not the sacred Knights only, but all Italy, and especially Sicilia, for the neernesse of so troublesome and puissant an Enemy. For these and other like reasons, which the shortnesse of the time suffered them not to rehearse, they requested of him 4000 footmen, with whom all the Knights of the Order which were there, and many other noble and voluntary men would make all possible speed to relieue the besieged, which they had before in vaine attempted; with which strength they were in good hope, if not to repulse the enemy, or to recouer that was already lost, yet at least to stop & stay his further proceeding, vntill such time as he hauing rigged vp and brought forth all his fleet, might set vpon the Turks, and (as was to be hoped) vanquish and disperse them. But whilst the Viceroy hauing heard their request, considereth what answer to make, a messenger came vnto him from Spaine, but with what command from the King (although men guessed diuersly) could not be knowne. But vpon his comming, the Viceroy gaue the knights this cold answer, That he could not grant what they requested, for that in so doing he should disfurnish his fleet, and not be able afterwards to relieue them as he desired: but if it pleased them to transport the Knights with part of the Bishops soldiers into the Island, they might so do with their own two gallies they had already, whereunto he would also joyne another of his owne. The Knights when they could obtaine no more, accepted of that which was offered. B C

The Knights of Malta craue aid of the Viceroy.

The cold answer of the Viceroy to the Knights.

Whilst these gallies were setting forward, those foure gallies whereof we haue before spoken, wherein were imbarked 80 Knights and 600 other soldiers, hauing at sea suffered many troubles by the space of twenty daies, could not as yet arriue at Malta: and because the Viceroy had commanded that they should not land, except they first knew whether the Castle S. *Elmo* were still holden by the Christians, they sent out a frigot to land, promising that day and the next to tarry in the sea for her returne. In the meane time a great tempest suddenly arising, it fell out, that the frigot could not at the appointed time returne: wherefore the gallies which expected her comming, fearing lest she had been either by tempest lost, or by the enemy intercepted, retired vnto Pozalo a port vpon the coast of Sicilia, neerest to Malta, there to expect some good newes: where as soone as they had put in, they vnderstood that S. *Elmo* was yet defended: whereupon they put to sea againe, with purpose to haue arriued at Malta. But when they were within two leagues of the place where they thought to haue landed, they saw a fire there, which caused them to mistrust that the place was possessed of the enemy, and that he lay thereabout to intercept them: wherefore they returned againe to Pozalo; where now vnderstanding of the French knight come from Malta, that that fire was made by his commandment, as a signe that they might without feare come forward; they with all speed made again for the same place, and at the length the 29 day of Iune about midnight landed at the Blacke rockes on the South side of the Island toward Affricke, and vnseene of any, got in haste to the city Malta, where they were ioyfully receiued, and there staid to expect what the Great Master should command. In the mean time it fortuned, a great foggy mist (which seldome times there chanceth) to arise so thicke, that a man could hardly see for it: at which time a boy of about twelue yeares old looking by chance out of a window in the castle of Melita, suddenly as one afraid cried out, that he saw a Turke going from the city to the castle of Saint *Michael*. Which thing some of the Knights hearing, ran presently out that way, and found a Greeke of the city Melita, who brought backe and examined (for that without the Gouernors passe it was not lawfull for any man to go out of the city) confessed, That his purpose was to haue aduertised the Turks of the comming of those souldiers; that so they might haue intercepted them as they should haue come from Melita to the Grand master: for which treason he was, as he had well deserued, cut in foure pieces. Three daies after, this new supply come from Sicilia, in the first watch of the night came all in safety from Melita to the Grand Master, except two or three boies, who ouercharged with armor and other baggage, were not able to keepe way with the rest. It is not to be told, how much the besieged rejoyced at the comming of these their friends; and especially *Valetta*, who seeing the floure of his Kinghts and other souldiers, as it were by diuine prouidence come vnto him; with teares trickling D E F

A traitor taken and executed at Melita.

The souldiers new come out of Sicilia, come to the Great Master.

downe

downe his cheekes, and his eies cast vp to heauen, said:

The prayer of Valetta.

I thanke thee, ô heauenly Father, which heaest my praiers, and forsaketh not this thy little Flocke, beset round with most rauening Wolues: these are the workes of thine euerlasting goodnesse, mercy and prouidence. G

These new come souldiers requested of the Great Master, as a reward of their paines, That they might be put in garrison into the Towne S. *Michael*, a place now most laid vnto by the Turks: which thing (he commending their forwardnesse) easily granted; yet for all that remoued not his old garrison. These fresh and couragious soldiers desirous of nothing more than to fight with the enemy, the next day sallied out, and hauing slain 200 of the Turks, and wounded as many more, without losse of a man returned, euery mans sword imbrued in the bloud of his enemy. Which thing *Mustapha* the Turks Generall hearing, knew it was they which lately came into the towne; and thereupon fell in rage with his captains, as that they had by their negligence entred. But the suspition grew most vpon them which were appointed for the keeping of the vttermost part of the Island: which was the more increased, for that three galliots of Algiers had withdrawne themselues away; so that he neither trusted them nor the renegat Christians, who as occasion serued fled daily from him. For which cause he gaue out proclamation, That none of them should lie by night out of the gallies, and that such as did otherwise, should therefore be burnt, or impailed vpon sharpe stakes: and changing his warders, appointed *Salec* with his galliots, whom he thought to be more faithfull, for the keeping of the Island. And that neither they nor the Christians should be able to attempt any thing, he chained together diuers gallies in the entrance of the hauen Marza Moxet, & caused the rest of the fleet to ride neerer together than before. But because exceeding many were at that time sicke in the Turks camp, of the flix and other diseases; three places were assigned for them; one for the wounded men neere vnto Aqua Martia, garded with 2000 Turks; another in the poups of their ships and gallies for the Turks voluntaries; and the third amongst the bulwarkes, where the inforced Christians were cured. At the same time, *Mustapha* appointed *Ochiall Bassa* Gouernor of Tripolis, in stead of *Dragut* before slaine: who going thither with fiue gallies, and hauing set all things in order there, returned againe vnto the campe. With him the Bassa had sent two ships loaded with corne to Tripolis, there to make bread, whereof they began to feele some want in the campe. He also sent *Zaloch* one of his Colonels to *Solyman*, to certifie him of the winning of the castle S. *Elmo*, and to deliuer vnto him the description of the Island of Malta as they found it at their arriuall; and further to declare vnto him, That he found the Maltæses stronger and better prouided, than was at his setting forth supposed: wherefore if it were his pleasure longer to continue the siege, he should send a new supply of men, victuall, and other warlike prouision: which if he did, he would then be in hope to take the other strong places of the Island also, though not so soone as was at the first supposed: and that in the meane time whilest he expected answer, he would not faile to do what he possibly might. And because he would not seeme to haue written an vntruth, he began his battery in foureteene places with 70 great pieces of artillery, amongst which was three most huge basilisks: for from the Gallows promontory to Aqua Martia, and from thence to the castle S. *Elmo*, wherein he had placed 300 Ianizaries, the Turks had inclosed all that compasse with sundry bulwarks, trenches, and mounts, from whence they with their thundring shot day and night incessantly battered the townes and castles of S. *Michael* and S. *Angelo*, ouerthrew the walls, beat down the bulwarks, and brake down the houses in such terrible manner, that scarce any could be safe therein: which of all others most troubled the fearfull women and children. But the Turks in their trenches rested in far more safety: yet so, as they durst not stray far out of the campe, but trusting vpon their multitude, and not that many times without their losse, being euroff by the horsemen of the garrison of Malta, who were euer ready at their heeles. H I K L

Ochiall Bassa made gouernor of Tripolis.

A terrible battery.

When the losse of the castle S. *Elmo* was knowne at Rome, the city was filled with mourning and heauines: some were sorry for the dishonour, other some feared lest the calamities of the Maltæses should redound vnto themselues. There was also amongst others, a certain enuious and foule mouth'd kinde of men, altogether ignorant and vnacquainted with martiall affaires, who shamed not to lay the blame of the losse of S. *Elmo* vpon the Grand Master: whom both his owne valour, with the worthy testimony of so many famous and valiant men as were there present with him, as also this history gathered out of the true light of things then done, M

shall

A shall both for the time present and for all posterity sufficiently acquite of so false a slander. *But he will easily blemish another mans name, that spareth not his owne: neither can Ignorance rightly judge of the counsels of the skilfull; or cowardise, of valiant deeds.*

But to returne againe to our purpose: we said before, that three gallies were made ready at Messana; in setting forth whereof, they which had the charge vsed such diligence, that the seuenth of Iuly they departed out of harbour. In them (besides the Knights of the Order) was imbarked 600 Spaniards, and 300 of the Great Bishops souldiers, conducted by *Pompeius Columba*: the mariners were part hired, part slaues, to whom liberty was promised, if they would lustily do their endeuour to get into the hauen, and to be accounted of as the rest of the souldiers were. And because they would relieue the besieged not with men only, but with victu-
B all also, they put into the same gallies fiue hundred bushels of wheat, beside gunpouder, saltpeeter, and lead for shot. And although it was thought a most hard matter, by the hauen it selfe to enter into the Island, the Turks possessing it and all the places therabouts, neuertheless there was in the Knights such an earnest desire to relieue their Brethren, that they promised both to themselues and others, al things easie and safe. But when they began to approch the Island, they sent a scout before, to vnderstand by signes from the castle S. *Angelo*, whether they were to proceed forward or not: who comming so far that they might discouer the signe, perceiued thereby that they should retire. Which things the Turks perceiuing also, presently with the smoake of their great ordnance and other things, they so obscured the aire as with a thicke cloud, in such sort as that those signes were no more to be discerned: but all in vaine:
C for why, our men had already discried them: so those three gallies returned againe into Sicilia. For, *Valetta* that good Prince thought it not meet to bring so many of the sacred Knights, so many noble gentlemen and valiant soldiers, into a most manifest danger: for he saw certaine of the Turks gallies to lie by night in the mouth of the hauen Marza Moxet, at a place called the Little sands, to impeach the going in or out of the hauen Major. About the same time, they which lay in garrison in the city Melita, hearing of the notable sally made by the souldiers lately come, and taking heart thereupon, at such time as the Turks were fetching in a certaine booty of cattell, the horsemen pursued them, and hauing slaine diuers of them, recouered the prey; and yet not so contented, chased them euen to their campe. But the other Turks seeing their fellowes flying in such haste towards them, raised an alarum, ran to their Generals tent,
D and for that time ceased their battery.

Three gallies depart from Messana with aid towards Malta.

The gallies vpon a signe giuen returne backe.

The Great Master probably conjecturing, that the Turks would in short time assault both the towne and castle of S. *Michael*, thought good by his presence to encourage and strengthen the garrison; and therefore was about to haue gone thither by a bridge made of boats from the one point of the land to the other, betweene S. *Michaels* and S. *Angelo*: but quickly vnderstanding the certainty thereof, returned againe into his castle. Some there be that think, For him to haue so done, had been a venturous part, and full of danger, and therefore to haue been discommended: for that great things are performed, not so much by strength of body as of mind, by politique counsell and direction, wherwith a Generall (although absent) may yet with his forces be alwaies present; but the Generall once lost (which may easily happen if he will pre-
E sent his person to the danger) we see most commonly all fall together with him, no otherwise than doth all parts of the body when the soule departeth. But other some are of contrary opinion, That the Generals presence, especially in great dangers, is both praise-worthy and most necessary; for that he, as the soule, cannot prouide for or rule the body, except it be present, yea placed therin: and that *Valetta* in so doing, had followed the examples of the greatest kings & most famous Generals; as of *Alexander* the Great, *Iulius Cæsar*, *Themistocles*, *Marius*, and others: whose words vnto their souldiers were these, *I my selfe will be your conductor in the field, in the battell partaker of the danger with you, you shall be in all things as my selfe.* Besides that, who knoweth not, that as in other things, so most of all in martiall affaires, all things are better, more orderly, and more easily done when the Master is present; neither was the learned Poet his meaning
F any thing els, when in the wars betwixt the Latines and the Rutilians, he saith, *Vrget præsentia Turni?* whereupon they concluded, That the Great Master in going had done both valiantly, wisely, and according to his duty. But this we leaue for martiall men to determine.

At the same time the king of Algiers came to aid the Turks with 7 gallies and ten galliots, and in them 2200 souldiers: who sorry that he was not there at the beginning, and desirous

The king of Algiers commeth to aid the Turks

to do some notable act, and withall to make proofe of the valor of his souldiers, requested the great Bassa to bestow vpon him the first place in the besieging the castle S. *Michael*: which he he not only granted, but joyned to his forces 2000 of his own best souldiers. These things obtained, he commanded ninety small vessels by deuises to be carried ouer land out of the port Marza Moxet to Aqua Martia, for that he purposed on that side to besiege the castle by water. But *Valetta* perceiuing the enemies purpose, both by seeing that was done, and also aduertised thereof before by a Christian fugitiue; presently called vnto him two faithfull and skilfull shipmasters of Malta, and imparting the matter vnto them, demanded what they thought best to be done to keep the Turks from landing, as it seemed they purposed at the walls foot. They quickly perceiuing the matter, answered, That in their opinion, if a chaine were made of masts and saile-yards as spars joined together with yron rings, and so drawn all alongst from the corner of the castle S. *Angelo*, to that place where the enemy thought to land, their purpose might be so defeated. This deuise so pleased the Great master, that the night following such a chain was made, and fast mored in the appointed place. The Turks so soon as it was day perceiuing this bar, stood as men doubtfull, not knowing how by any means to land their men, as they had before purposed. Whilest they stood so abashed, a Christian fugitiue a most desperat villaine (in which kind of men foolish hardinesse is accounted a vertue, and desperation, constancy) came to the King, and promised him to breake the chaine, and so with a hatchet in his hand cast himselfe into the sea; after whom followed two or three more to help him: who swimming to the chaine, got vp vpon it, and began to hew apace with their hatchets. Which the Christians beholding, suddenly fiue or six of the Maltæses swam thither with their drawn swords in their hands, and hauing slaine two of them, caused the other to fly: after which time none of the Turks was so hardy as to attempt the same. The barbarous king for all that gaue not ouer his purpose so, but with wonderfull diligence prepared for the siege, which the fifteenth day of Iuly began both by sea and land. But the defendants turning their great ordnance vpon that place from whence the galliots came, with the fury thereof (in the space of three houres, which the assault endured) slew two thousand Turks, and sunke twelue of the Galliots: the rest comming as far as the chaine, when they could get no further, nor land their men, turned their prows vpon the corner of the castle, but were glad at last to retire and leaue that they came for vndone. The assault at land also endured fiue houres, wherein many of the Turks were slaine: and of the defendants 200, amongst whom was *Fredericus* the Viceroy of Sicilia his son, strucke in sunder with a great shot, *Gordius* a Frenchman, *Franciscus Sanoghera* and his nephew *Iohn*, Spaniards, all Knights of the Order: *Medina* was also wounded, whereof he afterward died. But *Valetta* considering into what danger the state of Malta was like to fall, if he should be constrained to fight many such fights, where his souldiers wearied day & night without rest, were still to encounter with fresh men, and heard nothing of any aid or new supply; the 17 day of Iuly he sent a messenger into Sicilia, who swam from the castle to the farthest part of the bay to Aqua Martia, and from thence escaped vnknown thorow the midst of the enemies, vnto the city of Melita, and so in a little frigot came to Messana. By him the Great master sent letters to the Viceroy, requesting him to send him his owne two gallies with those Knights which were at Messana, and such other souldiers as might in them be transported: willing them, that as soon as they came to the Island, they should houer off aloof before the hauen, ready vpon a signe giuen to thrust in. The same time that this messenger arriued at Messana, came thither also the fleet from Spaine, wherein were many of the Knights of the Order from diuers nations. The Viceroy desirous to send these two gallies to *Valetta*, sent letters before vnto him in secret characters by two frigots, wherin he certified him that he would send the gallies, requiring to haue from him some signe whereby they might at their comming know whether they should enter or retire: which frigots taking diuers courses, one of them laded with medicines, as was afterwards knowne, was intercepted by the enemy: the other although she came in safety to Melita, yet for as much as all the passages betwixt the castle of S. *Michael* and the city Melita, were certaine daies before by the diligence of the enemy shut vp, and three which had vsed to passe too and fro, intercepted and most cruelly executed; and besides that, the hauen streightly kept; the the Knights of Messana could haue no further direction from the Great Master, for the safe sending of the two Gallies: yet neuertheleſſe because he had requested them, and they themselues were of the same opinion (as he

A desperat fugitiue.

The king of Algiers notably repulsed both by sea and land.

A bard shift to carry newes.

he had before written) that where all is in question, the aduenture of a little part is lesse to be feared; they thought it good to aduenture them, yet with this regard, not to expose all those knights to so great a danger, but of them all to send only forty, with a conuenient number of other souldiers, and with them *Salazer* a Spanish captaine was sent by the Viceroy to be landed in the Island Gaulos, who should afterwards from thence in a boat (for that purpose towed along by the gallies) passe ouer into the Island of Malta as a Spie, to take view both of the city and enemies campe.

In the meane time the Turks mindfull of the losse receiued in the assault of the castle S. *Michael*, and desirous of reuenge, did so violently batter the castle with their great ordnance, that what the defendants repaired by night, that they still beat downe againe by day: and in time of battery made a bridge, which the 20 day of Iuly before the Sun rising they laied ouer the ditch, that they might as if it had bin vpon euen ground, come to fight hand to hand with the Christians. Which seen, and quickly perceiuing what danger it might bring, by and by *Parisot* the Great masters nephew, and *Agleria*, both Knights, with certaine mercinary soldiers sallied out to haue burnt the bridge, but were so receiued of the Turks, that they were almost all slain together with *Parisot* and *Agleria*, and yet the exploit vnperformed. The Turks without ceasing continued their furious battery vntill the eight and twentieth of Iuly, which day in the afternoone they in diuers places assaulted the castle, thrice they with fresh and new supplies relieued their repulsed and wearied souldiers, and so fiercely maintained the assault, that they made no doubt but that day to win the Castle. But the defendants with no lesse resolution withstood them, repulsing them with their weapons, with shot, fire, and force, and at length inforced them with no small losse of their men to retire from the wals. This victory so incouraged the besieged, that now they made small reckoning of the enemy: but forasmuch as our men alwaies spared their great ordnance but in time of fight, and sallied not out as they were wont, the Turks thought that the garrison was but weake, and that shot and pouder grew scarce in the Castle. Yet deceiued in both, for that it was rather of purpose, than for want, so commanded by the Great Master; who hearing nothing of the comming of any aid, and seeing the enemy to giue daily more fierce assaults, would not vainly spend his most necessary helps. The Turks perceiuing what little good they had done with their often assaults, determined now to proue what might be done by vndermining the castle: and had almost brought one of their mines to perfection before it was of the Christians discouered: and to the intent they should the lesse marke it, they caused two gallies to come as neere as they could to the wals, & to batter that place; in hope that whilest our men gazed vpon that was done openly, they should the lesse regard what they were working in secret, that so they might in the mean time more easily get into the castle. But the besieged carefull of all that was to be cared for, perceiuing their purpose, with a countermine defeated their mine, & by the couragiousnesse of certain of their soldiers, but especially of one Ancient, draue out the enemy, who hauing cast certaine pots of wild-fire before him into the mine, and following presently after with a piece of fire-worke in his hand, forced him out. For which good seruice he was by the Great Master rewarded with a chaine of gold of fiue pound weight. And because of vertue springeth vertue, which still resteth vpon difficulties, the next day, which was the first of August, the bridge which we said the enemy had made ouer the ditch, was by a sally made by the defendants burnt downe with fire and gunpouder cast vpon it: which was in good time done, for the next day, the Sun now declining, the Turks again assailing that part of the castle where *Carolus Rufus* had the charge, were by our men valiantly repulsed. This assault endured 3 houres, in which time 300 of the Turks were there slain: and of the knights, *Rufus* himselfe and *Baresus*, with certaine mercinary soldiers. At this time the Christians were by the enemy so shut in with the multitude of great ordnance, that they could not so much as looke into the ditch or shew themselues, much lesse sally out, but they were presently set off. Yet did they not for all that make spare of their liues when occasion was giuen them to performe any notable exploit: as appeared by *Calderonius* a Spaniard, who seeing some viewing that part of the wall which the enemy had most battered and shaken at the castle bulwarke, doubted not to sally out, but was presently taken with a bullet and slaine: which mischance when it might seeme of right to haue terrified the rest from attempting the like, did indeed the more insence them; so that when they saw the enemy exceeding busie in filling the ditch, they, resolutely set downe to offer themselues to most assured

A bridge made ouer the Castle ditch by the Turks.

The Turks repulsed.

A mine of the Turks defeated.

The bridge made by the Turks burnt.

sured death, rather than to fall into the hands of the mercileſſe enemy, agreed to ſally out by night, and to meet with his deſignes. Whereupon an hundred, part Knights, part other ſouldiers, ſallying forth, cauſed the enemy to forſake the ditch and betake themſelues to flight, of whom they ſlew about foureſcore, and loſt of their owne, ten men: amongſt whom were *Ioannes* and *Manicrinus* two Knights, whoſe heads the Turks the next day ſet vpon two ſpears vpon their trenches, that they might be ſeene by the Chriſtians. G

The ſame day, they of the city of Melita at night made at one inſtant a number of fires, and as it were in triumph diſcharged great vollies of ſmall ſhot, with many other tokens of joy: which as well the beſieged as the Turks thought verily to haue beene done vpon diſcouery of the Chriſtian fleet, or els the landing of ſuch forces as were come to remoue the ſiege: whereas indeed it was neither, but done only to ſhew their cheereſulneſſe, and to keep the Turks in ſuſpence with the nouelty of the matter: who for all that were not ſlacke in their buſineſſe, but with earth filled vp the ditch at the caſtle bulwarke; wherby it came to paſſe that they could not be hurt by the flankers made in that place to ſcoure the ditch, but might thereby, as vpon plaine ground, without ſtay paſſe vnto the wall, now opened and ouerthrowne with their continuall battery, and with two great pieces (which they had planted vpon a high mount which they had newly caſt vp on the right hand the bulwarke Sauoire) they began to play vpon the caſtle, and at the firſt ſhot, ſhot into the loupe where *Franciſcus Caſtilia* commanded. *Ioannes Bernardus Bodiuctius* a Spaniſh knight was there ſlaine with a ſmal ſhot. The ſame day *Franciſcus Aquilates* a Spaniard, one of the garriſon ſoldiers, perſuaded by feare and hope (in dangers two euill counſellors) fled out of the town S. *Michael* to the enemy, perſuading the Turks Colonels to giue a freſh aſſault, aſſuring them that they ſhould without doubt win the towne, because there was but 400 ſoldiers left aliue in it, and they (as he ſaid) almoſt ſpent with labour and wounds, all the reſt being dead. Which the Turks hearing, and ſeeing faire breaches both in the wals of the new city and of the caſtle S. *Michael*, wide enough for carts to go through, they determined with all their forces to aſſault both places at once, and to proue if there were yet ſo much ſtrength left in thoſe holds as again to repulſe them: ſo the 7 day of Auguſt at one inſtant they aſſaulted the new city at the caſtle bulwark, & the caſtle S. *Michael* at the breach, with ſuch a multitude, that all the earth ſeemed to be couered with men round about. The thundring of the great ordnance, the noiſe of the ſmall ſhot, with the clattering of armour, and noiſe of trumpets, drums, and other warlike inſtruments, with the cry of men on both ſides was ſo confuſed and great, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue been confounded together. Which when the Knights in the city Melita heard, and ſaw the heauens obſcured with ſmoake, fearing that the Turks (as at the caſtle S. *Elmo*) would neuer giue ouer the aſſault vntill they had won both the towne and the caſtle; preſently all the garriſon horſemen iſſued out of the city, and to auert the Turks from the aſſault, ſet vpon thoſe Turks which lay at Aqua Martia: who all ſurpriſed with a ſudden feare, fled, the Chriſtian horſemen hardly purſuing them with bloudy execution, and they in their flight pittifully crying out vpon their fellowes for helpe. Wherebyit came to paſſe, that they which were aſſailing the city and caſtle, to reſcue their diſcomfited fellowes, were glad to giue ouer the aſſault: ſo with great ſlaughter foiled on both ſides by the Chriſtians, they returned to their trenches, when they had loſt about fifteene hundred at the aſſault, beſide them which were ſlaine in the chaſe by the horſemen of Melita. Of the defendants of both places were ſlaine aboue an hundred, and almoſt as many wounded. This fight endured about fiue houres. *Valetta* deliuered of ſo great a danger, that day and certaine others cauſed publike praiers to be made, and went himſelfe with the multitude of the citizens to the Church, to giue thanks to Almighty God for that victory. H I L

Aquilates a Spaniard flieth to the Turks.

The Turks at one time aſſault the new city and the caſtle S. Michael.

The garriſon ſoldiers of Melita ſallying out cauſe the Turks to giue ouer the aſſault at Saint Michaels.

Whilſt theſe things were in doing, *Garzias* the Viceroy was aduertiſed from Calabria, that certaine ſhips laded with men, victuall, and other prouiſion neceſſary for the wars, were comming from Conſtantinople to Malta: wherefore he forthwith ſent *Altamira* and *Gildandrada* two noblemen, with fiue gallies to meet them: who being come within thirty miles of Malta, met with no ſuch ſhips, but only one frigot and a galliot; the frigot they took, but the galliot eſcaped to the enemies fleet at Malta. M

Muſtapha the Turks General now thinking no man ſo ſtrong which might not with continuall labour and watching be wearied and ouercome, reſolued not to giue vnto the beſieged any time of reſt, but commanded his ſouldiers againe to aſſault the breach at the Caſtle of Saint *Michael*,

A *Michael*; where they were by the valour of the defendants, with no ſmall ſlaughter quickly repulſed: neither did the Baſſa giue ſo many aſſaults, for the hope he had to win thoſe places, but rather to perform the duty of a valiant Generall, and to ſatisfie *Solymans* pleaſure, who had expreſſely commanded, either to win that Iſland, or there all to loſe their liues. He alſo ſent a galliot in haſte with letters to *Solyman*, wherein he ſhewed him the ſtate of the fleet, with what difficulties the army was diſtreſſed, what ſmall hope there was of winning the places beſieged; how well the Chriſtians were prouided, with many other ſuch things.

Muſtapha ſendeth a meſſenger to Solyman.

In the meane time thoſe two gallies of Malta (which we haue before ſpoken of) departing from Meſſana, came to Syracuſa, where they ſtaied a day. The next day after, in going out of the hauen, they met with one of Malta in a ſmall boat comming from Pozalo ſore wounded: B he being demanded how he was ſo hurt; told them, That landing by night with his boat and one companion, he was requeſted by two Sicilians which dwelt there, to reſt there that night; which they doing, about midnight fiue Turks brake into the houſe vpon them, killed his companion, carried away the Sicilians, and he wounded as he was, hardly eſcaped by the benefit of the night: moreouer, he ſaid, That the Sicilians had told the Turks; that two gallies were come into that port, with ſouldiers and other warlike prouiſion bound for Malta. Whereby the knights perceiued, that their comming would be diſcouered vnto the enemy, and that it was a moſt dangerous thing, or rather impoſſible to get into the hauen of Malta, as they had before purpoſed: neuertheleſſe, to conduct *Salazar* with his little boat, they kept on their courſe. But as they were ſailing, they deſcried two gallies and one galliot going before them, who ſeeing C the gallies comming after them, made with all ſpeed to Malta: and were no doubt thoſe gallies, from whence thoſe fiue Turks came, which had done thoſe things which the wounded Maltaſe reported. For all that, theſe gallies kept on their courſe as far as Pozalo, from whence they certified the Viceroy by letters of all that had hapned: and not daring to put to ſea, the South wind blowing with a ſtiffe gale againſt them, they returned backe againe to Syracuſa, expecting their farther direction from the Viceroy. For which cauſe, they forthwith ſent one of the Knights to him to Meſſana; by whom they receiued anſwere, that they ſhould goe no farther, but to ſtay for the comming of the whole fleet, ready in ſhort time to paſſe ouer to Malta. But *Salazar* brought by the gallies to Pozalo, reſolued with his little boat to go on: and although the day he departed thence, the aire was troubled with great wind, thunder and rain, D yet the daies following prouing more calme, he in ſhort time arriued in the Iſland of Malta, and came in ſafety to the city Melita; and there diſguiſed himſelfe in Turkiſh apparell, and taking with him one companion who could ſpeake the Turkiſh language, by night got into the enemies camp: where diligently marking all things, they perceiued that there was in al the Turks army of land ſoldiers ſcarce 14000, and of them many wounded and ſicke; and that the reſt was but an vnſeruiceable and feeble multitude, for that the courſe of warres had (as commonly it doth) conſumed their beſt ſouldiers. When they had thus viewed the camp, they returned again to the city; from whence *Salazar* with one *Petrus Paccius* a Spaniard, a venturous and valiant man, went to a certaine place neere vnto the watch tower of Maleca: which when they had curiouſly viewed, *Paccius* was there left, that obſerueing the ſignes from the Iſland of E Gaulos and the city of Melita, he might giue knowledge of all things to the Viceroy at his approch, as he was by *Salazar* inſtructed. As for *Salazar* himſelfe, he in his little boat (which at his comming into the Iſle he had there left) happily returned to Meſſana, and there declared vnto the Viceroy all that he had ſeene: conſtantly affirming amongſt other things, That the Turks fleet was but weake, lame, and diſfurniſhed both of men and munition, far vnable to encounter with 10000 Chriſtians. About which time alſo, one of the two frigots which were before ſent to Malta, returned with another Spaniard, and a fugitiue from the Turks campe: and foure gallies before gone from Meſſana, were alſo come in with foureteene Turks taken about the Iſland of Malta, who all confirmed the ſame that was by *Salazar* reported: Which was, That the Turks army was with often aſſaults wonderfully weakened, both in F number and ſtrength; ſo that they could not with ſtripes be enforced to the aſſault, for which the Baſſa had with his owne hands ſlaine diuers of them: and that which more encreaſed their feare, they ſaw none of their men wounded, but that they died thereof: Beſides that, they ſaw the Chriſtians with inuincible courage to defend their ſtrong places, and not to ſpend one ſhot in vaine: Wherefore they were ſorry, and repented that they had euer tooke in hand that expe-

Salazar a Spaniſh Captaine as a ſpy entreth the Turks campe.

expedition; they detested such a war, shrinking as much as they could from the assault, and as they might steale quite away, which many of them did, specially such as had before abjured the Christian Faith. For which cause diligent watch and ward was kept, and commandement giuen by the great Bassa, that they should resolue with themselues either to win the towne, or there all to lay vp their bones, for that the great Sultan *Solyman* had so commanded, whom to gainesay, was in it selfe death. These and such other like persuasions, caused the Viceroy somwhat the sooner to thinke the bringing forth of the fleet of his besieged in the mean time did what men might for defence of the place and themselues. There was in the castle one *Franciscus Gauara* captain of the vauntgard, a noble and valiant gentleman, of a great conceit, he about ten foot from the towne wall, which the enemy had with their great ordnance beaten downe, caused a curtain to be drawn 50 foot long, & fiue foot thicke, with flankers at both ends; which in two nights was brought to perfection, and was afterwards a great help to the besieged. The enemy in the mean time began a mine vnder the corner of the towne ditch, where *Boningsegna* a Spaniard and a most valiant Knight had the charge: which the besieged perceiuing, by a countermine defeated the same. It hapned in the mean time, that as a fugitiue was swimming to the towne he was taken by the enemy, which much grieued the besieged, desirous to haue vnderstood something of the state of the enemies camp, and of their purposes. Now when the former mine had taken so euill successe, part of the Turks assailed the castle S. *Michael*, & part with gunpouder thought to haue blowne vp the castle bulwarke: but by the carefulnesse and courage of the defendants, all their attempts were disappointed; for many of the Turks were in both places slaine, and certaine bags of pouder taken from them in the mine. With these and other such difficulties, *Mustapha* and *Piall* the Turks Generals disappointed of their hope, consulted with the other great captains of the army, Whether they should their still continue that desperat siege, or depart? Where most were cleere of opinion, That it were best betime to depart. Yet for all that, the old Bassa said, He would there stay, vntill the galliot which he had before sent to Constantinople, were returned with answer from *Solyman*, and in the mean time both by force and policy to seeke after victory: which thing he oftner did, than stood with the broken estate of his army, or of the besieged; neither resting himselfe, nor suffering others to take rest: for one while he battered the wals, another while he wrought mines or els made bridges, somtime he cast vp mounts, and then again filled the ditches; and euer and anon gaue one assault or another. In all which doing he vsed such industry, that what soeuer he tooke in hand, was in short time brought to such perfection as might haue carried a stronger place, had not the valour of the defendants far exceeded all his strong and politicke deuises.

The Turkes mines defeated by the Christians.

It fortuned, that as *Robles* the Camp-master, and Gouernour of the castle S. *Michael*, was by night viewing the ruins of the wall, he was strucke in the head with a small shot, and slain; leauing behind him to his fellowes, the great desire of himselfe: for why, he was a man for many his good parts (wherewith he had many times stood the defendants in great stead) worthily beloued. In whose stead the Great master sent one of the Colonels that was with himselfe, a most expert and resolute captaine, to take charge of S. *Michaels* castle; who by his valiant care and prouidence so well discharged the charge committed vnto him, that as often as the Turks attempted the place, so often they were with losse repulsed.

Robles gouernor of the Castle of S. Michael, slaine.

The two gallies with the galliots, descried by the gallies of Malta (as we haue before said) told *Piall Bassa* the Admirall, that the Christian fleet was ready to come forth: wherefore he fearing the sudden comming therof, caused seuenty gallies to be in readinesse: besides which, forty others lay in the hauen Marza Moxet vnseruiceable, as wanting both men & other equipage; for that was spent in making bridges, mines, & other such things necessary for the siege: as for the men, they were part with sickenesse, and part with often assaults consumed. Wherefore *Piall* for certaine daies kept himselfe by day in the port Major neere the shore, and by night put forth to sea, expecting the comming of the fleet. But after long looking, when he saw no man appeare, he againe landed his souldiers: and because at land the Bassa began to want pouder, of euery thirty barrels of pouder in euery gally, he tooke out twenty, and of some twenty fiue, or according to that proportion. After which time, the Turks began with greater fury than at any time before, to batter the wals of both townes, especially with those great pieces which they call Basiliskes, whose shot of two hundred pound weight was seuen hands about; whereby the wals of the castle of S. *Michael* were beaten flat. And at the same time, the

the Bassa at the castle S. *Angelo*, had with continuall battery so shaken the castle bulwarke, that it was almost fallen quite downe. These breaches thus made, when the Turks saw both townes bared of wals and other defendants, and laid so open, that nothing seemed now to let them to look vpon their enemies, they made no longer stay, but the 18 day of August (the Sun being now at the highest) with all their power fiercely assaulted both the towns. Thrice they were repulsed, and still came on afresh; yet at length beaten downe on euery side with greater slaughter, they were glad shamefully to giue ouer the assault, and againe to retire to their trenches. In this most cruell fight (which endured fiue houres) the inuincible courage of the Great Master notably appeared, who armed with a pike in his hand, and dreadfull to behold, was still valiantly fighting in the face of the breach; whose presence encouraged not the souldiers only, but euen boies and women to fight: for so it is, that men are more moued with example, than with words. Yet of the great number of the Turks, part stood still in the towne ditch, and to saue themselues from the shot of the castle bulwarke, had with wonderfull celerity cast vp a defence of earth, fagots, and other like matter, which they did of purpose to approch and to vndermine the walls, and had therefore inclosed the space of fifteen elnes: which when the besieged perceiued, they bent certaine pieces of artillery vpon it, and slew many of them, and with fire consumed what was left. The next day the assault was at the same places by the enemy renewed, who by reason of his number of souldiers might easily send fresh men in stead of them which were wounded or weary: and first, after their wonted manner they battered both the townes all that day vntill night; afterwards the Moone arising, about midnight with a horrible cry they began a most terrible assault, which at the first much troubled the Christians, who yet still mindfull of their wonted valor, did so much with their weapons and fire-workes, that the enemy euill intreated, was glad after three houres fight to retire to his trenches. The same day a mine was by the defendants perceiued, at the castle bulwarke, wherein a hundred Turks there found, were almost all slaine, and the mine destroied. Yet for all this did not the enemy rest at all, but the next day seuen times assaulted the same breaches, vsing now not weapons only, but fire-workes also; wherewith *Besninsega* had his face so burnt, that he lost one of his eies. At the same time also, the Turks at a place called the Spurre, labouted mightily to haue gotten into the castle: where *Centius* a knight of an inuincible courage, got vp vpon the rampier, and with a pike couragiously thrust them down that were climing vp, and thrusting thorow one discouraged the rest; but was himself wounded in the arme with a small shot: yet when he had a little withdrawn himselfe to haue his wound bound vp, he came again to the rampier, and neuer departed from the fight, vntill he had (as a valiant conqueror) preserued the place. So the Turks with great slaughter on euery side repulsed, left the victory to the Christians, of whom were slaine almost an hundred, and most of them (as at other times) with shot: amongst whom were these most valiant Knights; at the castle *Angelo*, *Fragus*; at the castle of S. *Michael*, *Scipio Piatus*, *Ioh. Baptista Soderinus*, *Paulus Bomportius*, *Marius Fagianus*, *Ruffinus*, and certaine others, men worthy of longer life. The Turks had also at the same time wrought a mine at the castle S. Michael, which was at once both discouered and destroied.

The Turkes at once assault the towns S. Angelo and S. Michael, and are at both places repulsed.

Another assault.

With these so many & so great assaults, certain of the knights (and those not of the meanest sort) fearing lest that which was so often attempted by the enemy, should at length be effected; told the Great Master, That they thought it conuenient and necessary, to remoue all the records, al the pictures and reliques of the Saints, and other their religious things into the castle S. *Angelo*, there to be kept as in a place of more strength and assurance. The Great Master, although he well knew that they which thus said, spake it of a good mind, was for all that with that speech exceedingly moued: wherefore he shortly answered them, That so to do were nothing els but to appale and discourage the minds, not of the Maltæses only, who had hitherto valiantly behaued themselues, & don more than any man could haue hoped for; but also of the mercinary souldiers, if they should perceiue it: wherefore he was resolued, either together to keep all, or lose all: and because none should from henceforth repose any hope in the strength of the castle S. *Angelo*, he said he would bring all the garrison out of the castle into the towne, that there they might together with others withstand the enemy; & that he would leaue in the castle none but gunners, who should as need required shoot at the enemy: an answer truly well beseeming a man of his place, and to be to all posterity commended: for how can the soldier hope, which seeth his captain despaire? or aduenture, where the chieftain seemes to be strucke with

The resolute answer of the Great Master.

The Turks assault both the towns the fourth time.

with feare? Whileſt the Grand Maſter with this anſwer doth both aſhame them and alſo encourage their quailing minds; the Turks (that this day as the other three before ſhould not paſſe without aſſault) with the dawning of the day aſſailed the very ſame places with the greateſt fury poſſible, eſpecially at the ruines of the caſtle: where *San Romanus* an Auergnois, which had the charge of that place, loſt this ſhort and tranſitory life, winning thereby immortall fame: and at S. *Michaels*, *Adurnius* one of the knights, and *Fagio* with certain others, were grieuouſly wounded: for the enemy ſuddenly retiring from the aſſault, preſently ſo thundred into the breaches with their great and ſmall ſhot, that all the Iſland ſeemed to tremble, the heauens to burne, and the aire to be darkned with ſmoke. In the mean time *Valetta* thorowly wearied with the mornings fight, had withdrawne himſelfe a little to breath himſelfe: when ſuddenly a Spaniſh prieſt, with his hands caſt vp to heauen came running to him, roaring and crying out, That all was loſt and forlorne, and that three or foure enſignes of the enemies were by the caſtle breach broken into the towne. Which the Great Maſter hearing, ſuddenly clapt his helmet vpon his head, and with a pike in his hand, ſaid vnto them that were about him, *Loe fellow ſoldiers, the houre is come wherein you may ſhew your ſelues the moſt valiant Champions of the Chriſtian religion, if it be ſo, that you now alſo retaine the ſame valour which you haue in other battels ſhewed. There is no cauſe wherefore you ſhould doubt of this laſt, for the enemy is the ſame; and the ſame God which hath hitherto preſerued vs, will not now forſake vs: Wherefore follow me, valiant hearts.* This ſaid, he haſted to the place where moſt danger was, and with him all the ſouldiers, all the citiſens men & women, old and yong, yea, the very children, all againſt the common enemy. There was fought a moſt dreadfull and dangerous battell: ſome kept the enemy from entring, ſome ſet vpon thoſe that were already entred, whom they wounded, chaſed, and ſlew, although they notably reſiſted. Within, without, all was couered with weapons, darts, dead bodies, and bloud. The Great maſter was carefull of all, and in euery place preſent, commending, exhorting, directing, as occaſion required, performing at once all the duties of a moſt valiant ſoldier and worthy Generall. At length the Turks with the ſetting of the Sun retired, and ſo the aſſault ceaſed. Thus was the Great Maſter the vndoubted victor, but not without much bloud of his people, conſidering his ſmall number: for in this fight he loſt aboue 200 men, whereas of the enemies, beſide them which were entred, whereof not one eſcaped, were ſlaine aboue 2000. Theſe are thoſe foure terrible aſſaults, preſently giuen one after another vnto the beſieged.

The Turks enter the new city.

The comfortable ſpeech of the Great Maſter when the Turks were entred.

The Turks with great ſlaughter againe repulſed

Garzias the Viceroy in the mean time tarried for nothing els to tranſport his army to Malta, but for the comming of *Io. Cardona*, who with twelue gallies was gone to Panormo, to conduct thence foure ſhips laded with prouiſion: but when he ſaw him ſtay long, he ſent to him in poſt, That if he could not with ſuch ſpeed as was required tow forth thoſe ſhips, he ſhould ſpend no longer time, but take out the prouiſion into his gallies, and with ſpeed to come away. So the Viceroy with a fleet of 72 gallies the twentieth day of Auguſt ſet forward from Meſſana to Syracuſa, wherein he carried ten thouſand ſelect ſoldiers, amongſt whom were aboue two hundred Knights of the Order of S. *Iohn*, and aboue forty of the Order of S. *Stephen*, which is an Order of Knights inſtituted by *Coſmos Medices*, Duke of Florence, to the imitation of the Knights of Malta, in the yeare 1561, and haue their reſidence at Coſmopolis, a new built city in the Iſland of Elba in the Tuſcane ſea, ouer againſt Piombino. Beſides theſe Knights, in this fleet were diuers noble and valiant gentlemen of Italy, Sicily, and other countries. The fleet being arriued at Syracuſa, the Viceroy ſent *Auria* with one gally and a boat to Malta, to land a man, to know of *Paccius* (left, as we haue before ſaid, for a watch in the Iſland of Maleca) what newes, or what he had ſeene. By whom it was vnderſtood, That no ſhip was ſeen at ſea, but one galliot, which the one and twentieth day of Auguſt in the morning made towards Gaulos, and the ſame day towards night as he was informed by the watchmen of Maleca, ſixteene gallies came to water at Saline, but what became of them afterwards, by reaſon of the comming on of the night could not be deſcried.

In this while the beſieged had notably repaired the breach at the caſtle bulwarke, and had in ſundry places aptly placed certain great pieces to flanker the ditches, & to beat the mount caſt vp by the enemy at the bulwarke of Boninſegna, that they might from thence annoy all the plain of the caſtle with their ſmal ſhot. But the Turks hauing determined with all their forces at once to aſſault both the townes as before, brought an engine made of ſpars and boords, able to couer thirty men, vnder the breach at S. *Michaels*; whereby it came to paſſe, that none of the defen-

defendants could without danger ſhew themſelues in the breach: which when they could by no means endure, they ſuddenly ſallied out, and putting them to flight which were there couered, ſet fire on the engine and burnt it. In like manner, they which beſieged the new city, were repulſed at the caſtle breach, & another like engine burnt. The next night certain of the watch of the caſtle iſſued out, and hauing deſtroied the Turks engines prepared for the aſſailing of that place, and ſlaine them that were ſet for the keeping thereof, returned in ſafety into the caſtle. But when the enemies both that day and others following reſted not, but repairing their mines, mounts, and engines, laboured in both places to haue beaten the Chriſtians from the wals; all their endeuour and labour was by the induſtry and valor of the defendants made fruſtrate. The beſieged had at the caſtle breach made a mine, & laid in it eight barrels of pouder, that if the enemy ſhould againe aſſault that place, he might there be blowne vp: but whilſt the Turks were for like purpoſe working a mine in the ſame place, they chanced vpon the mine before made, which they ſpoiled, and carried away all the pouder. Thus whileſt they labour both on the one ſide and the other, *Muſtapha* the Generall, a moſt expert and famous commander, conſidering that Summer now ſo far ſpent, he was not to vſe longer delay; and withal, that reſolute perſeuerance oftentimes in war findeth out a way to victory; determined with all his power once againe to aſſault the caſtle S. *Michael*. Wherefore diſplaying the ſtately ſtanderd of the Turkiſh Emperor, vpon the point whereof was faſtened a globe of Gold, he commanded his ſouldiers to enter the breach; who now like deſperat men attempted to haue performed his command, and were by the Chriſtians valiantly encountred: ſo that in the breach was made a moſt terrible & doubtful fight. But when the Turks had now bin twice rejected & beaten downe, *Muſtapha* perceiuing his ſoldiers as men halfe diſcouraged, but ſaintly to maintain the aſſault, came himſelf to the places, praying and exhorting them not to be diſcouraged, but that day to confirme their former labors and victories; and not to ſuffer their vanquiſhed enemies to triumph ouer them: he told them that the enemy had now no defence left wherewith to couer himſelfe, that all was beaten down flat, and that there remained only a few weary and maimed bodies, which were not able long to indure the edge of their ſwords; that with ſuch reſolution they had before won the caſtle S. *Elmo*: laſt of all, he by promiſing to ſome mony, to ſome honor and preferment, threatning ſome, and requeſting others, incouraged ſome one way, ſome another, euery one according to his quality and diſpoſition: who moued either with their Generals preſence, promiſes, or threats, gaue a freſh and fierce aſſault. The fight was on both ſides terrible, yet at length the Turks were againe inforced to retire: for the defendants had caſt vp a rampier, wheron they had fitly placed two field pieces, wherwith they ſore troubled the enemy, and at the firſt ſhot ſtruck in ſunder one of thoſe woodden engines, which the enemy had made ſtronger than the reſt, couered with raw hides to keep it from burning, and rent in pieces forty ſouldiers which were vnder it: and the ſame night they which were in the other towne and the caſtle bulwarke, ſallying couragiouſly out, deſtroied all the enemies defences, and draue them from a mount which they had made vpon the fortifications of the Chriſtians: whereby they perceiued plainly, what ſmall courage the Turks had to fight, for vpon that mount they were almoſt 300, whereas of our men were but 25, with which ſmall number for all that, they had no mind to deale. The defendants had for like purpoſe as before, made another mine at the caſtle bulwarke, but perceiuing that it was in danger to be found by the enemy in repairing his fortifications without, they ſuddenly put fire vnto it, by force whereof threeſcore Turks which were within the danger of the place, were blowne vp and ſlaine.

A mine of the Chriſtian found by the Turks.

The Turks deſperately aſſault the Towne of S. Michael.

The Turks enforced to retire.

Garzias the Viceroy, in the mean while that theſe things were in doing, departing with his fleet from Syracuſa, with a proſperous wind kept on his courſe toward Pachynum, where they deſcried a tall ſhip at ſea, driuen thither (as was afterward knowne) by tempeſt: ſhee out of the Iſland Mening was carrying a great ſupply of ſhot and pouder vnto the Turks campe at Malta; but now ouertaken by the Chriſtian fleet, eaſily yeelded, and was by the Viceroy ſent by other mariners to Syracuſa. And now the Chriſtian fleet carried with a faire gale towards Malta, ſuddenly aroſe ſuch a tempeſt from the Eaſt, that they were driuen to the Iſland Æguſa, two hundred and twenty miles Weſt of Malta, from whence the firſt of September letters were brought from the Viceroy to the Great Maſter, certifying him, That he would in ſhort time come with his fleet and relieue him. The ſame day alſo a Chriſtian fled out of the Turks gallies, wherein he was captiue, to the city S. *Angelo*; who reported, That in the Turks camp were

The Chriſtian fleet driuen by tempeſt to the Iſland Æguſa.

were few men able to fight, most of the army being with wounds, famine, sickenesse, and other miseries brought to extreame weakenesse: and besides that, that infinit numbers of them died daily: yet for all that he said moreouer, that they were determined to besiege the city of Melita, and had already for that purpose mounted fiue great pieces of artillery for battery; and that they had but a few daies before taken twelue, and the last day of all fourteene horsmen of the garrison souldiers of that city. In the meane while the fleet which was driuen (as we said) to Ægusa, the rage of the sea being now well appeased, came to Drepanum, and from thence toward Gaulos, as was before intended: where by the way the two gallies of Malta light vpon two galliots, and tooke them.

The Christian fleet commeth to Gaulos.

The fifth day of September the Christian fleet came to Gaulos, where the Viceroy perceiuing not the appointed signes from Malta, whereby he might safely land, returned forthwith backe againe to Pozalo, whither *Auria* immediatly following him, told him, That he had seen the signes, and assured him of safe landing in the Island of Malta: wherewith the Viceroy encouraged, the next day towards night returned againe to Gaulos.

A fugitiue discouereth the enemies purposes to the Great Master.

The same day a Christian captiue fled from the Turks to S. *Angelo*, and told the Great master, That he was come to bring him good newes, how that the Turks had determined to proue their last fortune in assaulting the castle S. *Michael*, which they would do the next day: where if the successe were answerable to their desire, they would then tarry; but if not, then forthwith to be gone: and that *Mustapha* the more to encourage his souldiers, had promised fiue talents of gold to the ensigne bearers, that should first aduance their ensignes vpon the wals, and farther to promote them to greater places of honour; as for the rest, he would reward euery one of them according to their deserts, either with mony or preferment. *Valetta* thinking all these things to be by Gods appointment discouered vnto him by such men, as they had from time to time bin: first gaue thanks vnto Almighty God; and after that, with all diligence prepared such things as he thought most necessary for the repulsing of the enemy. But the Turks all that day with their great ordnance battered the new city, and the shipping in the hauen, in such sort that one of the great ships was there sunke.

The Viceroy arriueth at Malta, and landeth his forces.

In the morning *Garzias* the Viceroy with his fleet arriued at the Island of Malta, and there quickly and quietly landed his forces, and whilest his gallies watered at Gaulos, went forward with the army about halfe a mile, instructing the Generals and Colonels, what he thought needfull to be done, commanding all proclamations and commands to be made in the name of the King of Spaine, vntill they came to the Great master, and then in all things to obey him as their Soueraigne: and charged *Ascanius Cornia* the Generall, in all his actions to follow the counsell of the greater part. So in few words exhorting them to play the men, he left them marching towards Melita. About noone he retired to his gallies, and sailing Eastward, came with all his fleet within the sight of the city of Melita, about 3 miles distant from the South shore. They of the city vpon sight of the fleet, in token of joy discharged all the great artillery, which was answered from the fleet, by discharging all their great ordnance twice. After that, he returned as he had before determined into Sicilia, to take into his gallies the Duke of Vrbins companies, which were come to Messana, and certain bands of Spaniards at Syracusa, and so forthwith to return to Malta, to attend the departing of the Turks fleet, being now euill appointed, and already as good as halfe ouerthrowne.

The Turks, who (as is before said) had purposed to proue their last fortune vpon the towne of S. *Michael*, had now certaine daies before the comming of the fleet, begun to trusse vp their baggage: but as soon as they heard that the fleet was come, and the army landed, there suddenly arose a wonderfull tumultuous confusion amongst them: some cried, Arme, arme, and other some as fast to be gone: and being generally all afraid, euery one according to his disposition, betook himselfe to his weapons or to his heels, the greatest number thrust together into their trenches as neere as they could vnto the great ordnance; and so burning the engines and fortifications, with all the speed they could imbarked their great ordnance and baggage. Which they in the town of S. *Angelo* perceiuing, not expecting the commandement of the Great master in so sudden an opportunity, couragiously sallied out to Burmola, where certaine Turks kept a huge great piece of ordnance; who now hauing no mind to fight, betooke themselues to flight, and forsooke the piece; which they of the town presently drew within their wals: and if the new come forces had that day charged the enemy as they disorderly ran to their gallies, happily

A pily they had found an occasion of victory, or at leastwise taken from them the greatest part of their artillery. But it may be they followed the old military saying, That vnto the flying Enemy a man should make a bridge of siluer. Besides that, they thinking it not conuenient to depart from the prouision and things which they had brought for relieſe of the besieged, (which for the roughnes of the way and want of horses were hardly carried) would not prouoke the enemy with any skirmish: wherby it came to passe that the Turks without let imbarqued their great ordnance, their baggage, and most part of their army. The 11 of September, whilst the Turks fleet was brought out of the hauen Marza Moxet, a fugitiue of Genoa came in hast to the Great Master and told him, that 10000 Turks were marching toward Melita, to meet with the Christians vpon the way. Which thing the Great Master hearing, presently sent a B sufficient number of good soldiers to the castle S. *Elmo*, there to set vp one of the ensignes of the sacred Order: who comming thither, found 24 great pieces, some for battery, some for the field, which they could not in so great hast remoue thence.

The Turks forsake the siege.

The Turks fleet departing out of the hauen Marza Moxet to the port of S. *Paul*, there landed 7000 men, with *Mustapha* their General, who was falsly informed, that the Christians were not aboue 3000 strong: and from thence incouraged with the small number of the enemy (as they supposed) they marched directly toward Melita. The Christians also marching orderly and ready to giue battel, held on their way to meet them; and at the rising of a hil both armies meeting together they gaue a great shout, and withall the formost began the battell, where some few were at the first slain on both sides. But the Christians stil growing vpon C them both in number and strength, the Turks finding themselues ouercharged, fled, the Christians pursuing and killing them til they came to their gallies; where in striuing who should get first in, about 400 of them were drowned in the sea, besides 1800 slain in the battel at land. And had the Christian souldiers wel known the Country, they had slain them euery mothers son. The Turks thus driuen to their gallies, lay there in the hauen all the next day, and most part of the night following; but a little before day, vpon the shooting off of a great piece, the signe of their departure, they all hoised sail for Grecia, leauing the Island of Malta sore impouerished and wasted. In this siege the Turks lost about four and twenty thousand, wherof most part were of their best soldiers. And of the Christians were slain about 5000, besides two hundred and forty Knights of the Order, men of diuers Nations, but all worthy of eternal D fame; whose dead bodies the great Master caused to be honourably buried. The Turkes in their battery during the siege, spent as is truly accounted, threescore and eighteene thousand great shot.

The Turks ouerthrown by the Christians, departs frō Malta.

If a man do wel consider the difficulties and dangers the besieged passed thorow in these fiue months siege, the manifold labors and perils they indured in so many and so terrible Assaults; the smal relief to them sent in so great distres, with the desperate obstinacy of so puissant an enemy; he shall hardly find any place these many years more mightily impugned, or with greater valor and resolution defended. The late besieged, but now victorious prince, honorably acquited of so great an enemy, first commanded publique prayers with thanksgiuing to be made vnto the Giuer of all victory. After that, he rewarded the valiant, commended the E rest, and gaue thanks to all: he charitably relieued the sick and wounded, bewailed the spoyle of the Island, & carefully prouided for the repairing of the breaches and places battered: and yet in all this doing diligently inquired after the Enemies course and purpose, and was not in any thing remisse and secure, as in victory most men are. But because so great harmes could not without great helps in short time be repaired, and the returne of the proud Enemy not without cause the next year feared; he by letters to diuers great princes, and especially to the grand Priors of the Order in diuers countries, requested help: amongst whom *George* Grand Prior of Germany, and founder of the Castle of S. *Elmo*, was one of the chiefest. The copy of which letters, because they briefly contain what wee haue before in this history at large written, I haue thought good here to set down, that the same may in such order be read, as it was F by the Great Master himself reported.

The great Master's care.

G

Brother *Valetta*, Master of the Hospitall of Ierusalem, to the reuerend and religious our welbeloued brother in Christ, *George* of Hohenheim, called *Bombast*, Prior of our Priory in Almainie, greeting.

The letters of the great master to the grãd prior of Almaine, concerning the manner of the Turks proceedings in the siege of Malta.

ALthough we doubt not but that by the letters and relation of many, you already vnderstand of the comming of the Turks to inuade these Ilands, or rather viterly to subuert our Societie: And the happily and heauenly victory by vs obtained of it: yet if the same things shal by our letters also be brought vnto you, we haue thought the same will be vnto you a thing much more pleasing. For seeing that we are certainly persuaded, that you in this no lesse happy than wholsome successe will giue most hearty thanks to Almightie God, and that the fruit of this good shall most of all redound vnto you, for the honour which you beare in our Order, we haue willingly determined to participate this our ioy with you, and plainely and openly to protest, That we attribute this so notable and wonderfull a victorie to our Lord Christ Iesus, the greatest King of all Kings, and author of all good things. Which that you may the more worthily and willingly do, we will declare the whole matter, not at large (for that were to write an History) but briefly and in few words. Sultan Solyman *the most mortall enemy of the Christian name, and especially of our Society, not contented to haue spoiled vs of the famous Island of the Rhodes, the castle of Tripolis, and almost whatsoeuer we had else; commanded a great and strong fleet to be made ready against vs; which departing from Constantinople the one and twentieth day of March, arriued here the eighteenth day of May: Which fleet consisted of almost two hundred and fifty gallies, galliots, and other ships. The number of the enemy that bare armes, according to the truth, was about forty thousand more or lesse: Generall of the land forces, was* Mustapha Bassa; *and of the fleet,* Piall Bassa *was Admirall: who hauing spent a few daies in landing their forces, viewing the places, pitching their tents, and setting things in order (as the maner of war is) they began first to assaile the castle of S.* Elmo *(scituat in the mouth of the hauen) with great force and a most furious battery. Which when they had many daies don without intermission, and had opened a great part of the wall, and with all kind of weapons assaulted the breach: yet was it by the valour and prowesse of our Knights, and other worthy souldiers, kept and defended by the space of thirty fiue daies, with the great losse and slaughter of the enemy: although the castle it selfe, in the iudgement of many, seemed not possible to be but a few daies defended against so great a force. At length the foure & twentieth day of Iune, when our men could no longer endure the multitude and fury of the enemy, enuironed and shut vp both by sea and land, and destitute of all help, the castle was taken by the Turks; those few of our men which were left, being all slaine. Of which victorie they being proud, began to besiege the castle and towne of S.* Michael, *and this new city, especially at the castle and Portingall Bulwarke: and (as their manner is) with great diligence and greater force and number of great Artillery and warlike engines, they began in diuers places at once to batter and beat downe the wals. Which siege, the dreadfull army of the Turks by sea and land, made to be most fearfull and terrible, with such huge great Ordnance, as the like for bignes and force was in no place to be seene; day and night thundring out their yron and stone shot, fiue and seuen hands about, wherewith not the thickest wals, but euen the very mountains themselues might haue bin beaten down and ouerthrowne: by fury whereof, the wals in many places were so battered, that a man might easily haue entred as on plain ground. Where, when the barbarous enemies had with wonderfull force and hideous outcries oftentimes attempted to enter, so often were they with great slaughter and dishonor repulsed and beaten back, many of their men slaine or wounded. Their Generals, as well at sea as land, after that they had in so many places, with all their forces in almost foure moneths siege and assault, with exceeding fury in vain attempted the breaches, and lost the greatest part of their old souldiers, especially Winter now comming on, wherein all warres by law of nations ought to cease; thought of nothing else but of departure, or rather of flight: which the comming of* Garzias *of Toledo, Viceroy of Sicilia, and Admirall of the King of Spaine his fleet, with ten thousand select souldiers (amongst whom was at the left two hundred and fourteene of our Knights, and many other noble and valiant Gentlemen; which only with a Christian zeale, voluntarily met together from diuers parts of the World to help and reliene vs) caused them to hasten. So haue you summarily and in few words, the proceedings and flight of the Turks fleet, and the victory by vs (by the power of God) therof obtained. It shall be your part to consider and coniecture, in what state our Order and this Island now standeth, into what poor estate we are brought, how many things wee want; wherin except we be relieued by the help and aid of our brethren, especially such as you are, as wee well hope, and assuredly beleeue we shall, our State will quickly take end. Farewell.*

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From Malta the ninth of October, 1565.

The great Master thus deliuered of so great a siege, and bountifully relieued by the Christian Princes, and the great Commanders of his Order, speedily repaired the breaches & places battered, and with new fortifications strengthned those places as he had by the late passed dangers perceiued to be most subiect to the enemies force.

A After the return of the Turks fleet to Constantinople, *Solyman* being exceeding angry with the gouernor of the Island of Chios his tributary, as wel for that he had during the late siege of Malta had intelligence with the great Master, and reuealed vnto him many of the Turkes designes; as also for detaining of two years tribute, which was 20000 ducats; and had also neglected to send his wonted presents to the great Bassa's, who therefore the more insenced the Tyrant; commanded *Pial Bassa* his Admiral to make ready his fleet, and by force or policy to take that fruitful & pleasant Island into his own hand. Who without delay with a fleet of 80 galliots the 15 of April, *An.* 1566, being then Easter day, arriued at Chios. The chiefe men of the Island vpon sight of the fleet, forthwith sent Embassadors to the Bassa with Presents, courteously offering vnto him the hauen, and whatsoeuer else he should require. *Pial* 1566

B with kindnes accepted their offer, and presently possessed himselfe of the hauen in three places: and afterwards landing, sent for the Gouernour of the City and twelue of the chiefe Citisens to come to him, as if he had some speciall matter to confer with them about from the great Sultan, before his departure thence for Malta or Italy. Who hauing a little conferd together, went to him with great feare; and that not without cause; for as soone as they were come before him, he commanded them to be laid hold vpon & cast fast into yrons: which don, the souldiers forthwith took the towne hall, and without resistance pulling down the townes ensigne (wherein was the picture of S. *George* with a red Crosse) in stead thereof set vp one of the Turks: the like whereof was done with great reioycing of the Turks, through the whole Island. After that, they rifled the Churches, and again consecrated them after their Mahometan manner. The Gouernour of the City, and the Senators, with their families, the Bassa sent in fine ships to Constantinople: as for the vulgar people, they were at choice, either there to tarry still, or depart, as best stood with their liking. And so the Bassa, when he had there placed a new Gouernour, one of the Turks, with a strong garrison, and set vp the Mahometane superstition in that most fertile Island, departed thence for Italy: where sailing alongst the coast of Apulia, he did exceeding much harm in burning and destroying the country villages, and carrying away of the poore people into captiuity; and so returned.

The Island of Chios taken by the Turks.

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At this time the kingdome of Hungary was most miserably rent in pieces by the lieutenants and captains of *Solyman* and *Maximilian* the Emperour, and *John* the Vayuod of Transiluania *Solymans* vassall: who grieued with the harmes done vnto him by the Emperours Captaines, whereof himselfe was the cause, and vainly hoping to haue obtained at *Solymans* hands the greatest part of the kingdome of Hungary, as had somtime king *Iohn*, ceased not continually to solicite him to come himselfe in person to make a full conquest of the reliques of Hungary, yet holden by the Emperour and some of the Hungarian Nobility: and flattering himselfe in that vain hope, called himselfe the king of Hungary: and increasing his strength by letters vnto the Nobility and Burgesses of the city of Hungary, summoned them, as if it had bin by the appointment of *Solyman* his great Patron, that they should all the ninth of March meet together at Thorda, to determine with him of matters concerning their common good. Which thing as soon as *Lazarus Suendi* the Emperours lieutenant vnderstood, he forthwith by other letters countermined those of the Vayuods; persuading the Hungarians not to listen to the charmes of the Vayuod and Turk, tending to their destruction, but rather to yeeld their obedience to *Maximilian* the Christian emperor, whose purpose was by the ayd of the Christian princes to protect & preserue them in peace: and hereby it came to passe, that the remainders of this sore shaken kingdom, diuided into factions, and diuersly caried, according to their affection, some to one side, some to the other, began afresh to work one anothers

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confusion,

The Turks surprise townes in Hungary.

confusion, which fitly serued the Turks to incroach more and more vpon them: Who at the same time surprised the towne of Ainatsch (the captaine whereof, with certain of the garrison soldiers being gon about their busines to Agria) & put to the sword all them that they found in the town. They thought also to haue taken the strong town of Sigeth, but were by the valiant County *Nicholaus Serenus* gouernor therof, couragiously encountred, and after foure hours hard fight ouerthrown and put to flight. Not long after, they ranged vp and down the country, and set in booties as far as Iula and Rab, and did the countrey people much harme. For which cause *Maximilian* the Emperor about the later end of May brake vp the assembly of the Empire then holden at Augusta, and began carefully to prouide all things needfull for the war: appointing his captains for the raising of such forces in Germany, as were but a little before granted vnto him by the Princes and States of the Empire, in their late assembly; but went himselfe to Vienna. For it was told him (as the truth was) that *Solyman* now in his extreme age was with a mighty army set forward from Constantinople, and marching through Bulgaria and Seruia, was come directly to Belgrade, where *Iohn* the Vayuod of Transiluania met him, and kissing his hand, had commended himself and all his state vnto his protection. At which time *Suendi* the Emperours lieutenant laid hard siege to the towne of Husth in the borders of Transiluania. The Bassa of Buda at the same time on the other side, by commandment of *Solyman*, with 8000 Turks and 25 pieces of great Ordnance besieging Palotta (a strong towne about eight miles from Rab) had with continuall battery by the space of eight dayes brought the same into great danger, although it was valiantly defended by *George Thuriger*. But hearing of the approch of *George* County of Helffenstein, sent by the Emperor with certain companies of Germans to relieue the same, he rose in such hast from the siege, that he left certain of his great Ordnance and a great part of his baggage behind him, and retyred towards Alba Regalis. The County hauing relieued the towne, caused the breaches to be forthwith repayred, and with a new supply strengthned the old garrison. Thus was a most lamentable war at once begun in diuers places of Hungary. After that, the County of Helffenstein, strengthned by the comming of the County *Salma* with certain companies from Rab, departed from Palotta, and came to Vesprinium, a city about two miles off, then holden by the Turks: which city he tooke by force the last of Iune; and left not a Turke aliue therein, because that they a few dayes before had cruelly slain certain Christians whom they had taken prisoners. So leauing strong garrisons both in Vesprinium and Palotta, they returned to Rab. Shortly after, the County *Salma* laid siege to Tatta a strong town, otherwise called Doris, betwixt Rab and Comara, which at length he took by assault the 28 of Iuly, and slew al the Turks except fifty, who flying into one of the towers of the castle, yeelded vpon composition; among whom was the late gouernor of Vesprinium, and the gouernor of this place, with the Bassa of Buda his nigh kinsman, who were all presently sent prisoners to Vienna. So the County following the course of his victory (the terror of his former good fortune running before him into the Turks strongest holds) was on his way to haue besieged Gestes a town neer Palotta; when the Turks there in garrison, vpon the first sight of his army left all and fled out at the farther side of the town to Strigonium. After whose example other of the Turks Garrisons in Witha, Tschokiku, and Sambok, castles therabout, set fire on that they could not carry, and followed their fellows to Strigonium also. The Emperor vnderstanding of the good succes of his captaines, caused publique prayers with thanksgiuing to almighty God to be made in all the churches therabouts.

Great troubles in Hungary.

The good succes of the emperors captains.

County *Serinus*, Gouernour of the strong town of Sigeth and the countrey thereabout, certainly aduertised of the comming of *Solyman*, sent *Casparus Alapianus* and *Nicolas Cobach*, two of his Captaines, with a thousand footmen and 500 horse, to lie in wait for the forerunners of the Turks Army; who drawing neer vnto the place where these Turkes lay, not farre from Quinque Ecclesiæ, suddenly in the shutting in of the next day set vpon them, when they doubted no such matter, and put them in such fear that they disorderly fled, some one way, some another, and were most of them slain or wounded by the Hungarians in their flight. *Haly Beg* one of the Turks great Sanzacks, and leader of that Company, sore wounded, and seeking to saue himselfe by flight in the marishes, there perished. His son and many other notable men amongst the Turkes, were taken and carried prisoners vnto Sigeth. The spoyle the Hungarians there took was exceeding great; for besides plate and coyne, whereof they found

found good store, they took eight camels, fiue mules, sixty horses, and six carts laden with all maner of spoil, and many garments of great price; wherin the gentlemen attyred, returned to Sigeth in great brauery, with two fair red ensignes of the enemy.

Maximilian the Emperour long before aduertised of *Solymans* purpose for the conquest of the remainder of Hungary; to withstand so mighty an enemy, had beside the forces raised in his own dominions, procured great aid both of the states of the empire and other Christian Princes, which about this time met together at Rab. First there repaired thither four legions of German footmen, and vpwards of 20000 horsemen, with 4000 Hungarians. The duke of Sauoy sent thither 400 Argoletiers, and many noble gentlemen out of diuers parts of Europ resorted thither, to serue the Emperour in those Wars of their owne charge; especially the Knights of Malta: and out of Italy *Prosper Columna* and *Angelus Cæsius*. Out of France, *Guise* the grand Prior, *Brissack*, and *Lansack*; who but a little before were going to Malta, of purpose to haue serued there, if the Turks fleet had come thither again, as it was reported it would: but vnderstanding that it came not, returned directly into Hungary, with certain Knights of the Order. Many also of the Princes and free Cities of Italy declared their good wil toward the Emperor in this War; some sending him men, as did *Cosmus Medices* Duke of Florence, who sent thither of his own charge three thousand footmen. Some mony, as Mantua, Genoa, and Luca. Thither came also *Alphonsus* Duke of Ferrara with a gallant company of Noble Gentlemen and other his followers. Beside which land forces, the Emperour had also prouided vpon the riuer of Danubius twelue Gallies, and thirty other ships for burthen, so made, as that the men could not be hurt by the Turks arrows. Wherin were imbarqued three thousand souldiers; most part Italians, vnder the conduct of *Philippus Flachius* a Germane and one of the Knights of Malta, who was afterwards receiued into the number of the Princes of the Empire.

Solyman comming to the riuer Dranus, commanded a bridge to be made ouer that great riuer, and the deep fens on the farther side of the riuer toward Sigeth, for the transporting of his army; a work of such difficulty, that being thrice vnfortunately begun, it was again giuen ouer as a thing almost impossible. Wherwith *Solyman* was so mooued, that in his rage he swore to hang vp the great Bassa that had the charge of that work, if he did not with as much speed as were possible bring it to perfection. Wherupon the work was again begun, all the boats that were to be found in the riuer taken vp, & timber for the purpose brought from far for the making of that bridge. In this work were imploied not the vulgar people only, in the Countrey which was tributary to the Turks, but the gentlemen themselues also were by the imperious Turk (now commanding for his life) inforced to lay their fingers to work day and night without ceasing, vntil the bridge (which before was thought scarse possible to haue bin made) was by the restlesse industry and labor of such a multitude of men, in the space of ten daies perfected. Wherein the seuerity the barbarous Tyrant vseth toward his subiects is worth the noting; wherby he extorteth from them more than is almost possible for men to perform: so that it is not to be maruelled that he hath so good succes in whatsoeuer he taketh in hand. Ouer this bridge (a mile in length) passed *Solyman*, and incamped at a place called Mohatcz, where he staied certain daies vntil his Army was all come ouer. The last of Iuly, ninety thousand Turks (the vantgard of *Solymans* Army) came before Sigeth, and incamped within a mile of the Town. After whom shortly after followed an hundred thousand more out of *Solymans* camp; of whom many approching the town, were slain with great shot out of the Castle. The rest for all that quickly incamped themselues as neer vnto the town as they could, and began the siege.

The Turkes with much labor make a bridge ouer the riuer Dranus.

The Turks incamp before Sigeth.

The town of Sigeth is strongly scituate in a marish on the North side of Dranus, vpon the frontiers of Dalmatia, commanding all the country round about, which of it takes name; and was at that time a strong bulwark against the Turks, for entring farther into the countrey that way toward Styria. In this town was gouernor *Nicolaus Serinus*, commonly called the County, a valiant man and a mortal enemy of the Turks, with a garison of 2300 good soldiers: who seeing the hugy army of the Turks, called together the Captaines of the Garrison with the chief of the Citizens into the Castle; where standing in the midst of them he spake to them as followeth:

Serinus his resolute and comfortable speech.

You see (said he) *how we are on euery side beset with the multitude of our enemies, wherin rests their chief hope. But let not vs be therof afraid or discouraged, for that victory dependeth not of a confused multitude of heartlesse men, but of the power of God, who hath by a few at his pleasure oft times ouercome the mighty armies of the proud; and will not in the midst of these dangers now forsake vs, if we putting our trust and confidence in him, doe what beseemeth valiant and couragious men. Besides that, our iust cause, with the strength of the place we hold, our own valour, and the help of our friends, who I assure myself will not fail vs at our need, counteruaileth their confused multitude, forced together by their imperious commanders out of far countries, and whatsoeuer els the Tyrant hath brought with him into the field. Wherfore let vs all as becommeth valiant men, for the truth of our Religion, and the honor of our prince and country, liue and die together: knowing whatsoeuer befall, that to a life so lost, beside neuer-dying fame, belongeth a most assured hope of ioy and felicity. As for my self, I am resolued (as I hope you are also) that as I am a Christian, and free born, so will I by the grace of God, in the same faith and freedome end my daies. Neither shall the proud Turk, so long as I am able to hold vp this hand, haue euer power to command ouer me, or the ground whereon I stand.* G H

This said, he first took himself a solemn oath to perform what he had promised, & persuaded the rest to take the like. Which don, euery man returned to the place of his charge.

Solyman comes to the camp at Sigeth.

The fift of August *Solyman* incamped within a mile of the Town, and the next day after came himself into the camp; at whose comming the great Ordnance and small shot so thundred out of the Turks camp, as if heauen and earth should haue gon together; the Turks after their wonted maner crying aloud, their *Alla, Alla, Alla*: and the Christians answering them with the name of Iesus. The seuenth of August the Turks cast vp a great mount, and theron planted certain great pieces of ordnance. The next day following they began most terribly to batter the new town in three places, and with incredible labor cast vp a mount in the midst of the marsh, as it were in the town ditch; from whence they the next day with certain pieces of great artillery day & night battered the inner castle of the town without any intermission, and did great harm both to the castle and defendants. The County perceiuing the new City to be now so laid open with the fury of the Turks battery, as that it was not possible to be defended, caused his soldiers to set it all on fire, and to retyre into the old. The tenth of August the Turks furiously battered the old town in three places, and brought their ordnance into the new town, and with timber, earth and rubbish made a bridge, the more commodiously to go ouer the marish. For the speedier accomplishment wherof, all the Turkes were compelled to lay to their hands, and to carry wood, fagots, earth, and such like things without ceasing. There might a man haue seen all the fields ful of camels, horses, and of the Turks themselues, like emmets, carrying wood, earth, stones, or one thing or other to fill vp the marish. So was there with wonderful labor two plain waies made thorow the deepe fen, from the town to the castle: where the Ianizaries, defended from the great shot with sacks of Wooll and such like things, did with the multitude of their small shot so ouerwhelme the defendants, that they could not against those places without manifest danger shew themselues vpon the wals. So that what by their vigilant industry, and the fury of their great artillery, the Turks (although not without great losse) by force entred the old town the 19 of August, vsing in their victory such celerity, that they slew many of the most valiant defendants before they could recouer the safegard of the castle. Both the towns thus lost, and so many worthy men slain, not without cause brought great heauines vpon the rest which were in the castle with the county. The Turks possessed of the old Town, the next day planted their battery against the castle in foure places, and with fagots, rubbish, and earth, made two plain ways to it, still filling vp the marsh; and hauing with continual battery made it faultable, the 29 of August they began fiercely to assail the breaches: but when they had lost many of their men, and don what they could, they were inforced with shame to retyre. In this assault, among many other of their best soldiers, was lost one of their great Bassa's also.

The defendants burne the new town. I K

The Turks win the old town. L

Solyman dieth of the bloudy flix.

Whilst these things were in doing, *Solyman* far spent with years, and distempered with his long trauel, fel sick of a loosnes of his belly, and the better to recouer his health, retyred himself (the siege yet continuing) to Quinque Ecclesiæ a City neer to Sigeth, where shortly after he died of the bloudy flix the fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord God 1566, when he had liued 76 years, and therof reigned six and forty. He was of stature tall, of feature slender, M

A slender, long necked, his colour pale and wan, his nose long and hooked, of nature ambitious and bountifull, more faithfull of his word and promise than were for most part the Mahometan Kings his progenitors; wanting nothing worthy of so great an empire, but that wherin all happines is contained, Faith in Christ Iesus. *Muhamet* the Vizier Bassa (who all commaunded in *Solymans* absence) fearing the insolencie of the Ianizaries, and lest some tumult should arise in the camp, if his death should be known, concealed it by all meanes; and to be sure of them that were of all others best able to make certaine report thereof, caused his Physitians and Apothecaries to be secretly strangled; and by a trusty messenger sent in post, certified *Selymus* (*Solymans* eldest son, and his father in law, then lying at Magnesia) of the death of his father; willing him in hast to repair to Constantinople, to take possession of the Empire: and B that don, forthwith to come to the army in Hungary. But this could not be so secretly done, but that the Ianizaries began to suspect the matter: which *Muhamet Bassa* quickly perceiuing, caused the dead body of *Solyman* in his wonted apparel to be btought into his tent, sitting vpright in his horse litter, as if he had bin sick of the gout his wonted disease; & so shewing him to the Ianizaries, both deceiued and contented them, and so the siege went forward.

The great Bulwark vnder-mined and fired by the Ianizaries.

The Ianizaries hauing in the last assault lost many of their fellowes, began now to vnder-mine the greatest bulwark of the castle, from which the defendants with their great ordnance did most annoy them: wherin they vsed such diligence, that the fift of September they with gunpouder and other light matter prouided for that purpose, had set all the bulwarke on a light fire; and by that means possest therof, with all their force assailed the bulwark next vnto C the castle gate, from whence they were with great slaughter twice repulsed by the County. But the raging fire stil increasing, he was inforced with those which were yet left aliue, to retyre into the inner castle, wherin was but two great pieces, and 14 others of small force. Thus the Turks stil preuailing, and taking one place after another, the 7 of September they furiously assaulted the little Castle, wherinto they cast such abundance of fire that in short time it caught hold of the buildings, and set all on fire. The county thus assailed by the enemy without, and worse distrest with the fire within, which stil increasing, left no place for him in safety to retyre to, went into his chamber, where putting on a rich new suit of apparel, came presently out again with his sword and target in his hand; and finding his soldiers with cheerful countenance & their weapons in their hands attending his comming, spake vnto them these D few his last words: *The hard fortune of this sinful king dom hath together with our own ouertaken vs; but let vs, noble hearts, with patience endure whatsoeuer is to vs by God assigned. You know what we haue before promised, which hitherto God be thanked we haue accordingly performed, and now let vs with like resolution perform this last. The place you see is not longer to be kept, the deuouring fire groweth so still vpon vs, and we in number are but few. Wherfore let vs as becommeth valiant men break out into the vtter castle, there to die in the midst of our enemies, to liue afterwards with God for euer: I will be the first that will go out, follow you me like men.* This said, with his sword and target in his hand, without any other armor, calling thrice vpon the name of Iesus, hee issued out at the Castle gate, with the rest following him: where valiantly fighting with the Ianizaries vpon the bridge, and hauing slain some of them, he was first wounded in two places of his body with a small shot, and E at last strook in the head with an vnlucky shot, fell downe dead: the Turks for joy crying out their wonted word *Alla*. The rest of the soldiers in flying back again into the Castle, were all slain by the Turks, except some few, whom some of the Ianizaries in regard of their valour, by putting their caps vpon their heads saued from the fury of the rest. In this siege the Turks (as themselues reported) lost 7000 Ianizaries, and 28000 other soldiers, beside many voluntary men not inrolled in their muster books, and three of their great Bassa's. *Serinus* his head was presently cut off, and the next day, with the heads of the other slain Christians, set vpon poles for all the army to gaze vpon. After that, it was taken down, and by *Muhamet* the great Bassa sent to *Mustapha* the Bassa of Buda his kinsman; who by two country men sent it wrapped in a red scarf couered with a fair linnen cloth, to County *Salma* in the Emperours camp at Rab, F with this taunting letter thus directed;

Serinus slain.

Serinus head sent to County Salma.

Muhamet Bassa to *Eccius Salma*, Greeting.

In token of my loue, behold here I send thee the head of a most resolute and valiant Captain thy friend who

the remainder of his body I haue honestly buried as became such a man. Sigeth bids thee farwel for euer. G

The death of this noble and valiant Captaine was much lamented of all the Christian Army, and his head with many tears by his son *Balthasar* honorably buried among his Ancestors in Tschacaturna his own castle. *Solyman* at his comming with this mighty Army into Hungary, had purposed before his return, if he had not bin by death preuented, to haue conquered both the remainder of the kingdom of Hungary, and to haue again attempted the winning of Vienna. For the accomplishing of which his designes, he at his first comming sent *Parthaum Bassa* with forty thousand Turkes to helpe the Bassa of Temesware and the Tartars, in the behalf of the Vayuod to besiege the strong town of Gyula, scituat vpon the lake Zarkad, in the confines of Transylvania; not far from whence *Suendi* had but the August before ouerthrown the Tartars, called in by *Solyman* for the aid of the Vayuod, and slaine of them ten thousand. H And at the same time he sent *Mustapha Bassa* of Bosna, and *Carambeius* with a great power to Alba-Regalis; who joining with the Bassa of Buda, should keep the Emperour *Maximilian* busie, whilst he in the mean time besieged Sigeth, as is before declared. *Parthaum Bassa* comming to Gyula, and laying hard siege to the town, was stil notably repulsed by *Nicolas Keretschen* Gouernor of the town: insomuch, that in a sally he had certain pieces of his great Ordnance taken from him by the defendants, and the rest cloied. But this braue Captaine, not to haue bin constrained by all that the Bassa could do, was at last persuaded by his kinsman *George Bebicus* (from whom *Suendi* had but a little before taken certain Castles, for reuolting from the Emperor to the Vayuod) for a great sum of mony to deliuer vp the town to the Bassa. I Which he did, couenanting besides his reward, that the soldiers should with bag and baggage in safety depart. All which was frankly granted: who were not gon past a mile out of the town, but they were set vpon by the Turks, and all slain except some few which crept into the reeds growing in the marish fast by, and so escaped. The Traitor himself expecting his reward, was caried in bonds to Constantinople: where afterward vpon complaint made, how hardly he had vsed certain Turks whom he had somtime taken prisoners, he was by the commandement of *Selymus*, who succeeded *Solyman*, thrust into an hogshead stuck full of nailes with the points inward; with this inscription vpon it, *Here receiue the reward of thy auarice and treason. Gyula thou soldest for gold: if thou be not faithfull to* Maximilian *thy Lord, neither wilt thou be to me.* And so the hogshead closed fast vp, he was therin rolled vp and down vntill he miserably died. K

The gouernour of Gyula betrays the town to the Turks.

A traitor well rewarded.

The Emperors Camp then lying at Rab, & the Bassa of Buda and Bosna with thirty thousand Turks not far off at Alba-Regalis, and many hot skirmishes passing between them; it fortuned that the fift of September, the Turkes in hope to haue don some great piece of seruice vpon the Christians, came forth of the camp in great number, and by chance light vpon a few forragers of the Army, of whom they slew some: the rest flying raised an alarm in the Camp. Wherupon the Hungarians and Burgundians with some others issuing out, pursuing the Turks, slew diuers of them. In which pursuit *George Thuriger* descrying the Gouernor of Alba-Regalis, a man in great account, and very inward with *Solyman* whilst hee liued, fiercely pursued him in the midst of the flying enemies, and neuer left him til he had taken him prisoner: and at his return presenting him to the Emperour, was for that good seruice knighted, and rewarded with a chain of gold. There was by chance then present a Spaniard, who had heard him say openly at Constantinople, That he alone with his own power was able to vanquish the Germane King (by which name the Turks commonly term the Emperor.) With which words when that the Spaniard hardly charged him in the presence of the Emperor, stil vrging him as it were to say something for himselfe: the Turke straitway answereed him in these few words following; *Such is the chance of Warre, thou seest me now a prisoner, and able to do nothing.* L

The gouernour of Alba Regalis taken.

All these troubles, with many more like in short time to haue insued, were by the death of *Solyman* within a while after wel appeased. *Muhamet* Bassa after that hee had repaired the M breaches, and placed a Turk Gouernour of Sigeth, with a strong garrison for defence of the place, and commanding of the Country, called back the dispersed forces, and rising with the Army, retyred towards Belgrade, carrying *Solymans* dead body all the way sitting vpright

The Turks Army returne with olymans dead body to Belgrade.

right in his horse-litter caried by mules; giuing it out that he was sick of the gout. Which thing the Ianizaries easily beleeued, knowing that he had bin many years so carried: yet still wishing his presence, as alwaies to them fortunat, although he were able to do nothing.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Solyman,	*Emperours of Germany*		*Charles the fifth,*	1519. 39
			Ferdinand,	1558. 7
			Maximilian the second,	1565. 12
	Kings	*Of England*	*Henry the eight,*	1509. 38
			Edward the sixt,	1546. 6
			Queen Mary,	1553. 5
			Queen Elizabeth,	1558. 44
		Of France	*Francis the first,*	1514. 32
			Henry the second,	1547. 12
			Francis the second,	1559. 1
			Charles the ninth,	1560. 14
		Of Scotland	*James the fifth,*	1514. 29
			Queen Mary,	1543. 20
	Bishops of Rome		*Leo the X,*	1513. 8
			Hadrian the VI,	1522. 1
			Clement the VII,	1523. 10
			Paulus the III,	1534. 15
			Iulius the III,	1550. 5
			Marcellus the II,	1555. 22 dayes.
			Paulus the IV,	1555. 4
			Pius the IV,	1560. 5
			Pius the V,	1566. 6

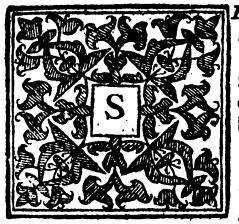
Dissimilis patri, Selymus regalia Sceptra
Corripit, & dira contutit armamanu.
Fœdus cum Venetis frangit (Quid fœdera prosunt?)
Armataque manu Cypria regna rapit.
Instruit tumidum numerosis classibus Aquor:
Vt Naupactiacas nobilitaret aquas.
Moldavum fœda mulctauit morte Dynasten:
Et magni fines protulit imperij.
Obruit Hispanos multitudine: Punica regna
Destruit: & regna addit illa suis.
Sed nimis in venerem pronus, vinoque sepultus,
Extremum properat præcipitare diem.

RIC. KNOLLEVS.

Vnlike his father, *Selymus* the royal Sceptre takes,
And shaking arms with cruell hand, exceeding stirs he makes,
With Venice State his league he breaks (With Turks what league can stand?)
And Cyprus kingdom takes from them by force of mighty hand.
He couered the swelling seas with fugy fleets to see;
That vanquished, vnto those seas he might an honor be.
The Vayuod of Moldavia he brought to wofull end,
The borders of his kingdom great so that he might extend.
In Gulet he the Spaniards ouerwhelm'd with mighty power;
And therby Tunes kingdom did the self same time deuour.
But wholly giuen to Venery, vnto excesse and play,
He posteth on before his time to hast his fatall day.

THE

THE LIFE OF *SELYMVS*, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, FIFT EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS.



C *Elymus*, the only son of *Solyman* then left aliue, by letters from *Muhamet Bassa* vnderstanding of the death of his father, hasted from Cutai, a City of Galatia not far from Ancyra, toward Constantinople; & comming to Scutari, was from thence by *Bostanges Bassa* of the court, conducted ouer the streit to Constantinople; where by him and *Scander Bassa* (*Selymus* his son in law, and then *Solymans* Vicegerent) he was conueyed into the Imperiall palace the 23 of September, *An.* 1566; and there possessed of his fathers seat, was by the Ianizaries there present saluted Emperor. He was about the age of 42 years when he began to reigne, a man of an vnconstant and hasty disposition, wholly giuen to wantonnes and excess; so that he neuer went to Wars himself, but performed them altogether by his lieutenants, contrary to the charge of *Selymus* his grandfather, giuen by him to his father *Solyman*, wherof he was neuer vnmindful. The next D day he came abroad and shewed himself in his majesty; and in the temple of Sophia, after the maner of the Turkish superstition, caused solemn prayers and sacrifices to be made for his father: which don, he gaue to the Ianizaries a largesse of 100000 Sultanines, with promise to augment their wages. And all things being in readinesse for his intended journy, he with a goodly retinue set forward from Constantinople the 27 of September; and the 20 of October a little from Belgrade met the Army comming from Sigeth, gallantly marching vnder their Ensignes, with the dead body of *Solyman*, whom the soldiers generally supposed to haue bin yet liuing, but troubled with the gout, to keep his horse-litter, as his maner was to trauell. *Selimus* alighting, came in his mourning attyre to the horse-litter, looked vpon the dead body of his father, kissed it and wept ouer it, as did all the great Bassa's also. And that the death of E *Solyman* might then be made known to all men, the ensignes were presently let fal and trailed vpon the ground, a dead march sounded, and heauy silence commanded to be kept thorow all the camp. Shortly after, *Selymus* was with great applause of the whole Army proclaimed emperor, his ensignes aduanced, and euery one of the great commanders of the Army in their degree admitted to kisse his hand. So marching forward, he returned again to Constantinople the 22 of Nouember: but thinking to enter his palace (commonly called the Seraglio) he was by the discontented Ianizaries but now come from the Wars, prohibited so to do; they with great insolencie demanding of him a greater donatiue, together with the confirmation both of their antient and new priuiledges, before they would suffer him to enter. Against which their great presumption, the Vizier Bassa's together with the Aga opposing themselues, and F seeking by all means to appease them, were by them fouly intreated, and wel rapped about the pates with the stocks of their caliuers: but especially the two great Bassa's, *Muhamet* and *Partau*, as the chief authors that their lord had dealt no more liberally with them. With which so sudden and vnexpected a mutiny of his best souldiers *Selymus* not a little troubled, and calling

Selymus saluted Emperor of the Turks in the yeare, 1556.

ling vnto him the Aga or captain of the Ianizaries, demanded of him the cause therof. Who G
with tears trickling down his cheeks for grief, told him it was for mony. Which by *Selymus*
now promised vnto them, together with the confirmation of their liberties, and the Aga with
fair words and heauy countenance most earnestly intreating them, not to blemish the reputa-
tion of their wonted loyalty with so foul a disorder, not to oppose the life of him their louing
captain vnto the heauy displeasure of their angry Sultan; and further assuring them, that hee
would not fail them in the least of his promises, but content them to the ful of their desires;
the mutiny was at length appeased, the insolent Ianizaries again quieted, & *Selymus* into the
Seraglio receiued. Howbeit *Muhamet* chief of the Vizier Bassa's, for certain dayes after went
not out of his palace, neither came as he was wont into the Divano, but kept himself close, for
fear of some greater mischief from them. This tumult thus ouerpassed, and all again wel pa-
Selymus buried. cified, *Selymus* with all roial solemnity buried his father, in a chappel which he after the man- H
ner of the Mahometan kings had in his life time most stately built, with a colledge & an ho-
spital. Where fast by his side is to be seen the tomb of *Roxolana* his best beloued wife, and of
certain others his murthered children: and by him hangs his scimiter, a token that he died in
wars; an honor not otherwise granted to the Mahometan princes. The reuenues arising of the
country about Sigeth, of late won from the Christians, at his death were giuen to maintaine
the houses by him built of deuotion, which for the magnificence therof exceed al the rest be-
fore built by the Mahometan Kings and Emperours, except those of *Mahomet* the Great, and
Bajazet the second. It was by many thought, that *Solyman* was in good time by death cut off, as
purposing that year to haue wintred in Hungary, and the year following to haue done great I
matters against the Christians both by sea and land.

1567 This great army of the Turks thus drawn out of Hungary by the death of *Solyman*, in some
part assuaged, but altogether appeased not the endlesse troubles of that vnfortunat kingdom.
Troubles in Hungary. *Maximilian* the emperor on the one side, and *Iohn* the Vayuod of Transylvania with the Turks
captains on the other, rending it in pieces, as if they had sworne the destruction thereof. The
Vayuod desiring to recouer the strong castle of Tocay in the frontiers of his Countrey, but
lately taken from him by *Suendi* the Emperors lieutenant, laid hard siege to it, & had brought
it to great extremity, although it was notably defended by *Iames Raminger* the Captain ther-
of when suddenly news was brought vnto him, That the Tartars (whom he had called into his
country to haue aided him against the Emperour, did with all hostility after their barbarous K
maner, burn and destroy his Country before them, making hauock of all things, so that the
country people were glad in defence of themselues to take vp arms against them. Whereupon
he forthwith left the siege, and went to aid his distressed subiects against the Tartars. With
whom he had many a hot skirmish, and after much bloudshed at last ouercame them, & with
much ado rid himself of such bad guests. Now in the mean time, *Suendi* strengthned with
new supplies sent vnto him from the Emperour, had taken the castle of Zackmar in the bor-
ders of Transylvania, and with like good succes had the castle of Muncatz yeelded vnto him,
and after that besieged the town of Husth: so that the Vayuod was glad to craue aid of the
Turkish Emperor *Selymus*, vnder whose protection he was. Who presently commanded *Partau*
one of his chief Bassa's, and then his great Lieutenant in Romania, to go with his Forces L
into Transylvania to relieue them. But hearing that Embassadors were comming from *Maxi-*
milian the Emperor, he called him back again, vntil he had heard the effect of that embassage.
At which time also the Bassa of Buda inclining to peace, sent Presents vnto the Emperour,
requesting him to remooue certain of the Hungarian Captains from off the frontiers, lest
haply they should interrupt the treaty of peace, then on both sides purposed, promising for
his part to punish all such Turks with death, as should make any further inuasion, or raise any
new troubles. He writ letters also to County *Salma*, That hee could not but maruell, to what
end *Maximilian* the Emperor was about to intreat with his lord and master of peace, whilest
Suendi in the mean time was raging in Transylvania, then vnder the Turks protection; which
if he proceeded stil to do, *Selymus* would therof take occasion (as he said) to turn all his forces M
that way. Wherfore hee requested him to persuade the Emperour to take some more easie
course in that behalf. Promising also, That he would for his part effectually trauel with his
Master to haue better liking of peace than of wars, wishing him also to do the like. Which
thing

A thing as soone as the Emperour vnderstood, he commanded *Suendi* to giue ouer the siege of
Husth, and to keepe himself quiet vntill he might by his Embassadors vnderstand what the
Great Turke purposed, and how he was affected towards peace.

Now indeed these two great Princes, *Maximilian* and *Selymus* (although they notably dis- *Maximilian & Selymus both desirous of peace*
sembled the matter) were both of them in heart desirous of peace, and that for diuers great and
vrgent considerations. *Maximilian* for want of mony saw it was not possible for him to send in-
to the field such an army the next yeare as he had the yeare before. And *Selymus*, beside his
other troubles, was to take order for the appeasing of a great & dangerous rebellion in the fur-
thest part of his dominions in Arabia Fœlix; where the people rising vp in armes, and hauing
slain the Bassa's and Sanzacks their gouernors, were ready to haue cast off the Turkish obedi-
B ence: neither was he out of feare of the Persians, ready (as was reported) to make warre vpon
him. For which causes he wished rather for peace with the Emperour *Maximilian*, than wars:
and so much the more, for that it was impossible for him to send an army of any puissance in-
to Hungary, for want of many necessary prouisions for the maintenance there, in a country so
much impouerished by reason of his late wars, wherin no victuals were to be found for the re-
liefe of such a multitude of men as he was to send, if he would do any good there. And truth
it was (as the Turks themselues afterward reported) that *Maximilian* with halfe the power he
had in field the last yere, might haue easily recouered the greatest part of that kingdom before
lost: but well knowing his own wants, and ignorant of theirs, he altogether enclining to peace;
and by County *Salma* aduertised from the Bassa of Buda, That if he would send Embassadors
C to Constantinople, with the tribute wont to be there paid for Hungary, a peace vpon reasona-
ble conditions might be easily obtained; he resolued vpon that point. And so certain messen-
gers being sent vp and downe to Constantinople to the same effect, it was concluded, That if
the Emperor would send Embassadors to Constantinople with the tribute yet behind, and a
large commission for the treaty of peace, *Selymus* should giue them his safe conduct, with li-
berty at their pleasure to returne in case either of peace or war. Which agreed vpon and faith-
fully promised on both sides, *Selymus* set at liberty the lord *Albert de Vuis*, who six yeres Lieger
in Constantinople, first for the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and after for *Maximilian*, had now beene
streitly imprisoned in his owne house by the space of 22 moneths, in such sort that neither he
nor any of his houshold could go abroad, watch and ward being kept both day & night about
D his house, and his windowes also boorded vp, to the end that he should not so much as looke
out into the city or any whither else more than the court of his house only. So the Emperour
Maximilian now resolued to send Embassadors to Constantinople with the tribute mony and
diuers other rich gifts & Presents, as well to the Great Turke himself, as the Visier Bassa's his
Counsellors: and considering with himselfe, whom to be most fit, with wisedome and honor
to bring this so weighty a matter about, hauing to do with so barbarous, couetous, and migh-
ty a people, made choice of the lord *Anthonius Varantius* of Agria (of his Counsell for the
kingdome of Hungary) a Prelat of great estimation, who being a man of 63 yeares old, beside
his great learning, had the experience of 27 Embassages; wherin he alwaies so discreetly bare
himselfe, as well contented his Prince, and purchased vnto himselfe the reputation of a most
E graue & wise man: and about ten yeres before this Embassage, being sent by the Emperor *Fer-*
dinand Embassador to *Solyman*, and now by *Maximilian* to *Selymus* at Constantinople, returning
with good successe, was by the Emperor created a Prince of the Empire, and Bishop of Agria.
Vnto which so honorable a personage, hauing the charge of this so weighty a matter, the Em-
peror the more to ennoble this embassage, as also to purchase the greater credit to his embas-
sador, joyned vnto him a most honorable Baron called the lord *Christopher Teufenbatch* of Sti-
ria, one of his Counsellors also for the warres: who with full instructions both taking their
leaue of the Emperor (then holding a Parliament at Presburgh) departed, and being attended *Maximilian the Emperor sendeth Embassadors to Selymus.*
vpon with a great and honourable Retinue, set forward the first of Iuly 1567, and so came to
Comara a strong town in Hungary not past a league from the Turks frontiers. In which place
F the Embassadors staying vntill the seuenth of Iuly; in the meane time gaue knowledge of
their comming vnto the Gouernour of Strigonium, demanding for their security in the ene-
mies country, to be met and receiued by some of his garrison: which granted, they tooke
their barks brought from Vienna and Possonium, sufficient for their greatnesse to haue carri-
ed them downe the riuer to Belgrade, with horse and waggon and their whole furniture: and

so

so entring vpon the Turks dominion about a league or a little more from Comara, being so far wasted by the soldiers and gallies of Comara, they were met by an Aga of the Turks, with a Chiaus called *Becram* (sent by the Bassa of Buda) in certain gallies armed with Turkish soldiers. To whom the Embassador at his landing deliuered his mind, and afterward his person, giuing them to vnderstand, that they were with all safety to conduct both him and all his to the Bassa of Buda: which they answered they were ready to accomplish; and courteously inuited by the Embassadours, they came aboord their barke, and there dined together. Here they that were sent with them, leauing them in the hands of the Turks, hauing licence to depart, returned to Comara: and they that day after fiue leagues sailing arriued at Strigonium, where they were by the Gouernor of the city denied landing: for which so dishonourable a part he was afterward sharpely rebuked by the Bassa of Buda. Yet as they lay that night vpon the water, certain Turkish minstrels, to do them honour and to get a largesse, with their barbarous bawling instruments plaied them vp many a homely fit of mirth: and diuers others with sundry sorts of vauting and tumbling, sometime leaping one vpon anothers shoulders, and sometime doing their trickes on the earth, all the euening shewed them great sport and pastime. From Strigonium they with fiue leagues sailing came to Buda, leauing behind them the castle of Vicegrade, two leagues distant from Strigonium. In this city of Buda lieth the great Bassa by whom all Hungary, with the prouinces thereto belonging (in the Turks power) is gouerned. This city, sometime the regall seat of the Hungarian Kings, is scituate vpon a little hill on the South side of Danubius, hauing in the South point thereof a castle, much higher than the city, and of a most braue prospect: in which castle lieth a captain with a garrison of fiue hundred souldiers (as the Turks say) howbeit it is thought that they are not altogether so many: it is the losse of his head to stir out of his charge; and beside, he hath commission to deny the Bassa himselfe entrance, vnlesse he come very slightly accompanied: so jealous are the Turks of that castle, as if the state of Hungary depended thereon. Herein standeth the kings palace, which taketh vp most part of the place, greatly beautified by *Matthias*, and shewing outwardly to haue bin a very stately thing: for there are in it both large halls and faire galleries, and chambers built in most royall manner; where amongst other roomes, the Embassadors found a decaied Library full of pictures and Latine titles of bookes: all which things when they present themselues to the eies of the Christian beholders, offer a just consideration of noble and reuerend antiquity, and withall, strike into their hearts a certaine compassion joyned with horror, to see the renowned glory of so many great Kings all wasted and brought to nothing. The next morning the Embassadors went to speake with the Bassa: whose house was reasonable faire (considering their guise and custome, not much delighting in the beauty of their priuat buildings) scituat vpon the riuer side at the bottome of a hill whereon the city standeth. Vnto this Bassa the Embassadors presented two great gilt cups, a clocke all curiously wrought in gold, and a thousand dollars: which Present the Bassa receiued in his Diuano (being a large hall) where he sate with his counsellors, officers, and other Turks in their places and order; some on his right hand, and some on his left, all richly attired in garments of silke of diuers colours and fashions, reaching downe to their anckles after their manner: their heads couered with their passing white and well made turbants: in which assembly nothing being then to be seene but goodly order and graue silence, they seemed to the strange beholders so many counsellors of exceeding grauity and reputation. Round about the Hall wherein the Embassadours had audience, were many seats couered with Turky carpets; the rest of the roome being all vacant. The Bassa in a place more apparant than the rest, sitting in great majesty: before whom was set two little chaires, on which (after he had stood vp a while and embraced the Embassadors) he caused them both to sit downe. Whose speech deliuered in the Italian tongue, after they had discharged themselues of the Emperors letters and greetings, was to this effect, *viz.* That his Imperiall Majesty (for the common benefit of their subjects in Hungary) requested him to continue in his good purpose and dealing for peace: and further, to giue safe conduct vnto them his Embassadours with their retinue, vntill they were come vnto the Turks court, where they were to intreat and conclude a peace, to the ending of all troubles, and the publique benefit of their subjects in generall. Which speech with cheerefull and friendly countenance ended, many of the Embassadors followers were admitted to kisse the Bassa's hand, accounted no small fauour amongst those Barbarians. The Interpreter

The Embassadors come to Buda.

Presents giuen by the emperors Embassadours vnto the Bassa of Buda.

A pretor of these things was a Iew of Padua, who declared all, that was spoken, in the Turkish language vnto the Bassa, and in the Italian vnto the Embassadors. And although (if it had bin their pleasure) they might haue told their mind each to other in the Crouatian tongue without an Interpreter; yet the Bassa standing more vpon his reputation, & for some other respects beside, would haue the matter propounded and likewise answered in the Turkish. In which sort they also conferred continually afterward with the Bassa's at Constantinople, vnles it were in some particular and priuat talke of smal importance, or els in some point beside the matter; for then the Interpreter spake in the Crouatian or Sclauonian tongue, which is familiar to most of the Turks, but especially to the men of war. Before this hall where the Embassadors were entertained by the Bassa, in the base court stood all the Ianizaries in goodly array, and his B slaues with their red zarcul on their heads, and other souldiers with high and long plumes of feathers standing vpright: all which made a beautifull shew, & gaue all great grace to the Bassa's court. These men stir not one foot in their standings, and if the consultation do last foure houres long, so long are they to continue standing without mouing. The Embassadors hauing staied two daies at Buda, were by the Bassa dismissed, sending with them his Checai (the Steward or gouernor of his house) a man of great reputation, and *Becram* the Chiaus, the same that came to meet them at Comara, with a sufficient guard & certain Ianizaries, sent for their more safe trauelling, and to prouide for them from place to place, of all things necessary for their diet, as also for their horses, at the Turks charges. And thus accompanied, they imbarqued the tenth day of the aforesaid moneth, towed vp the Turks gallies, which holpen by the swiftnesse C of the riuer, carried them downe in eight daies to Belgrade, where they arriued the eighteenth of Iuly. So hauing staid at Belgrade, & there leauing their boats, and taking their coaches, they set forward by land the twentieth of the said moneth, and with great paines trauelling thorow Rascia, Bulgaria, and Thracia, and passing a part of the great mountain Scardus, and after that, the mountain Rhodope, so by the way of Philippopolis and Hadrianople, the two and twentieth of August gathered fast vpon Constantinople: where many of the Spahies and Chiausais of the court, with a number of the Ianizaries and other souldiers, for their greater honour came to meet them a great way without the city. By whom the Embassadors honourably mounted on horsebacke, were by them conducted to their lodging appointed for them about the midst of the city; where the Lord *Albert de Vuis* the Emperours Embassador Leiger (not long before inlarged) hauing long looked for their comming, now most joyfully receiued them. It D was then Fryday the Turks Sabath, and a day of them aboue all other daies in the weeke regarded, and about ten of the clocke two houres before noone; at which time the Embassadors were no sooner alighted, but that *Selymus* going to heare the ceremonies of his religion, in the Moschy of his father *Solyman* (as his manner was somtime to do) passed along before the gate where the Embassadors lay, with the whole traine of his Court; and peraduenture somewhat more than ordinary, to shew the magnificence of his power and state, to the end that the Embassadors (aboue the former opinion by them conceiued) might hold him in the reputation of a most puissant and mighty Monarch. He passing by, vouchsafed not once to giue them a regard, or so much as to cast his eie aside vpon them, although they were strangers, and but euen E then arriued: but with a countenance as if he had knowne not so much as any thing of their comming, held on his way as it lay. But *Muhamet* the chief Visier Bassa, with the other Bassa's and great Courtiers, in most gracious manner as they passed by cast their eies vpon them; all the courtesie they could then shew them. Six daies after, being the eight and twentieth of August, the Embassadors all three went to visit and salute *Muhamet* (or as the Turks call him *Mehemet*) the chiefe Visier Bassa, as the maner was, presenting him from the Emperor, with foure cups of siluer all guilt, of most faire and curious workemanship; of which, two of them being greater than the other, were three spans high, the two other being not so high by a span, but hauing in them two thousand duckats of gold: beside which, they gaue him also a clocke, being a most curious piece of worke, and all ouer double gilt. After which greetings and presents de- F liuered beside the contents of his Majesties letters, they declared vnto him in generall points, the cause of their comming, and the mind of the Emperor well disposed to a peace; and what great benefit would arise thereby to both parties: and lastly turning ouer the blame of the late wars, and laying the fault thereof to the charge of others, sweetned thereby the sowre of their former dealings. Neither was the Bassa likewise for his part to seeke of good words, but answered

The Emperours embassadors honourably receiued by the Turks at Constantinople.

Presents giuen by the Emperors Embassadors to the great Bassa's.

swered them in Turkish by the mouth of *Hibraim* the chiefe Dragoman, who deliuered his mind to them in Latine or Italian, according as the Embassadours had before vttered theirs: which parley so ended, certain of the chiefe of the Embassadors followers were admitted into the Diuano to kisse the proud Bassa's hand. The same day the Embassadors also saluted *Partau* the second Bassa, and *Ferrat* the third in order and authority. To *Partau* they presented two cups of siluer all gilt, beside a clocke of the same making with the afore named, and two thousand dollars: and the like to *Ferrat*. The next day they went to visit the other three Bassa's, *Achomat*, *Piall*, and *Muhamet*, presenting euery one of them with two faire cups and a thousand dollars. These were the six Visier Bassa's to *Selymus*, then lying at court with him, men that for wealth and authority went before all other in the Turkish empire, as in the course of this History may appeare. And so hauing visited them in generall, the Embassadors to set their affaires on foot, the fourth of September closed with *Muhamet*, to whom the ordering of Estate-matters was especially committed. Yet after this first conference, because it was necessary before so weighty affaires were broached, first to do the Turke reuerence, and to deliuer the presents, with the Emperors letters to him written; for some few daies there was not any point at all of the Embassadors businesse handled.

Selymus not long after the Embassadors were arriued, went out for his disport and pleasure on hunting: so that in the mean time, after the presents were giuen to the Bassa's, matters stood still altogether vnaduanced, vntill the 21 of September: and that day (*Selymus* being now returned from his disport) it was appointed that the Embassadors should haue audience at the Court. Whereupon they made choice out of their followers, of those that should attend vpon them, which were not in all aboue twelue persons: for they to whom this charge was committed, said it was neither the manner, nor yet meet, that any great traine should come before so great a Prince, and that they might not bring with them aboue that number: whereupon they appointed but six apiece to attend them; and of fifteen cups of siluer and gilt, being most curiously and cunningly engrauen, one of the fairest among the rest was giuen to each of those twelue to carry, and they ordered to go by two and two before the rest, that came after in order with the rest of the Presents; which was two exceeding pretious clocks, like in bignesse to them before giuen to the Bassa's, but far aboue them in value; & 45000 dollars for the tribute behind and yet vnpaied. The greatest of those cups was six spans and a halfe, and the least two spans in height: some of them being double cups, after the high Dutch manner. The Embassadors (whose comming a great multitude of the Ianizaries attended below at the gate of their lodging (beside many of the Spahi's and Chiausi's, and others of good sort (which were come to honor them with their presence to the palace) putting themselues in readinesse betimes in the morning, and taking horse set forward toward the court. The formost were they that did beare the presents in their hands, the people of the city in euery street flocking together in exceeding multitudes to behold them as they passed: and verily there had beene seldome times seene the like embassage in those parts: for besides the fame that was blowne abroad in euery quarter, That they were men sent from one of the greatest Princes in Christendome; the diuersity of their attire (so few as they were) more than any thing beside, did represent the Majesty of the Christian Emperor to them that gazed vpon his Embassadors and their traine, the people conceiuing thereby, that he was lord and ruler ouer many prouinces and countries. For they that were Hungarians belonging to the Bishop of Agria (the chief embassador) being attired in long & sober garments of very fine purple cloath, hauing their shooes pieced ouer the soles with yron plates, and halfe their heads shauen, seemed to differ from them but little: but on the other side, the high Dutch attired in black, with their veluet caps, and short cloaks laied with siluer lace, & long breeches little lesse than Rutter wise, and chaines of gold about their necks, appeared very strange & vncouth to the Turkish people: so accompanied in this honorable wise, the embassadors entred the first gate of the great Turks palace. This gate is built of marble in most sumptuous maner, & of a stately hight, with certain words of their language in the front therof ingrauen and gilt in marble. So passing thorow the base court, which hath on the right side very faire gardens, & on the left, diuers buildings seruing for other offices, with a little Moschy, they came to the second gate, where al such as came in riding, must of necessity alight: there so soon as they were entred in at the second gate, they came into a very large square court, with buildings & galleries round about it, the kitchins standing on the right hand, with other

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The Emperours embassadors honorably conducted by the Turks vnto the Court.

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The second gate.

other lodgings for such as belonged to the court, and on the left hand likewise roomes deputed to like seruices. There are moreouer many halls and other roomes for resort, where they sit in counsel, handling and executing the publike affaires either of the court or of the empire, with other matters, where the Bassa's and other officers assemble together. Entring in at this second gate in one part of the court, which seem'd rather some large street, they saw the whole company of the Solaches set in a goodly ranke, which are archers keeping alwaies neere vnto the person of the great Turke, & seruing as his footmen when he rideth: they vse high plumes of feathers, which are set bolt vpright ouer their foreheads. In another place there stood the Capitzi in like array, with black staues of Indian canes in their hands: they are the porters and warders of the gates of the palace, not much differing in their attire from the Ianizaries; who stood in ranke likewise in another quarter. And besides all those, with many more that were out of order, as well of the court as of the common people, those Knights of the court which accompanied the embassadors thither, with other great ones also of like degree, were marshalled all in their seueral companies. And among the rest, the Mutfaracha's, men of all nations and all religions (for their valour the only freemen which liue at their owne liberty in the Turkish empire) stood there apparelled in damaske, veluet, and cloath of gold, and garments of silke of sundry kinds and colours: their pompe was great, and the greater, for the turbants that they wore vpon their heads, being as white as whitenes it selfe, made a most braue and goodly shew well worth the beholding. In briefe, whether they were to be considered all at once, or in particular, as well for the order that they kept, as for their sumptuous presence, altogether without noise or rumor; they made the Embassadors and the rest of their followers there present, eye-witnesses both of their obedience, and of the great state and royalty of the *Othoman* court. Passing through them, the Embassadors were led into the hall, where the Bassa's & other great men of the court were all ready to giue them entertainment: they of their traine being at the same time brought into a roome that stood apart vnder one of the aforesaid lodgings all hung with Turky carpets. Soone after (as their vse and maner is) they brought in their dinner, couering the ground with table-cloathes of a great length spred vpon carpets, and afterward scattering vpon them a maruelous number of wooden spoons, with so great store of bread, as if they had bin to feed 300 persons: then they set on meat in order, which was serued in 42 great platters of earth, full of rice pottage of three or foure kinds, differing one from another, some of them seasoned with hony, and of the colour of hony; some with soure milke, and white of colour; and some with sugar: they had fritters also, which were made of like batter, and mutton beside, or rather a dainty and toothsome morsell of an old sodden Ewe. The table (if there had any such bin) thus furnished, the guests without any ceremony of washing, sate downe on the ground (for stooles there were none) and fell to their victuall, and dranke out of great earthen dishes, water prepared with sugar, which kind of drinke they call Zerbet. But so hauing made a short repast, they were no sooner risen vp, but certain young men, whom they call Giamoglans, with others that stood round about them, snatcht it hastily vp as their fees, and like greedy harpies rauened it downe in a moment. The Embassadors in the meane time dined in the hall with the Bassa's. And after dinner certain of the Capitzies were sent for the twelue of the embassadors followers, before appointed to do the great Sultan reuerence: by whom (their Presents being already conueied away) they were remoued out of the place where they dined, and brought on into an vnder roome, from whence there was an ascent into the hall, where the Bassa's were staying for the Embassadors: who soone after came forth, and for their ease sat them downe vpon the benches, whilest the Bassa's went in to *Selymus*; who before this time had made an end of dinner, and was remoued in all his royalty, into one of his chambers, expecting the comming of the Embassadors. All things now in readinesse, and the Embassadors sent for, they set forward with their traine, and came to the third gate, which leadeth into the priuy palace of the Turkish Emperor, where none but himselfe, his eunuchs, & the yong pages his minions, being in the Eunuchs custody, hath continuall abiding: into which inward part of the palace none entreth but the Capitzi Bassa (who hath the keeping of this third gate) & the Cesigniers (that serue in the Turks meat) with the Bassa's and some few other great men; and that only when they haue occasion so to do by reason of some great busines, or sent for by the Sultan. Being entred in at this gate, which is of a stately and royall building, the Capitzi by whom they were conducted suddenly caused them to stay, & set them one from another about

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The third gate.

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And besides all those, with many more that were out of order, as well of the court as of the common people, those Knights of the court which accompanied the embassadors thither, with other great ones also of like degree, were marshalled all in their seueral companies. And among the rest, the Mutsaracha's, men of all nations and all religions (for their valour the only freemen which liue at their owne liberty in the Turkish empire) stood there apparelled in damaske, veluet, and cloath of gold, and garments of silke of sundry kinds and colours: their pompe was great, and the greater, for the turbants that they wore vpon their heads, being as white as whitenes it selfe, made a most braue and goodly shew well worth the beholding. 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Soone after (as their vse and maner is) they brought in their dinner, couering the ground with table-cloathes of a great length spred vpon carpets, and afterward scattering vpon them a maruelous number of wooden spoons, with so great store of bread, as if they had bin to feed 300 persons: then they set on meat in order, which was serued in 42 great platers of earth, full of rice pottage of three or foure kinds, differing one from another, some of them seasoned with hony, and of the colour of hony; some with soure milke, and white of colour; and some with sugar: they had fritters also, which were made of like batter, and mutton beside, or rather a dainty and toothsome morsell of an old sodden Ewe. The table (if there had any such bin) thus furnished, the guests without any ceremony of washing, sate downe on the ground (for stooles there were none) and fell to their victuall, and dranke out of great earthen dishes, water prepared with sugar, which kind of drinke they call Zerbet. But so hauing made a short repast, they were no sooner risen vp, but certain young men, whom they call Giamoglans, with others that stood round about them, snatcht it hastily vp as their fees, and like greedy harpies rauened it downe in a moment. The Embassadors in the meane time dined in the hall with the Bassa's. And after dinner certain of the Capitzies were sent for the twelue of the embassadors followers, before appointed to do the great Sultan reuerence: by whom (their Presents being already conueied away) they were remoued out of the place where they dined, and brought on into an vnder roome, from whence there was an ascent into the hall, where the Bassa's were staying for the Embassadors: who soone after came forth, and for their ease sat them downe vpon the benches, whilest the Bassa's went in to *Selymus*; who before this time had made an end of dinner, and was remoued in all his royalty, into one of his chambers, expecting the comming of the Embassadors. All things now in readinesse, and the Embassadors sent for, they set forward with their traine, and came to the third gate, which leadeth into the priuy palace of the Turkish Emperor, where none but himselfe, his eunuchs, & the yong pages his minions, being in the Eunuchs custody, hath continuall abiding: into which inward part of the palace none entreth but the Capitzi Bassa (who hath the keeping of this third gate) & the Cesigniers (that serue in the Turks meat) with the Bassa's and some few other great men; and that only when they haue occasion so to do by reason of some great busines, or sent for by the Sultan. Being entred in at this gate, which is of a stately and royall building, the Capitzi by whom they were conducted suddenly caused them to stay, & set them one from another about

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The Embassadors brought in vnto Selymus, with the manner of the entertainment of the and their followers.

Itineratio Di. Marc. Antonio Pigafetta. ca. 5.

fiue paces, in a little roome, which neuertheleſſe was paſſing delicate, al curiouſly painted ouer with diuers colours, and ſtood between the gate and the more inner lodgings. On both ſides of which roome, when all things els were whiſt & in a deep ſilence, certain little birds only were heard to warble out their ſweet notes, and to flicker vp and downe the greene trees of the gardens (which al along caſt a pleaſant ſhadow from them) as if they alone had obtained licence to make a noiſe. *Selymus* himſelfe was in great majeſty ſet in an vnder chamber, parted only with a wall from the roome wherein the Embaſſadours followers attended, whereinto he might looke through a little window, the portall of his ſaid chamber ſtanding in counterpoint with the third gate aboue mentioned. The Embaſſadors entring in, were led ſingle, and one after another, to make their reuerence vnto the great Turke. And in the mean time certain of the Capitzi with the Preſents in their hands fetching a compaſſe about before the window, muſtered them in his ſight. All this while not the leaſt ſound in the world being raiſed, but a ſacred ſilence kept in euery corner, as if men had bin going to viſit the holieſt place in Ieruſalem. Yet for all that, the embaſſadors followers placed one from another (as is aforeſaid) were not aware that the great Sultan was ſo neere, looking ſtill when they ſhould haue bin led on forwards all together: howbeit they were ſet in one after another, neither did they that were ſo ſet out, return again into the roome, but hauing ſeuerally done their reuerence, were all (except the Embaſſadors, that ſtill ſtaid in the chamber) by one and one ſent out another way into the court: neither could he that came after, ſee his fellow that went before him, after he was once taken in to do his reuerence: but ſuddenly as the former was let out, the next was aduanced forward to the doore, where *Iſman* the Capitzi-Baſſa and the Odda-Baſſa, taking him by both arms and by the necke, the one at the right hand, and the other at the left, & ſo leading him apace, by the way ſoftly felt his wriſts with their hands, leſt peraduenture he might haue ſome ſhort weapon in his ſleeue. Yet were they not all thus groped, as *Marc. Antonio Pigafetta* (the reporter of this negotiation) ſaith of himſelfe and ſome others alſo. Howbeit this hath bin, and yet is the manner of giuing of acceſſe vnto the perſon of the Great Turke, euer ſince that *Amurath* the firſt was after the battel of Caſſoua murdred by one of *Lazarus* the Deſpots men, who admitted to his preſence, in reuenge of the wrong done vnto his Maſter, with a ſhort poinard that he had cloſely hidden about him, ſo ſtabbed him in the belly, that he preſently died. And thus like men rather carried to priſon by ſergeants, than to the preſence of ſo mighty a Monarch, they were preſented vnto his Majeſty: he ſitting vpon a paller, which the Turks call Maſtabe, vſed by them in their chambers to ſleepe and to feed vpon, couered with carpets of ſilke, as was the whole floore of the chamber alſo. The chamber it ſelfe being not very great, was but darke, altogether without windows, excepting that one whereof we haue before ſpoken, and hauing the wals painted and ſet out in moſt freſh and liuely colours by great cunning, and with a moſt delicat grace: yet vſe they neither pictures nor the image of any thing in their painting. The ſix Viſier Baſſa's before mentioned, were ſtanding at the left hand as they entred in at the chamber dore, one by another in one ſide of the chamber, and the Embaſſadors on the right hand on the other ſide ſtanding likewiſe, & vncouered. The Dragomans were in another part of the chamber, neere the place where the Sultan ſat gorgeouſly attired in a robe of cloth of gold all embroidred with jewels: when as the Embaſſadors followers by one & one brought before him, (as is aforeſaid) and kneeling on the ground, a Turke ſtanding on his right hand, with all reuerence taking vp the hem of his garment, gaue it them in their hands to kiſſe. *Selymus* himſelf al this while ſitting like an image without mouing, and with a great ſtate and majeſty keeping his countenance, dained not to giue them one of his looks. This done, they were led back again, neuer turning their backs towards him, but going ſtill backwards vntill they were out of his preſence. So after they had all thus made their reuerence, & were departed out of the chamber, the Embaſſadors deliuered vnto *Selymus* the Emperors letters, and briefly declared vnto him their meſſage: whom he anſwering in foure words, as, That they were to confer with his Baſſa's; preſently they were diſmiſſed. And ſo comming out of the two inner gates, they mounted on horſebacke, and took ethe way toward their lodging, being at their return accompanied with the whole order of the Ianizaries, with their Aga & other captains: among whom were certain of their religious men called Haagi (which vſe to follow the Ianizaries) who continually turning about, and in their going, ſinging or rather howling out certaine Pſalmes and praiers for the welfare of their Great Sultan; gaue the Embaſſadours and their followers occaſion to wonder,

wonder, that they either left not for wearineſſe, or fell not downe like noddies for giddineſſe. All theſe were ſent, the more honourably to accompany the embaſſadors to their lodging: and beſide theſe, many more on horſebacke that attended them at their forth comming: in regard whereof, the embaſſadors when they were come to their lodging, to requite their greedy courteſie, franckly diſtributed amongſt them aboue foure thouſand dollars, and yet well contented them not.

The Embaſſadors after this entertainment at court, had diuers times conference with the great Baſſa's concerning peace, as *Selymus* had commanded: wherin by reaſon of the Turks vnreaſonable demands (as their manner is at their firſt meetings) nothing could be as then concluded: ſo that *Selymus* himſelfe being ſhortly after to depart for Hadrianople, where he was to continue for ſome moneths (but rather as it was thought for that they could not agree vpon a point of great conſequence) the treaty for peace was intermitted, vntill ſuch time as a meſſenger diſpatched in poſt, might return vnto the Turks court, with ſome reſolute anſwer concerning that matter. So it was, that during the reigne of the late Emperour *Ferdinand*, that the Turke his ſubjects in Hungary paied all their taxes and tributes vnto their old Lords and maſters, abiding and liuing in the Emperors juriſdiction, as did the ſubjects of *Ferdinand*, to their lords that dwelt in the Turkes dominion and territories: now in this treaty for peace, the Turks (amongſt other their vnreaſonable requeſts) demanded to haue their ſubjects freed, and yet the ſubjects of the Emperor to pay as they were before accuſtomed. Which as it was a requeſt nothing indifferent, ſo was it no leſſe prejudiciall and hurtful vnto the Emperor his ſubjects in Hungary: for which cauſe the Embaſſadors would not by any meanes conſent thereunto, before they knew the Emperors farther pleaſure concerning the ſame. Whereupon they diſpatched one *Sig. Odoardo* a gentleman of Mantua, very ſkilfull in the Turkiſh language and in ſuch like affaires, by reaſon that as well about this buſineſſe, as at diuers times before about other the like, he had beene emploied from Vienna to Conſtantinople in the Emperours ſeruice. So *Selymus* ſhortly after, *Viz.* the twentieth of October, departing from Conſtantinople, in great magnificence paſſed by the gate where the Embaſſadors lay, with his whole court in armes, and in the ſame order that is vſually kept when he goeth to warre or taketh any great journey. After whoſe departure the embaſſadors hauing ſufficiently viewed the city of Conſtantinople, and then at good leiſure, to paſſe the time and to ſee the countries they had ſo often both heard and read of, together with the ports and hauens on both ſides that narrow ſea which diuideth Europe from Aſia; embarking themſelues, & croſſing the mouth of the hauen betwixt Conſtantinople and Pera, paſſed all alongſt the coaſt on Europe ſide, vnto the Euxine or blacke ſea, and ſo backe againe by the other ſide of that ſtreight ſea: curiouſly noting the great ruins of the antient city of Bythinia, with ſome others alongſt the Aſian ſhore, together with the pleaſant ſcituation they in former times had, whileſt they yet flouriſhed in their glory, but now for moſt part (or rather altogether) laid in the duſt and brought to nought: and ſo returned againe to Conſtantinople. But whileſt they thus deceiued the time, and lay long expecting the returne, as well of their owne meſſenger ſent vnto the Emperour, as of *Selymus* himſelfe: they were aduertiſed in all haſte to repaire vnto him to Hadrianople, whether the aforeſaid meſſenger was now come with full inſtructions of all things concerning the treaty for peace. For which cauſe they with great ſpeed making themſelues ready, and taking their leaue of *Piall Baſſa* (who for that he was *Selymus* his great Admirall, then lay at Conſtantinople) ſet forward the firſt of Ianuary in the yeare 1568; and ſo after nine daies trauell, at length arriued at Hadrianople about an hundred fifty three Italian miles diſtant from Conſtantinople. Here they ſtaied vntill the peace was concluded, which was the ſeuenteenth of February: the chiefe capitulations wherof were, That either of thoſe great Princes ſhould ſtill hold what they had got each from the other in the late wars: That the Emperor ſhould yeately pay thirty thouſand duckats to the Turkiſh Sultan, as a tribute for Hungary, the tribute to begin in the beginning of Ianuary laſt paſt this yeare 1568: That the ſubjects of the Turks ſhould pay nothing to the ſubjects of the Emperour, neither the Emperours any thing to the Turks, but to be both of thoſe paiments free. And that vpon theſe conditions there ſhould be a firme and ſure peace betwixt thoſe two great Monarchs for eight yeares next following: wherein the Vayuod of Tranſyluania was (as the Turks tributary) to be alſo comprehended. Neuertheleſſe, all things at this time thus agreed vpon, the Turks after their ſubtile manner finding ſundry

The principall point whereupon the embaſſadors differed from the Turks in the treaty of peace.

1568

The chiefe capitulations whereon a peace was concluded betwixt Maximilian the Emperor, & Selymus.

sundry cauillations, and raising many doubts about the aforesaid capitulations, did what they might to haue in some part altered what they had before agreed vpon, to the bettering of themselues and the hurt of the Christians: and so with many their vnreasonable demands stayed the departure of the embassadors vntill the twentieth of March following. At which time hauing their dispatch, and taking their leaue of the Great Turke and the Bassa's, accompanied with *Hebraim-Beg* (*Selymus* his embassador vnto the Emperour) they by land returned towards Vienna; where they with the joyfull newes of peace the tenth of May arriued, being there two daies after at the court most honourably receiued. And fiue daies after, audience was giuen vnto the Turks Embassador; who well heard and better rewarded, shortly after returned with a full conclusion of peace from the Emperour, to Constantinople.

Embassadours sent from Tamas the Persian king, to Selymus

But whilest this peace was thus in concluding, and the embassadors yet resident at Hadrianople, the sixteenth of February came an honourable embassage from *Shach Tamas* the Persian King, vnto the great Sultan *Selymus*, to intreat a peace betwixt them, or rather to conclude the same, being before agreed vpon the controuersies, for which they afterwards fell to open war. Which embassage for that it is no lesse truly than plainely set downe in a letter sent from Erzirum (a city then in the confines of the Turks dominions towards the Persians) written by a Chiaus to *Muhamet* chiefe of the Visier Bassaes; which Chiaus was of purpose sent from Constantinople, to meet the said Persian embassador: I thought it not amisse for the better vnderstanding thereof, to set downe the effect of the same letter as it was translated out of the Turkish into the Italian by the Emperors embassadors interpreter.

The effect of the Letter written to *Muhamet Bassa*, the chiefe Visier, by a Chiaus sent of purpose to meet the Persian Embassadour.

After due salutations, this is the effect of that which wee thought good to make knowne vnto your Lordship. Now at this present (to wit in the beginning of the moneth Giuma Sulacchir) is in good health ariued the Embassador of Persia, the Kings chiefe counsellour, called Schach Culi Soltan, attended vpon with a hundred and twenty Gentlemen, with guilt Turbants on their heads, and well furnished with spare horses led in mens hands. Besides whom he was accompanied also with two hundred knights all apparelled in cloath of gold, with foure hundred Persian Merchants, in all aboue seuen hundred persons; with a thousand nine hundred beasts, Camels, Mules, and Horses; fiue couple of drums, euery couple being placed vpon a seuerall Camell, fiue Nacars, three trumpets, fiue flutes, and other instruments, in all about thirty musitions, playing vpon these instruments: There were also two Choristers or chaunters of the Alcaron, one Organist, one playing vpon a Turkish instrument like a Lute, two players vpon Sagbuts, with two other musitions, eight in all. There were also foure bondwomen seruing in the Embassadors own chamber. Who when he was with all this magnificent pompe come within one daies journey of Erzirum, the *Sayms and Spahies assembling themselues together to the number of eight thousand men, went to meet him: amongst whom were an hundred more, all apparelled in cloath of Gold and Sattin: two thousand men with guilt morrions on their heads: in which brauery we marching forward, the Persian Embassadour amazed to see so great majesty and pompe, said, that all the army of Constantinople was come to meet him: and so being come into the city, caused all the instruments to be plaied vpon, euen from morning vntill night. The next morning, the Embassador inuited the Bassa with all the Lords and officers; who being come, he entreated them to heare his musicke: and in like manner the Lord Bassa inuited the Persians. But as the Embassadour was going to the banquet, came another Sultan of the Kings, who brought vnto the same Embassador a guilt Turbant, and a rich gowne wrought with gold, which he caused him to put on by the way. By this Embassadour the Persian King hath sent all the armour of Sultan Bajazet, with all his Camels and other wealth. The causes of the long stay of this Embassadour were specially two: the one for that the Persian King had caused to be made two pauilions of one piece, the curtanes being interlaced with gold, and the supporters imbroidered with the same: besides this, he sent two bookes of Histories, and two Pearles, which in weight weighed ten * Mescaly: one Balasso as big as a little Pearle; foure score and two times an hundred * Tumenlich of stuffe, amounting to foure score and two summes of Aspers, and forty Falcons: all which the Persian King hath sent vnto the Great Sultan, as to the only Monarch and Patron of the World. This* Schach Culi *is the next in authority to the King, and so was in the time*

* Schach Culi Soltan, was not the proper name of this embassador, but a title of honour, and signifieth as much as a prince seruant to the King.

* Sayms are soldiers of greater honor than the Spahi, hauing for their stipend yearly 2000 Aspers at the least, out of the reuenues of certaine Townes and villages.

* A Mescali is foure drams.
* Tumenlich is in value as much as the Turks asper.

time of great King Hysmael. *These two Persian Sultans are the Kings chiefe Sultans and courtiers, and therefore set themselues forth with all the pompe they can. Yet notwithstanding all their brauery, being come to Erzirum within the view of our army, the Persians were amased to behold the goodly order of the* Othomans. *One part of the Persians are returned againe into Persia. And if it please God, at the comming of my messenger vnto you, your Lordship shall vnderstand of what condition and state these two Princes and Sultans are. They haue each of them yearely six Tumoni: which maketh after the computation of the* Othomans, *six thousand Aspers. Your Lordship after this account may judge of the rest. The other cause of the long stay of this Embassadour, was for that in Syruan the people were vp in rebellion, wherein many of them were slaine: to the appeasing of which sedition, this* Schach Culy *was sent, and now at last is come. From Erzirum in the beginning in the moneth of * Giuma Sulacchir, in the yeare of the Prophet* Mahomet, 975. * December.

This the Persian embassador was with the greatest pomp that might be entertained by the Turks at his first comming to Hadrianople, al the braue courtiers with the Ianizaries & other souldiers of the court going forth in most seemely order to meet him. Who now entred the city, and come before the house where the Emperours Embassadors then lay, and seeing certain of their retinue before the dore, asked of *Isnam* the Capitzi Bassa, what people they were; who told them that they were the followers of an Embassador that there lay, sent from one of the greatest Princes of the Christians, namely, the Emperor, who was desirous to make peace with the great Sultan his master. Whereunto the Embassador replied, that he would willingly salute them: which *Isnam* hearing, streight way turned his horse towards the place where they stood. Now the Emperors embassador being secret within a lettice, & seeing them come towards him, went forth and stood vpon the doore threshold, and so with signes and words saluted one another. Among the others the Persian embassador said vnto the Emperors, That he would gladly talke with him, if it might so please the grand Seignior: *Hebraim* the Dragoman who then was with the Emperors embassadors, being interpreter. So hauing courteously saluted one the other, they departed, but neuer after came together. Two daies after, the Persian embassadors (according to the manner of that barbarous nation, who with empty hands salute not one another) by his Checaia or steward of his houshold, presented all the Visier Bassa's with diuers rich gifts and presents, euery one of them according to their degrees & places: and the day after went himself to visit them; where by the way fel out a strange matter, like enough to haue cost him his life. For a Giamoglan (as the embassador was going to visit *Muhamet* the chief of the Visier Bassa's for the first) meeting him, shot at him with an harquebuse, with purpose to haue slain him; but as God would, missed him, and hurt but one of his chiefe followers in the arme. Wherwith the embassador not a little dismaid, as supposing himselfe to haue bin betraied, turning his horse, was about to haue gone to his lodging: but the great Bassa in the mean time hauing knowledge therof, presently sent out men to guard him, and to excuse himselfe of the fact. Whereof the embassador being assured, held on his way. In the meane space, the fellow who shot the harquebuse, being apprehended, was brought before the Embassador and the Bassa; who asking him for what cause he discharged the shot against the embassador? he without change of countenance boldly answered, That he did it for no other cause but for that the embassador was an heretick, and sent from an hereticall king, and an enemy to their religion: and therefore that it was not conuenient he should come to intreat of peace with his lord; adding further, that he was not worthy of any peace. Which the Bassa hearing, adjudged the desperat villain the next day to be drawn at an horse taile thorow the city, & then to haue his right hand cut off, and afterward his head, which was accordingly put in execution. After this, the Persian embassador the 22 of the same moneth went to deliuer the presents sent from his master vnto the grand Seignior, and to kisse his hand: sending first before him the Presents vpon 44 Camels, whereof 34 were the Kings of Persia, and the other ten his owne. The Kings Presents was an Alcoran, with the authority of *Ali*, as they hold. For this is their custome, alwaies to present one such Alcoran vnto the Princes to whom they send their Embassadours. It was couered with gold, and garnished with most pretious stones. He presented also a booke of Histories, couered as the other: he gaue also a box, wherein was a very faire precious stone called Balasso, and two pearles of a wonderfull greatnesse, with two purses of an handfull long, full of jewels. Besides these, he presented also eight Firuari or Porcellaine dishes

The Persian embassador honourably entertained by the Turks at Hadrianople.

The Persian embassador in going to visit Muhamet the Visier Bassa, in danger to haue been slaine.

The rich present sent by the Persian King vnto Selymus.

dishes (which we call China dishes) made of most pure earth, kept aboue fifty yeres buried vnder the ground, to the end so to be fined and purified, which (as some say) wil milt and dissolue if any poison be put into them. He gaue also two most stately pauilions, 20 great carpets of silke, and many other lesser of silke and gold; also nine faire canopies to hang ouer the ports of their pauilions, things not vsed among the Christians. He gaue also nine very faire carpets of camels haire, nine saddles set with stones after the Persian fashion, seuen staues of siluer, seuen scimiters with red scaberts, seuen bowes with arrowes and quiuers, all wrought with gold and pretious stone; he presented also many other carpets called Teftich, made of the finest lawne, and so large, that seuen men could scarcely carry one of them. All the Faulcons were dead by the way. The presents which the Embassadour gaue vnto the great Turke in his owne name, were also these: an Alcoran, a pauilion faire and large, certaine scimiters, bowes and arrowes richly garnished, with certain carpets of silk, and Camels haire. After which presents so deliuered, & reuerence don vnto the great Sultan by the embassador, and thirty of his followers al in cloth of gold, he returned to his lodging, very honorably accompanied, as well by the Turks as them of his own retinue. First besides many others, there were a great company of the Spahies and Chiausies, and other courtiers mounted vpon goodly horses, well furnished & in decent order: here might a man haue seene store of cloth of gold, veluet, damaske, & other kinds of silke. After these there followed about three hundred Persian horsemen, apparelled after their manner, some with gownes made of diuers little pieces of taffata of sundry colors, representing the pictures of men, women, horses, and other beasts; and some of them imbroidered with floures and fruits of sundry sorts; some had also gownes of cloth of gold, but not so faire as the Turks; and some of veluet, but very few of cloth; for that the Persians had no great plenty either of veluet or yet of cloth, except such as they haue from the Portingals that trauel into those Eastern countries; yet of silk & wool it appeareth they haue great plenty, most part of their gowns being of wooll quilted with bombast. After these horsemen followed many Persian footmen, peraduenture all seruants; after whom came the Turkish horsemen: and last of al came a horse of the embassador led by a Persian; after which horse followed 200 Ianizaries: and in the rereward of all came the embassador alone, gorgiously attired both himselfe and his horse. He himselfe was inuested with crimson veluet, mingled with some other colors: his saddle and bridle were all bedeckt with jewels: the caparison of his horse, was all imbroidered with Turquoies and other pretious stones: the horne vpon the top of his Turbant (which the Turks call Meteuenchia) was altogether wrought with gold, and set with pretious stones: in briefe, vpon euery part of his body hanged jewels of great price. After the Embassadour, followed about 140 Persian horsemen, and others of his court apparelled as before, some well, some ill, according to their ability. Now although the Persians (as is to be thought) shewed all their pomp, yet they made nothing so faire a shew as did the Turks; neither are they so faire men of complexion, being for the most part of a swart and browne color, and rather little men than otherwise, not much vnlike to the Spaniards. The embassador being departed, the Presents were all brought and shewed to *Selymus*; who allowed for their ordinary charges 500 ducats a day, for that indeed their number was great and their beasts many. These expences bestowed vpon the embassadors, do presently begin as soone as any of them enter into his dominions; and end, so soone as the businesse for which they come is finished. But long it was not, but that this embassador hauing concluded a peace betwixt the two great Princes, *Tamas* and *Selymus*, & dispatched such matters as he came for, returned home again into Persia. The Venetians also now at this same time, by their embassadors sought to renue the league they had made with the great Turke, now expired: which as it was easily obtained, so was it of small assurance; *Selymus* the next yeare quarrelling with them, and raising new wars, to the great hurt and disturbance of that State, as shall forthwith appeare.

The Embassadours presents to Selymus.

An honourable allowance.

1569 *Selymus* now at peace with all the World (a thing of the Turks not much desired) began to thinke of workes of charity: and purposing to build a magnificent temple at Hadrianople for his owne sepulture, with a Monastery, a Colledge, and an Almes-house (as had his father, and other his ancestours before him at Prusa and Constantinople, led thereunto with a vaine and superstitious deuotion) was troubled with nothing more, than how to endow the same with lands and reuenues sufficient for the maintenance of so great a charge: for that the Mahometan Kings, are by their superstition prohibited to conuert any lands or possessions to

to such holy vses, other than such as they haue with their owne sword won from the enemies of their religion, which they may (as they are persuaded) as a most acceptable sacrifice, offer to their great Prophet: which diuelish persuasion seruеth as a spur to pricke forward euery of those ambitious Princes to adde something to their Empire. This his deuout purpose once knowne, wanted not the furtherance of many ripe heads, deuising some one thing, some another, as they thought best fitted his humor. But amongst many things to him presented, none pleased him so well, as the plot laid for the taking of the rich Island of Cyprus from the Venetians: a conquest of it selfe sufficient, both for the eternising of his name, and performance of his own charitable works intended; with a large ouerplus, for the supplying of what soeuer wanted in his fathers like deuout workes at Constantinople. But that which moued him most of all, was the glory of such a conquest, which as his flatterers bare him in hand, might make him equall with any his predecessors; who in the beginning of their reigne, had vsually done or attempted some notable thing against the Christians. Hereupon the matter was by *Selymus* propounded to the great Bassaes to be considered of: without whose aduise and counsell, the Turkish Emperors seldome or neuer take any great wars in hand. Amongst these graue counsellors, *Muhamet* the chiefe Visier Bassa, a man of greatest authority (vnto whom *Selymus* was beholden, that he had so quietly obtained the empire) and a secret friend vnto the Venetians, seemed much to mislike of that motion, persuading *Selymus* not to yeeld thereunto: alledging beside the danger and vncertainty of the expedition, that his father *Solyman* at the time of his death had charged him streitly, that the league with the Venetians should be religiously kept, and that he could not with his honour without just cause so quickly breake the league, which he himselfe had but a little before most solemnly confirmed. But *Mustapha* the second Bassa, sometime *Selymus* his tutor, and therfore of him much honoured, with *Piall Bassa* the Admirall (both enuying at the great honor of the Visier Bassa) so mightily impugned that he had before said, and so importuned *Selymus* with the shew both of honor and profit attending that action, as also with the easinesse therof (a great part of the Venetian Arsenall being but a little before burnt, and their forces much weakned) that he rejected the counsell of *Muhamet*, calling him in his choler, Christian (which among the Mahometans is a word of no smal disgrace:) and yeelding wholly to the persuasion of *Mustapha* and *Piall*, presently caused preparation to be made both by sea and land, for the performance of that his resolution. Which was not so couertly carried in the Turks court, but that it was discouered by *M. Antonius Barbarus* the Venetian embassador; and not without cause suspected by the Venetian Merchants, whom the barbarous Turks began now to cut short in their trafficke, looking big vpon them, as men suddenly changed, and euill intreated them with hard speeches, the vndoubted signes of greater troubles to ensue. The Venetian Embassador now out of doubt of the Turks purpose for the inuasion of Cyprus, came vnto *Muhamet* the chiefe Bassa, complaining of the breach of the league: and putting him in mind of the fidelity of the Venetian State toward the Turkish Emperour; requesting him, that *Selymus* might not make too much hast to begin that war, which would set all Europe on a broile; but rather by his embassadors first to declare his mind to the Senat, for that so it might haply come to passe, that all might be quieted, to the good of both parts without war. Which the politicke Embassador requested not of the Bassa for any hope he had to auert the war, for which the Turke had now all things in readinesse, but only by such an hope of composition, to hinder the Turks endeauors, & to win time, vntil that the State (being fully certified of all these matters) might make ready their fleet and forces, and so in armes be ready to answere their armed foes: neither did he euer leaue the Bassa, vntill he had by his meanes procured, that one *Cubates* should be sent Embassador to Venice, to proue the minds of the Senators, whether they would willingly deliuer the Island, or aduenture to haue it taken from them by force. These things and such like as were then done at Constantinople, being by Letters sent in post from the Embassadour, made knowne at Venice, brought a generall heauinesse vpon the city: for why, that vnderstanding and prouident State, warned by their former harmes, of all others most dread the Turks forces. *Cubates* the Embassadour accompanied with *Aloysius Barbarus* the Embassadors sonne, and *Bonricius* his Secretary, departing from Constantinople, came by long journies to Ragusium, where *Angelus Surianus* sent from Venice to meet him, was ready to receiue him; who being taken into his gally, brought him to Venice.

Muhamet Bassa dissuadeth Selymus from the inuading of Cyprus.

Selymus sendeth Cubates his embassador to Venice.

In

In the mean time the Senators sitting oftentimes in counsell, were diuided in opinions concerning the chiefe matter they consulted vpon: some there were, that thought it not good to wage war against such an inuincible enemy, nor to trust vpon a vaine and idle hope, neither to commit all vnto the hazard of such fortune as was vnto them in that war by the enemy propounded: they alledged, That they had alwaies vnfortunately taken vp armes against the Turks, and that therefore they should set before their eies, what harmes they had suffered, and how that beside the losses already sustained, they had alwaies in the winding vp of the warres lost something more: that it were better to part with Cyprus, so that they might quietly injoy the rest, rather than to enter into armes: Time they said, would at length giue them some one fit occasion or other to recouer that they had lost, and to restore their state vnto their former honour; which for the present, was aboue their power to maintaine: To put their trust in their confederats (they said) was but to deceiue themselues: they should remember how often euen small causes of false suspition, or hope of profit, or feare of harme, had vtterly frustrated and broken in sunder the most solemne capitulations of the strongest leagues: how often destruction had come thence from whence ayd was alwaies to haue bin hoped for, they needed not to seeke farther for examples, than from their own domesticall affaires. Others were of a contrary opinion, as that the Island was by force of armes to be defended: saying, That nothing could be more dishonourable, than without fight to depart with so notable a part of their seigniory; neither any thing more commendable, than to proue all things for defence of their honour; neither would the proud Turks, with whom no assured league could be made (as they said) hold themselues content with this yeelding vp of the Island, but by intreating of them and giuing them way, become more insolent: and when they had taken Cyprus from them, would also seeke after Creet & Corcyra, and so yeelding them one thing after another, spoile themselues of all together: Ambitious and greedy Princes (they said) grew more bold and insolent by other mens feare: and that no great or notable matter was to be done without danger: that hard beginnings had oftentimes merry endings: that the fauor and good will of that insatiable and greedy nation, was not to be gained but with so great losse and charge as that such a costly piece would be much more hurtfull than war it selfe: beside that, it much concerned other Christian Princes to haue the Venetian State preserued, and that therefore it was to be hoped, that they would to the vttermost of their power giue them aid. The matter thus debated too and fro, it was in the end resolued vpon, to take vp armes in defence of their honour, and by plaine force to withstand the Turke.

Hard to trust vpon confederations.

So when *Cubates* the Turks Embassadour came to Venice, neither did any man of curtesie meet him, neither was any honor done vnto him, or so much as common courtesie shewed vnto him: but being afterward admitted into the Senat house with his two interpreters only, he deliuered *Selymus* his letters, inclosed in a little bag wrought with silke and gold; and so whilst the same letters were in breaking vp, and translating out of the Turkish language into Italian, deliuered also his message by word of mouth, as followeth:

The Turks embassador homely entertained at Venice.

Cubates the Turks embassadors speech in the Senate at Venice.

What great account the mighty Sultan my dread Soueraigne hath alwaies made of your most honourable friendship, is therein right well declared; that in the very entrance of himselfe into his Empire, he forthwith and without any hard or new conditions renewed his league with you: which he hath on his part alwaies kept most faithfully and vnuiolate; worthily grieuing the like kindenesse not to be shewed on your behalfe, neither the like care of keeping your faith to appeare in you; who by harbouring of Pyrats in your hauens, and murthering of his subjects, haue oftentimes broken the league. Which injuries, although they were by war to haue beene reuenged; yet hath he, so mighty a monarch, hitherto beene alwaies more mindfull of your honour and friendship, than of his owne majesty and profit. But forasmuch as there is no end of these injuries and wrongs, and that it is now come to that point, That longer to forbeare, might be imputed vnto him rather for cowardise than courtesie, as also that it much more concerneth your state than him, and that therefore you ought no lesse than he to desire, that all causes of vnkindnesse might be cut off, and order taken, that in so great and mutuall good will, there should be no falling out by new quarrels dayly arising: the only remedy thereof is, if you shall deliuer vnto him the Island of Cyprus, the cause of all these grieuances. Now it beseemeth you for your great wisedome, to make small reckoning of so small a matter, in comparison of the fauour of so great a Prince; which if you willingly of your selues yeeld vnto him, you shall right wisely prouide for your affaires, and haue him so great a monarch

monarch alwaies your friend and confederat: whereas if you shall shew your selues obstinate, and not to yeeld to this his so small a request, his purpose is, by strong hand not only to take from you the Island, the cause of the war, but also to prosecute you with most cruell war both by sea and land. And therupon I take God to witnesse, all the blame of the calamities to ensue of so mortall a war, to be imputed vnto your selues, as the worthy reward of your wilfulnesse and breach of faith.

Which said, he in the name of *Muhamet* the Visier Bassa told the Senatours, That he was right sory that this breach was fallen out betwixt the Emperor *Selymus* and them; and that although he doubted not but that they would right wisely consider of all things; yet he could not for the good will he bare vnto them, but admonish them of such things as he deemed for them both profitable and wholesome: and therefore did most instantly request them, and withall aduise them, not to enter into armes against so mighty a Prince, neither wilfully to plunge themselues into such dangers, as they could hardly or neuer find the way out; for that their strength was nothing answerable vnto his, and that the euent of that war would be vnto them deadly: and therefore he tooke God and the loue that he bare vnto them to witnesse, that he had in friendly sort forewarned them of their harms, and aduised them for their good. Giuing them further to vnderstand, that *Selymus* did nothing but thunder out most cruell threats against their State; which his indignation was raised of the manifold complaints brought against them to his court at Constantinople.

Selymus his letters answerable to his Embassadours speech, was also full of false surmised grieuances; he complained, That the Venetians had in warlike maner entred into the frontiers of his Empire in Dalmatia, and there had don great harme; that they had put to death certain Turkish pyrats whom they had taken aliue: that the Island of Cyprus was an harbor for the pyrats of the West; and that from thence they robbed his peaceable countries, & surprised his subjects trauelling that way for deuotion vnto the Temple of Mecha, or otherwise about their affaires. And that therefore those causes of discord might be taken away, and the hinderance of trafficke remoued, he required them to yeeld vnto him the Island of Cyprus: which if they refused to do, he would by force of armes take it from them; and by force of strong hand cause them to do that which they might the better haue done frankly and of their owne accord; and further, to make them vnderstand how far the Turks did excell all other men in martial prowesse. As for the league before made betwixt his father and them, he said he had renewed the same, not because he had auy liking thereunto, but because he had as then set downe with himselfe, for a while in the beginning of his Empire peaceably to endure all things.

The effect of Selymus his letters to the Venetians.

The Venetians, for that they knew the Embassadours errand before his comming, hauing now read his Letters, gaue him such answer as they had before resolued vpon: which was, That the Venetians had at al times inuiolably kept their leagues with the *Othoman* Emperors, and had in regard thereof let slip many opportunities and fit occasions for them to haue augmented their dominions in: That they could without any danger to themselues, haue destroied the Turks fleet both at the Rhodes and Malta, and other places also; but that they more regarded their honour; and alwaies thought, that nothing better became great and magnificent Princes, than to performe their faith once giuen, and in all their actions to be like themselues. And therfore had dissembled and put vp many grieuous and bitter indignities, lest they might be thought to haue first broken the league: That they had neuer passed their owne bounds, or inuaded the Turks; only to haue taken order, that no pyrats should at their pleasure roame vp and downe the seas. Now whereas all duties being on their parts sincerely and most religiously kept; *Selymus* complained himselfe to be wronged, whereas he himselfe had done the wrong, and had contrary to the league, denounced war against them, expecting nothing lesse: sithence that they could not by the power of the league, they would by force of armes defend that Kingdome, which they by antient and lawfull right possessed, deliuered vnto them by their Ancestors. That God, in whose helpe they trusted, would weigh in indifferent balance, all mens words and deeds; whom they tooke to witnesse, that they were the authors of peace, and *Selymus* the cause of warre: and that the same God would be now present vnto their just complaints, and forthwith after with his power to take reuenge on them, which falsifying their faith and promise giuen, and violating the sacred league, had enforced them to take vp

The answer of the Venetians to the Turkes demands.

most just and necessary armes, which they would with the same courage mannage, that they had taken them in hand. G

The Turks Embassadour sent away in secret from Venice.

With this answer the Embassador departed, let out by a secret postern, for feare of the people; who hauing got knowledge of the matter, were in great number assembled to the Court gate, muttering among themselues, that it were wel don to rend in pieces that accursed Turke, the messenger of his faithlesse Master. Which outrage it was thought they would in their fury haue performed, had not such as by the commandement of the magistrats garded him, better assured him of his safety, than either regard of duty or the law of nations; he by the way as he went still storming, and swearing by his *Mahomet* to be of that so great an indignity reuenged. This answer of the Senat vnto the Turks Embassador concerning war, was of some well liked and highly commended, as full of honour and valour. Others deemed it too sharpe, liking of nothing that was said or don to the further incensing of the Turkish Emperor: being of opinion, that they might haue of him obtained a more indifferent peace by curtesie, than by rigor. As for the decreed war, they vtterly disliked, forasmuch as all wars were wofull, but especially those that were to be maintained against them that are too strong for vs. In such diuersitie of opinions it appeared, That the Senat should of that so honorable a decree reap such commendation, as the euent therof should afford (than which nothing is more vnreasonable) if things fell out well, then was it wisely and worthily done; if otherwise, then was it like to be reputed a foolish, a rash, and wofull resolution.

The resolution of the Senat for war diuersly liked, and disliked of others.

H

The greater the danger was now feared from the angry Turke, the more carefull were the Venetians of their State: wherefore they forthwith sent messengers with letters vnto the Gouernors of Cyprus; charging them with all carefulnesse and diligence to make themselues ready to withstand the Turke, and to raise what power they were able in the Island, not omitting any thing that might concerne the good of the state: and at the same time made choise of their most valiant & expert captains both by sea and land, vnto whom they committed the defence of their dispersed Seigniory, with the leading of their forces. *Hieronimus Zanius* was appointed Admirall, *Lucas Michael* was sent into Creet, *Franciscus Barbarus* into Dalmatia, *Sebastianus Venerius* into Corcyra, all men of great honour, experience and valour. Other meaner captains were also sent with lesse charge into the aforesaid places, as *Eugenius Zinglitus* a noble gentleman with 1000 footmen into Cyprus, who had also the leading of all the horsemen in the Island: after whom County *Martinengus* promised to follow with 2000 footmen moe. The strong cities were now by the Venetians in al places new fortified, armor, ordnance, and victuall prouided, and whatsoeuer els they thought needfull for defence of their State. And for as much as they well knew they had to do with too mighty an enemy, they by their Embassadors sent for that purpose, earnestly solicited most of the Christian Princes to joyne with them in league, and to giue them aid against the common enemy, who as he was too strong for any one of them, so were he not able to stand against their vnited forces. But the Emperor *Maximilian* excused himselfe by the league he had not long before made with the Turke for eight yeares, which he said he might not breake; yet he had before his eies a most pregnant example, what small reckoning the Turke made of his faith and league, which he without any iust cause had broken with the Venetians. The like excuse vsed also *Charles* the French King, and *Sigismund* King of Polonia; who both seemed to be very sorry for that the Venetians were fallen out with the Turke, but could not help them, for that they were in league with the Turkish Emperor. Neuertheless the French King did them the curtesie, to offer himselfe to be a mediator, if they so pleased, betwixt them and *Selymus*. The yong King of Portingall *Don Sebastian* pretended also for his excuse the great plague which had but a little before raged in his kingdome, and much diminished his people; as also that he was to maintaine wars by sea against the Turks in the East-Indies, to the no lesse benefit of the Christian commonweale, than if he should aid the Venetians in the Mediterranean. Only *Pius Quintus* then Pope, and *Philip* King of Spaine, with certaine of the Princes of Italy; namely, *Philibert* Duke of Sauoy, *Guido Vbaldus* Duke of Vrbin, *Cosmus Medices* Duke of Florence, and the Knights of Malta, promised them aid, which they afterward most honourably performed.

The Emperour, the French king, and the king of Polonia intangled with their leagues, refused to aid the Venetians against the Turke.

what Christian Princes promised to aid the Venetians.

I K L M

Selymus of himselfe angry with the Venetians, and firme in his resolution for the conquest of Cyprus, was vpon the report of *Cubates* his Embassadors bad entertainment at Venice, further inraged: he deemed the Majesty of the Turkish Emperor contemned, and himselfe in the person

A person of his Embassador disgraced: seeing that they whom he had thought would haue yeelded vnto any thing, rather than the league should haue bin broken, had sent him such a short answer, and so contemptuously vsed his embassador, vnto whom they had not afforded so much as common curtesie. It did not a little moue him also, that the Venetians had in their letters sent by his embassador, omitted the glorious titles vsually giuen the Turkish Emperors: wherfore in some part to satisfie his angry mood, he caused *Marcus Antonius Barbarus* the Venetian Embassador, and all the Christian Merchants of the West throwout his Empire, to be clapt vp in prison, and their ships staied vnder an arrest. And setting all other things apart, set himselfe wholly for the preparing of such things as should be needfull for the intended war.

But forasmuch as the Island of Cyprus was the prey whereafter the greedy tyrant so much B gaped, and for which the bloudy wars betwixt the Turke and the Venetians, with their Christian confederats, presently ensued; it shal not be from our purpose to spend a few words in the describing therof, as the stage whereon the bloudy tragedy following was as it were acted: as also how it came first into the hands of the Venetians, and by what right of them so long possessed (although it be in some part before declared) vntill it was now by *Selymus* the Great Turke, against all right injuriously demanded, & at length by strong hand wrested from them. This Island lies in the farthest part of the Cilician sea: it hath on the East Siria, on the West Pamphilia, Southward it regardeth Ægypt, and Northward Cilicia, now called Caramania. It is worthily accounted among the greatest Islands of the Mediterranian, containing in circuit 427 miles, and is in length (after the description of *Strabo*) 175 miles, and in bredth not C aboue 65. It aboundeth with corne, wine, oyle, cotton wooll, saffron, hony, rosin, turpentine, sugar canes, and whatsoeuer els is needfull for the sustentation of man, whereof it sends forth great abundance to other countries, of whom it craueth no helpe again. It was in antient time called *Macaria*, that is to say, blessed. The people therin generally liued so at ease and pleasure, that thereof the Island was dedicated to *Venus*, who was there especially worshipped, & therof called Cypria. *Marcellinus* to shew the fertility thereof, saith, That Cyprus aboundeth with such plenty of al things, that without the helpe of any other foraine country, it is of it self able to build a tall ship from the keele to the top saile, and so put it to sea furnished of all things needfull. And *Sextus Rufus* writing thereof, saith, *Cyprus famosa diuitijs paupertatem populi Romani, vt occuparetur solicitauit, ita vt jus ejus insulæ auarius magis quam injustus simus assecuti: sc.* Cyprus famous for wealth, allured the pouerty of the people of Rome to lay hold vpon it, so that D we haue rather couetously than justly got the Rule thereof. In the heart of the Island standeth Nicosia, sometime the regall aud late metropolitical city thereof. And in the East end therof Famagusta, sometime called Tamassus, a famous rich city, the chiefe and only port of all that most pleasant Island. Other faire cities there be also, as Paphos, Amathus (now called Limissso) and Cyrene. This Island of it self long time maintained the majesty of a kingdome, as then when *Richard* the first, King of England, passing that way with his fleet for the reliefe of the Christians then distressed in the Holy land about the yere 1191, was prohibited there to land; and certain of his people by force of tempest there cast on shore, were by the Cypriots either cruelly slaine or taken prisoners: which barbarous violence king *Richard* tooke in so euill part, E that he there by force landed his army, and rested not vntill he had taken *Isaac* the King prisoner, and subdued the Island. The king he sent in chains of siluer to Tripolis, there to be kept in close prison; the kingdome he kept a while in his owne hand, which not long after he gaue, or as some say exchanged with *Guido* the titular King of Ierusalem: for which cause the Kings of England for certain time afterwards were honored with the title of the Kings of Ierusalem. This kingdome by many discents came at length to *Ianus* son of King *Peter*, who in the yeare 1231, was by *Melechel* a Sultan of Ægypt taken prisoner; but afterwards for the ransome of 115000 Sultanins was set at liberty and restored to his kingdome, paying vnto the Sultan and his successors a yerely tribute of 40000 crownes. This *Ianus* left a son called *Iohn*, who after the death of his father maried the daughter of the Marquis of Mont-ferrat: after whose death, F he married one *Helena* of the most noble house of the *Paleologi* in Greeia, by whom he had one only daughter called *Carlotte*; but by another woman a base son called *Iames*. This King *Iohn* was a man of no courage, altogether giuen to pleasure, and according to the maner of his effœminat education, shewed himself in all things more like a woman than a man: which *Helena* his wife, a woman of a great spirit, quickly perceiuing, tooke vpon her the soueraignty and whole gouern-

The discription of Cyprus.

King Richard in England.

How the Kingdome of Cyprus came to the Venetians.

gouernment of the Realme, gracing and disgracing whom she pleased, and promoting to the Ecclesiasticall dignities such as she best liked; abolishing the Latine ceremonies, and bringing in them of the Greekes, and tooke such further order as pleased her selfe in matters of state concerning both peace and warre; her husband in the meane time regarding nothing but his vaine pleasure: wherby it came to passe that all was brought into the power of the Greeks the queenes friends. Now the queene her selfe was much ruled by the counsell of her nurse, and the nurse by her daughter: so that the people would commonly say, The daughter ruled the nurse, the nurse the queene, and the queene the king. The nobility ashamed and weary of this manner of gouernment, by generall consent of the people, sent for *Iohn* the king of Portingals cousin german (whom some call the king of Portingall) to whom they gaue *Carlotte* the kings daughter in marriage, with full power to supply that want of gouernment which was in king *Iohn* his father in law. He taking the authority into his hands, quickly reformed the disordred kingdome, as well in matters concerning religion, as ciuile policy. The Latine ceremonies were againe restored, and the gouernment of the daughter, the nurse, and the Queene, brought to an end. But the mischieuous daughter doubting the countenance of the yong king persuaded her mother, as she tendred her own life, to poison the King. Which thing the wretched woman (by the consent of the queene mother, as was reported) in short time performed, and so brought that noble prince, wel worthy longer life, vnto his vntimely end: whereby the gouernment was again restored vnto the Greeke queen, who in the name of her weake husband commanded again at her pleasure. But aboue all, the nurse and the daughter insulted vpon the yong queene *Carlotte*: which she not well brooking, grieuously complained thereof to *Iames* her base brother, requiring his helpe for redresse thereof: who not long after slew the nurses daughter, not so much in reuenge of the wrong by her done vnto his sister, as to prepare a way for himselfe for the obtaining of the kingdome: grieuing inwardly; that she or her husband should be preferred before himselfe. Which thing *Helena* the queene quickly perceiuing, persuaded the King her husband to cause his base son to enter into the order of priesthood, and so to become a Church-man, thereby to cut off all his hope of aspiring vnto the kingdome: which the king at her instance did, and made him Archbishop of Nicosia. In the meane time *Carlotte* by the persuasion of her mother and the nobility of the country, married *Lewis* son to the duke of Sauoy: who being for that purpose sent for, came with all speed to Cyprus. After that, the queene mother and the old nurse (desirous nothing more, than to reuenge the death of of the nurses daughter, vpon *Iames* now Archbishop) deuised first how to thrust him out of all his spirituall promotions, which were great, and afterward quite banish him the kingdom. Hereupon the queene wrote letters against him to the Pope, to haue him degraded, for that he being a man base borne, with his hands imbrued with guiltlesse bloud, was vnworthy of holy orders. Which letters by chance came to *Iames* his hands: who inraged therewith, accompanied with a number of his friends and fauourits, suddenly entred the court, slew such of his enemies as he found there, diuided their goods amongst his followers, and as king possessed himselfe of the regall city. In this broile the Greeke queene *Helena* died, and shortly after her husband also. All things being thus in a hurley and out of order, certaine of the nobility for redresse thereof, sent for *Lewis* the husband of *Carlotte*, as for him to whom that kingdome in the right of his wife most justly belonged: who vpon his arriuall was of all sorts of men joyfully receiued & welcommed as their king. *Iames* the vsurper vnderstanding before of the comming of *Lewis*, and perceiuing the inclination of the people towards him, fled with diuers of his friends to Alexandria to craue aid of the Ægyptian Sultan: in whose court he found such fauour, as that he was by the Sultans commandement royally apparelled and honoured with the title of the king of Cyprus, which he promised for euer to hold of the Sultans of Ægypt as their vassal and tributary. At which time the Sultan also by his embassadors commanded *Lewis* to depart the Isle: who by all means sought to haue pacified the Sultan, declaring vnto him his rightfull title, yet offering to pay vnto him the wonted tribute, and to allow vnto *Iames* a yerely pension of 10000 ducats during his life. But all in vaine, for *Iames* still present in the Sultans court, and wisely following his owne suit, at last concluded with the great Sultan (who thought it more honour to make a king, than to confirme a king) and receiuing of him a great army, returned into Cyprus: where in short time he so distressed *Lewis*, that he was glad to forsake the Island, with his wife, and to return into his country, leauing the kingdome of Cyprus

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A again to *Iames*: who now by the supportation of the Ægyptian Sultan possessed therof, yet liued not without care of *Carlotte* & her husband *Lewis*, whom he knew the Cipriots wonderfully affected. Wherfore for the more assurance of his estate, he thought it best to joine in league and friendship with the Venetians, whom he knew to be of great power at sea, and of all other fittest to crosse whatsoeuer *Lewis* should in the right of his wife attempt against him. Which league he afterwards made, and the better to confirme the same, tooke to wife *Catherin Cornelia*, the daughter of *Marcus Cornelius* a Magnifico of Venice, being before adopted to the Senat, and euer after their reputed daughter. Not long after this marriage, *Iames* died in the yere 1470, leauing the Queene great with child, who in due time was deliuered of a faire son; vnto whom with the mother the Venetian State became tutors, as their adoptiue fathers, & in their

B behalfe tooke vpon them the gouernment of the realme. This childe shortly after died also, not without some suspition of poison; after whose death great troubles arose in the kingdom, insomuch that *Andreas Cornelius* the queens vncle, a most graue counsellour, and gouernour of the Realme vnder the queene, was by the conspiracy of certaine noble men slaine, and all the Island ready to reuolt from the queene. For appeasing of which troubles, the Venetians were glad oftentimes to send their admirals with their gallies into Cyprus, to take order in the matter, and to aid the queene: who at length persuaded by *George Cornelius* her brother, whilest it was yet in her power, as a louing daughter to yeeld vp the kingdom vnto her adoptiue fathers, which she destitute both of counsell and power, could not long hold so far from her friends, beset on the one side with the Great Turke, and on the other with the mighty Sultan of Æ-

C gypt: She, I say, thus persuaded by her brother, came to Venice, where she was with the greatest honor that could be deuised, receiued by the Duke & whole State at sea in their great and goodly ship the Beucentaure, and so with all royall triumph brought thorow the midst of the city vnto the place most richly for the time appointed for the receiuing of her: where shortly after, attired in all her royall habiliments she came in great Majesty vnto the Senat house, and there before the tribunal seat of *Augustinus Barbadicus* then Duke of Venice, laied downe her crowne and sceptre, and as a most louing daughter resigned vp her kingdome, to the great honor and profit of her country. Thus the kingdome of Cyprus was deliuered into the hands of the Venetians in the yeare 1473; which they peaceably held from that time, paying vnto the Sultan of Ægypt such tribute as had the late King *Iames*: which yearely tribute they in like

Sabellic. Ennead. 10. lib. 8.

D manner payed vnto the Turkish Emperors, after that the kingdome of Ægypt was by *Selymus* the first conquered in the yeare 1517, as due vnto him by law of Armes: with which yearely tribute both *Selymus* himselfe, and *Solyman* after him, held themselues well contented. But now this Turkish Emperour *Selymus* the second, of whom we speake, desirous both of the honour of such a conquest, and of so rich a prey, made no account of the accustomed tribute, but of the fruitfull Island it selfe: whereof he, as is before declared, hath by his Embassadour made a proud demand, but is thereof denied by the Senat.

1570

Selymus throughly furnished with all things necessary for the inuasion of Cyprus, in the beginning of February sent a great power both of horse and foot into Epirus, and the frontiers of Dalmatia, to forrage the Venetian territory, especially about Iadera; of purpose by that war

Selymus inuadeth the Venetians.

E so neere at home, to withdraw them from the defence of Cyprus so far off. About the middle of Aprill following he sent *Piall Bassa* with fourescore gallies and thirty galliots to keepe the Venetians form sending aid into Cyprus. This *Piall* was an Hungarian, borne of base parentes, but turning Turke, and giuing himselfe to armes, was first preferred for his valor shewed against the Christians at Zerbi, and afterward by many degrees rise to the honour of one of the greatest Bassa's. He departing from Constantinople, and cutting thorow Peloponesus and Hellespontus, came to Euboea, and there for certaine daies lay in such order, as if he should haue presently giuen the enemy battell: but vnderstanding by his espials, that the Venetians grieuously visited with the plague, and slowly relieued by their friends, were not like in haste to come out, he took his course to Tenos an Island of the Venetians, to haue taken it from them.

Piall Bassa sent against the Venetians.

F This Island is one of the Cyclades, and was by nature strong, but stronger by the industry of the defendants, who liuing far from the Christian countries, and compassed about with such cruell and warlike enemies, as people far distant stood in dread of, could neuer for any feare or danger be remoued from the Christian religion, or induced to submit themselues to the Turks gouernment, as most of the other Islands had. *Piall* here landing his forces, sought both

by

by faire meanes and foule to haue perſuaded the Inhabitants to haue yeelded vp the Towne: G
but when he could get nothing of them but foule words againe, he began by force to aſſaulte the ſame. Two daies the Towne was valiantly both aſſaulted and defended: but at length the Turks perceiuing how little they preuailed, and that the defendants were reſolutely ſet downe for the defence of themſelues and their Country; ſhamefully gaue ouer the aſſaulte, and abandoning the Iſland, directed their courſe toward Cyprus. For *Muſtapha* authour of that expedition (for his antient hatred againſt the Chriſtians made Generall by *Selymus*) had before appointed *Piall Baſſa* at a time prefixed to meet him at the Rhodes; and that he that came thither firſt ſhould tarry for the other, that ſo they might together ſaile into Cyprus.

Muſtapha hauing before ſent a great part of his army by land into Pamphilia, embarqued the reſt with *Haly Baſſa* Generall of the forces at ſea, who yet ſtaied for him with the reſt of the H
fleet at Conſtantinople. This *Haly* was one of the chieſe Baſſa's, a man of great account, and ſometime an eſpeciall and noted follower of *Muhamet Baſſa*; but now (as it is oftentimes elſewhere ſeene, that men together with the change of fortune, change their minds and affections alſo) was become a great fauorite of *Muſtapha*. Now to colour ſo manifeſt a wrong and breach of the Turks faith, *Muſtapha* the Generall, according to the Turkiſh manner, a little before his arriuall in Cyprus, gaue the Venetians there to vnderſtand by letters of his comming, as alſo of his purpoſe for the taking of that Iſland from them: for that without ſome ſuch ſlender denouncing of war vnto them againſt whom it is intended, the Turks generally account their expeditions not to be altogether ſo lawfull or fortunate as otherwiſe; and therefore writ vnto them in this ſort: I

Muſtapha Baſſa, vnto the Venetians.

Muſtapha Baſſa his Letters vnto the Venetians.

THat the Kingdome of Cyprus by antient right belongeth vnto the kingdome of Egypt, you are not ignorant; which being conquered by the Turks, it together with it become of right a part alſo of the Othoman *Empire: that Iſland we come to challenge, leading after vs two hundred thouſand valiant ſoldiers, vnto which power, and the wealth of the* Othoman *Kingdomes (all which, the moſt mighty Emperor is about, if need ſhall be, to ſend thither, and to bend his whole ſtrength thereon) all the united forces of the Chriſtian Kings are not comparable; much leſſe the Venetians, ſo ſmall a part of Europe, forſaken* K
of their friends, can ſuffice. Wherefore we will and exhort you, for the antient amity which hath beene betwixt your State and the victorious Othoman *Family, to yeeld this kingdome vnto the moſt puiſſant Emperour, whoſe very name is become dreadfull to all the nations of the World; and quietly and without reſiſtance to leaue the Iſland, with the loue and friendſhip of ſo great a Monarch to be for euer inuiolably kept betweene him and you. Whereas if you ſhall before ſuch wholeſome counſell, fondly prefer your vaine hopes, you are to expect all the calamities of war, with ſuch dreadfull examples as the angry Conquerors vſe to make of their vanquiſhed enemies. For reſolution whereof, we yet giue you halfe a houre his ſpace to bethinke your ſelues in: and ſo fare you well.*

Muſtapha Baſſa goeth for Cyprus.

All this being now in readineſſe, and a moſt royall gally of wonderfull greatneſſe and beauty by the appointment of *Selymus* prepared for the great Baſſa the Generall; he together with L
Haly Baſſa and the reſt of the fleet departed from Conſtantinople the ſix & twentieth of May, and at the Rhodes met with *Piall*, as he had before appointed. The whole fleet at that time conſiſted of two hundred gallies, amongſt whom were diuers galliots, and ſmall men of war, with diuers other veſſels prepared for the tranſportation of horſes: with this fleet *Muſtapha* kept on his courſe for Cyprus. They of the Iſland in the meane time carefully attending the enemies comming, from their watch-towers firſt diſcouered their fleet at the Weſtend of the Iſland, not far from Paphos: from whence the Turks turning vpon the right hand, and paſſing the promontory Curio, now called Del Le Gate, landed diuers of their men, who burnt and ſpoiled certaine villages, and with ſuch ſpoile and priſoners as they had taken, returned again M
vnto the fleet; which holding on their former courſe, came at length to a place called Salina (of the abundance of ſalt there made) where they knew was beſt landing, and there in an open roade came to an anchor, where the Baſſa's without any reſiſtance vpon a plaine ſhore landed their army.

The Turks fleet deſcried in Cyprus.

The Turks land in Cyprus.

Now

A Now all the hope of the Chriſtians, was to haue kept the Turks from landing, which they ſhould with all their ſtrength and power haue done; neither was it a matter of any great difficulty, for had the defendants but kept the ſhore, and from the dry and firme land valiantly repulſed their enemies, they might vndoubtedly with their ſhot and weapons haue kept them from landing, or els had done them greater harme: knowing in the mean time, that in all the Iſland was no good harbour for them to put into, and that riding in an open road ſubject to al wind and weather, they could not long without danger of ſhipwracke ride it out: but they either terrified with the greatneſſe of the fleet, or preuented by the celerity of the enemy, to their great hurt omitted ſo faire an oportunity, as the woefull ſequell of the matter declared. It exceedingly incouraged the Turks that they had ſo eaſily footed the Iſland, which they B thought they ſhould not haue done without a bloudy fight.

The Baſſa now landed, preſently intrenched his army, and forthwith ſent the fleet to tranſport the reſt of his forces out of Pamphilia into the Iſland. And at the ſame time ſent out certaine ſcouts to take ſome priſoners, of whom they might learne the ſcituation of the country, the beſt waies to paſſe them with his army, the ſtrength of his enemies, and what they did, and many other ſuch like things which it concerned him to know. But the greateſt queſtion among the Turks themſelues was, Whether they ſhould firſt ſet vpon Famaguſta or Nicoſia? Famaguſta ſtandeth low, altogether ſubject to the ſcorching heat, which was then great, according as the time of the yeare, and nature of the country required: wherefore the Baſſa for feare of diſeaſes to ariſe in his army of the immoderate heat and vnwholeſome ſcituation of the place, C thought it better to begin his wars with the ſiege of Nicoſia, and to make that city the ſeat of the war, for the conqueſt of the reſt of the Iſland. So hauing put all things in order, and well viewed the country, and finding nothing he needed to ſtand in doubt of, he ſet forward with his army toward Nicoſia, which was about thirty miles diſtant, being the chieſe and richeſt city of all the Iſland. Which way ſoeuer the army marched, it ſpread a great deale of ground; and the neerer it came, the greater was the ſlaughter of the country people, and the number of priſoners taken of all ſorts. But when news of the enemies approch was brought into the city, a generall feare preſaging future miſery poſſeſſed the hearts of all men. There was not in the city any valiant or renowned captaine, who as the danger of the time required, ſhould haue taken vpon him the charge: neither any ſtrong army in the Iſland to oppoſe againſt the enemy: the Gouernor of the city was one *Nicholaus Dandulus*, a man too weake for ſo great a burthen; who alwaies brought vp in ciuile affaires, was to ſeek how to defend a ſiege. Of the citi- D
ſens and country people he had taken vp foure thouſand footmen, and a thouſand horſmen, all raw ſoldiers, commanded by the gentlemen of the country, men of all others moſt courteous: but as well the captaines as the ſouldiers, as men brought vp in a plentifull country, fitter for pleaſure than for war. The greateſt hope and ſtrength of the city, was repoſed in twelue hundred Italian footmen, and ſix hundred horſemen. The whole number of the ſouldiers in garriſon for defence of the city, was deemed about 8000 horſe and foot: too weake a company againſt ſo fierce and ſtrong an enemy; and the more, for that the Baſſa an old and moſt expert Generall was there in perſon himſelfe preſent, a moſt ſeuere and abſolute commander, whom E it would haue beene a hard matter to haue withſtood with equall power. The Venetians had euer had great care of the Iſland of Cyprus, as lying far from them, in the midſt of the ſworne enemies of the Chriſtian religion, and had therefore oftentimes determined to haue fortified the ſame: yet fearing therby to ſeeme to diſtruſt or dread the Turks, and ſo giue them occaſion of offence, left it ſtill vndone. This city of Nicoſia ſtandeth in the middeſt of the Iſland, in a plaine and champaine country, compaſſed round with a wall, as if it had been drawne with a compaſſe, and is in circuit about fiue miles: for the maner of the ſcituation, and magnificent buildings, as well publique as priuat, many haue compared it vnto the beautifull city of Florence in Italy: and was for the wholeſome and commodious ſcituation thereof notably peopled. This city had the Venetians of late fortified with new wals, thicke rampiers, and eleuen F
ſtrong bulwarkes, according to the manner of the fortification of our time, and had raiſed three great fortreſſes for defence of the wall, which they furniſhed with a ſtrong garriſon, great ſtore of artillery, and other warlike prouiſion. Neuertheleſſe, they found by experience in this war, That fortifications are ſtrengthened by the defendants, rather than the defendants by the fortifications.

Muſtapha Baſſa marcheth towards Nicoſia.

Nicholaus Dandulus Gouernor of Nicoſia.

The deſcription of Nicoſia.

The

The Turks besiege Nicosia.

The 22 of Iuly, the Bassa with his army incamped within a mile & a halfe of the city, when presently the Turks by troups issuing out of the campe, rid contemptuously before the walls and gates of the city, and with often and loud outcries vpbraided the defendants: which by them being answered with silence, was taken as a token of their feare. And *Mustapha* himselfe comming as neere as he might without danger, tooke full view of the wals and situation of the city. Shortly after, the enemy drew neerer vnto the city into a more open plaine; and with their tents filled the lower part of the hill, which they call Mandia: but the Bassa's tent they set aloft vpon the hill, to the terrour of the defendants and incouragement of the Turks. The campe being fortified, the Turks with incredible labour and celerity brought their trenches from far, and at the first cast vp some few forts, but afterwards, as their army increased, many mo; which they raised so high, that they ouertopped the wals of the city, and made the place more dangerous for the Christians to defend. There hauing placed 70 great pieces of battery, they began to batter the city both day and night without intermission; with such an horrible thundring, that the earth trembled, the houses shooke as if they would haue fallen down: at which time many were slaine, both with the deadly shot, and the broken pieces of stones beaten out of the wals: neuer was such a feare as then within the city of Necosia: euery day the enemy brought his trenches neerer and neerer, and rested not vntill he had with restlesse labour brought them vnto the very brim of the towne ditch, which the citizens before the comming of the Turks had not well scoured. Being come so nigh, they first skirmished a farre off with their small pieces: but afterwards, they not onely battered the walls with their great artillery, but with small shot, arrowes, and stones, ouerwhelmed the defendants, as if it had bin a shower of haile; so to haue driuen them from off the wall and rampires. In few daies, not only all the curtaines betwixt three of the bulwarks, was by the fury of the great ordnance beaten downe; but all places thereabout lay full of the dead bodies of the assailants and defendants. For although the Christians fought at great disaduantage, both for the number of men, and indifferency of the place: yet desperation joyned with extreame necessity, of all other the greatest weapon, gaue them such courage, as with shot, stones, timber, and such like, to keep down their enemies, and defend their wals; and oftentimes to make great slaughter of them, with their artillery & murthering pieces, bent vpon them as at a certain marke, who the thicker they stood the greater was their harme. They also oftentimes dismounted many of the great pieces and made them vnseruiceable, and with feather beds and sacks of cotton, wool, made vp their breches: which the Turks labored again to burn with pitch barrels, and earthen pots full of wild fire. After long fight, the Turks entring the ditch, made themselues two waies to the walls, which they fortified on both sides with faggots & earth, in such sort, as that they were safe from the loupes of the bulwarks which flankered the ditch. All this quickly performed, some presently set vp scaling ladders: others filled the ditches with rubbish, wood, faggots, & earth; and others in the meane time with mattocks and leauers were digging down the foundations of the bulwarkes Constance and Padocatera, taking name of them that had the chiefe charge in the building therof. The Christians right valiantly endured the first assault of the enemy, and strucke downe dead into the ditches many of them that were climing vp the ladders: and had in short time slain mo than they were themselues in number, and inforced the rest to giue ouer the assault. These things were done in the beginning of the siege, whilst yet both parties were strong: in which hard conflicts a great number of souldiers were lost, and most of the canoniers slain. After this assault, both parties for a while busied themselues and spent their time in their ingenious deuises: wherein it appeared that the Turks were much cuoninger in deuising of meanes to take the city, than were those Christians in defending the same.

Nicosia battred and assaulted, & by the Christians valiantly defended.

Now had the Venetians in the first motions of these warres, praied aid of diuers Christian Princes, from most part of whom they receiued but cold comfort, as is before declared: yet now at length (though somewhat late) they had drawn into the confederation of this war, the Pope and the King of Spain: by whose example some other princes of Italy moued, put to also their helping hands. The Venetians, as they whom the matter most concerned, had in good time put their fleet to sea, but knowing themselues too weake to encounter the Turks, they lay still vpon the coast of Dalmatia, about Iadera, expecting the comming of the Spanish Admirall with his gallies. Two moneths (wherein much might haue been done) were now past in this expedition, and yet no newes of his comming: so that what the speed and industry of the Venetians

Venetians had well prepared, was by the delay and lingering of the Spaniards, marred. Besides that, the plague began to arise in the fleet, lying so long in one place; which at length grew so hot, that many of the gallies had neither marriner nor souldier left in them: neither did this mortality so cease, vntill there were twenty thousand dead thereof; amongst whom were many noble gentlemen of great account, which might haue done their country good seruice, had they been in time imploied.

The Venetian fleet of an hundred and seuenteene saile at Corcyra.

Summer now almost halfe spent, and the plague well ceased, the Venetian Admirall weary of expecting of the comming of *Auria* the Spanish Admirall; gathering together his fleet which he had before dispersed to auoid the infection, sailed to Corcyra, where he met with *Venerius*, another of the Venetian commanders, who there staid for him, hauing but a little before taken from the Turks Cestria, now called Supporo, a town vpon the sea coast ouer against Corcyra. The whole fleet of the Venetians being assembled together, was an hundred and seuenteene saile, amongst which were 12 great galeasses; but all too weake to giue battell to the Turks, as being themselues stronger in shipping than in men. Neuertheless, the Admirall sorry and weary to see the spoile of the Venetian territory, and moued with the distresse of the besieged in Nicosia, rather than for any hope he had with that strength to do any good against the Turks fleet, departed from Corcyra towards Creet, and the twelfth of August landed at Suda, a port of that Island. In the latter end of this month, *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, and *Auria* Admirall for the king of Spaine, arriued there also, whom the Venetian Admirall welcommed with great joy and triumph. The whole fleet of the confederat Princes now at length met together, consisted of an hundred ninety two gallies, and twelue galleasses, beside victualers and other small vessels, laded with munition and other necessary prouision for the fleet. Of these gallies the Pope had set out twelue, the King of Spaine forty two, the rest with the galeasses were the Venetians. In this fleet were imbarked thirteen thousand six hundred threescore souldiers: of whom the Pope sent eleuen hundred, the King of Spaine three thousand nine hundred, and the Venetians eight thousand six hundred and sixty. These three great commanders entring into counsell, what course to take in their proceedings in this war; after long discourse too and fro, at length by the persuasion of *Zanius* the Venetian Admirall, resolued to go directly for Cyprus, and to giue the Turks battell, in hope thereby to raise them from the siege of Nicosia. About the middest of September, this great fleet furnished with all things needfull for such an expedition, loosed from Creet, and with a faire gale of winde set forward for Cyprus; in all their course keeping such order, as if they should presently haue met with the enemy. In the middest of these troubles died *Petrus Loredanus*, Duke of Venice, leauing the rest of the care of that warre to *Aloysius Mocenicus*, who succeeded him in the Dukedome.

The Christian fleet setteth forward toward Cyprus.

Whilst the Christians thus slowly proceed in their so weighty affaires, *Mustapha* in the mean time laid hard siege to Nicosia: and diuiding his army into foure parts, assaulted foure of the bulwarks of the city, with greater force than at any time before from the beginning of the siege. The assault was both long and terrible: fury, and the very sight of the warlike Generall, who was there a present witnesse, and beholder of euery mans forwardnesse or cowardise (a matter of great moment) besides their natural fiercenesse, carried the Turks headlong without any perill or danger. And on the other side, the greatnesse of the danger, the feare to lose both life and liberty, with the hope of reliefe, encouraged the defendants to dare any thing: so that the Turks could not approch the wals, or mount their scaling ladders, but they were presently slain, or together with their ladders thrown to the ground. Many of the Turks were there slain, but especially such as were most forward: and of the defendants were also more lost than stood with the safety of so small a number: and forasmuch as few or none escaped out of that fight vnwounded, the poore defendants were brought vnto a small number. Many skilfull men were of opinion, that the city might haue bin that day taken, if the assault had by the Bassa bin longer maintained, by bringing still on fresh men: but such was his losse, as that he was glad for that time to giue ouer the assaut, and so with dishonour to retire.

The Christians sally out of the city vpon the Turks.

After this assault, it was by some of the captaines thought good, that they should (whilest they were yet of some reasonable strength in the city) sally forth vpon the enemy: so to make shew, that they had yet some good hope in themselues, and withal by so sudden an eruption to performe something vpon the secure enemy. Of which motion *Dandulus* the Gouernor in no

case

case liked, as loth by such a dangerous piece of seruice to diminish the number of the defendants, and so to giue the enemy an easier means to take the city. Yet seeing all the captaines generally of another mind, he yeelded vnto their desire. So in the hottest time of the day, when as the Turks least thought that the Christians would haue sallied out, certain Italian companies vnder the conduct of *Cæsar Plouianus* of Vincentia, and *Albertus Scotus*, issued out by the gate that leadeth to Famagusta, and vpon the sudden brake into the enemies trenches: where they found the Turks some playing, some sleeping, but fearing nothing lesse than that the Christians whom they dayly braued, durst to haue aduentured to come forth. At the first entrance the Italians preuailed, and brought a great feare vpon that quarter of the Turks army, and slew many. But when the Turks, awaked with the alarme, came running in on euery side, the Italians oppressed with the multitude, were glad to retire: in which retreat diuers of them were slaine, and amongst them their two leaders *Cæsar* and *Albertus*: so that this sally serued to no other purpose than to weaken the defendants themselues, and to cause the Turks to keepe better watch and ward against such sudden eruptions.

Scouts sent out of the city, taken by the Turks and executed.

All hope of long defending the city now almost lost, and that the defendants could hardly stand vpon their wals, or shew their heads without present danger; they for want of better counsell, rather than for any hope of good successe, sent out certain scouts, men skilfull of the waies and passages of the country (whom they had for great reward induced to vndertake the matter) to craue aid of the country people, that were in great multitude fled into the safety of the mountains: and to tell them, that if they came not in time to their reliefe, their wiues and children, whom they had before sent into the city, must needs in short time fall into the enemies hand, or perish with hunger: but these messengers were by the vigilant enemy intercepted, and in the sight of the besieged tortured to death.

Letters shot into the city.

About the same time diuers letters were shot with arrows into the city, to persuade the besieged Christians to yeeld themselues; for that in so doing they should find the Bassa a mild and merciful conqueror: wheras otherwise if they should by wilfull holding out delay his victory, they were sure to indure whatsoeuer could be indured or suffered. But when *Mustapha* had thus in vaine with hope and feare tried the minds of the defendants, he called forth to parley certaine souldiers that were standing vpon the bulwarke called Constantius, of whom some were by the consent of the Gouernor sent forth vnto him: vnto whom *Mustapha* by his interpretor complained, That no answer was giuen vnto his letters; he set forth vnto them the glory, power, and greatnesse of the Turkish empire; and debased the strength of the Venetians: then he persuaded them to yeeld, propounding vnto them the miseries that would fall vpon them if the city should by force be taken; which he threatned would be far greater than the danger the Turks were to vndertake for the winning thereof; and that therefore it concerned none so much as themselues, whether the city were giuen vp by composition, or els won by strong hand: he shewed vnto them the profit that should arise vnto them by yeelding of it vp, and offered to them large entertainment, if they would serue him: and to conclude, told them, that they should neuer afterward find at his hands so great grace as was at that instant offered them. The crafty Bassa did what he might to hasten the winning of the city, both for that he doubted the comming of the Christian fleet, & that his great army was exceedingly troubled with contagious and grieuous diseases, arising of the immoderat heat & drought in that so hot a country. But the souldiers thinking any thing more assured than the Turkish faith, answered him, That they did not as yet doubt their own strength, & that they were ready to indure any thing that could happen, rather than to prefer the vncertain friendship of an vnknowne prince, before the gracious fauour of such worthy Princes as they had so good experience of.

Mustapha Bassa in vain persuadeth them of Nicosia to yeeld

This answer cut off all the Bassa's hope for taking of the city by composition: wherewith being both grieued & enraged, he commanded all things to be made ready for the assault: and the more to encourage his souldiers, promised vnto them great rewards and honors that should first or second mount the wals. After that, he gaue a generall assault vnto the city with all his power: wherein both he as a most worthy captaine, and his souldiers, fought most fiercely. You haue to do (said he) with the small and last remainders of your enemies; which are scarce able to stand or hold their weapons in their hands, rather than with enemies indeed: shall you not then easily ouercome them, being but few and feeble, that haue vanquished them when they were many and lusty? The end of all your labor is at hand, your hoped rewards approch; only play

Mustapha encourageth his souldiers.

play you the men, and faint not in this assault; the spoile of this rich city shal be the worthy reward of your labours; the fruit of all your trauell consisteth in this one moment. Whilest he thus incourageth some, and reproueth others, they mindfull of his promises, and these of the disgrace, altogether with their thick shot suffer no man to stand in safety vpon the wals; & out of their forts also with their great ordnance greatly annoied the defendants. This done, they attempted by the ruines of the wall, and in other places by scaling ladders to haue entred the city. Which terrible assault was by the cruell enemy maintained, not for some few houres, but for diuers daies together without intermission, fresh men still comming on in stead of them that were wounded or slain. Yet did the defendants valiantly indure all that storm, and in such weake case as they were, worthily performed what was possible for so few to doe: yet still in hope (the poore comfort of men in misery) that reliefe might come by the approch of the Christian fleet. At length, when the matter was brought to this point, that the Turks were in great hope to haue gained the wals, and *Mustapha* himselfe probably guessed, that the Christians were now weary of the long assault, and sore weakned with wounds and other infinit miseries, not to seeke in a city so hardly distressed, and was in that his opinion also confirmed by certain fugitiue Christians: he neuertheless vpon the sudden caused a retreat to be sounded, & so retiring into his trenches, lay stil all the next day without any thing doing. The defendants thinking that he had giuen ouer the assault, because of some aid that was comming to their reliefe, became more carelesse of the enemy, & vpon the vain hope of such aid, with lesse diligence repaired their breaches and prouided for the repulsing of their enemies. But the Bassa in the mean time had chosen out of his whole army about 200 of his best captains & souldiers, all men of aproued valour and agility of body, whom the next day after, he sent early in the morning, to make proofe if they could by scaling ladders secretly and without any noise set vp, get into the foure bulwarkes which he had before sore shaken with his great ordnance. These resolute men leading the way, got first vp, after whom followed diuers others, and so tooke the aforesaid bulwarks: when presently after, other companies of their fellowes which stood ready for the purpose, comming on forward, did with their scaling ladders in diuers places recouer the top of the wals: for now the matter was not done by secret surprise, but by open force. In euery one of these bulwarkes were 70 Italians and as many Epirots, who there kept watch and ward; these men part asleep, as fearing no such danger, and part lying lasily vpon the ground, were there surprised on the sudden and slain: other some of them awaked with the strange and vncouth noise, betooke not themselues lustily to their weapons, but forsaking their stations leapt down out of the bulwarks at such places as were next vnto them, some for feare ran vnawares into the middest of their enemies. Vpon this alarme some of the Christian captains came speedily to the walls with their companies, as did *Eugenius*, who whilest he in vain crieth out to such fearefull souldiers as he met, that they should not so cowardly fly, and staieth others that were flying, was himselfe shot thorow with a small shot and slaine. Other captains in other places likewise labored in vain to haue staid the flying souldiers, whose persuasions, requests, and authority in so generall a feare, nothing at that time preuailed.

Nicosia most terribly assaulted by the Turks.

The Turks gain the bulwarkes and walls of Nicosia.

The defendants thus beaten from the wals and bulwarks, gathered themselues into the market place: but the citizens stealing home to their owne houses, there stood in the entrances of the same, fearefully expecting the destruction of the country, together with their owne. In the meane time the Gouernor of Aleppo with his regiment scoured the walls of the city round about, as he had in charge from the Generall: and without respect put to sword all that he met, armed or vnarmed. At the bulwarke called Barbarus, it fortuned him to light vpon a company of Italians, who for a while fought desperatly, but were in the end ouerthrowne and slaine. When he had thus cleared the wals, & left such companies as he thought good in places conuenient for the keeping of them, he came down into the more open places of the city: and seeing them that were gathered together into the market place to haue cast themselues into a ring and to fight as men altogether desperat, he caused certain murthring pieces to be bent vpon them: which they perceiuing, laied down their weapons, and yeelded themselues vnto the mercy of the enemy. By and by all the gates of the city were strongly guarded by the enemy, to the intent that no man should go in or out. *Dandulus* the Gouernor, and *Contarenus* the Bishop of Paphos, with the rest of the nobility, and better sort of the citizens, had got themselues into the towne hall, and their stood vpon their guard: vnto whom *Mustapha* sent word, that he would

Nicosia taken by the Turks.

would take them all to mercy, if they would without further resistance yeeld themselues. But G
whiles messengers run to and fro, the Turks violently brake in vpon them, and there slew them euery man. After the death of these noblemen, the cruell enemy spared none: and having slain such as they found abroad in the streets, brake into the houses, where they made hauocke of all things: yong babes were violently taken out of the hands of their mothers, virgins were shamefully rauished, and honest matrons before their husbands faces despightfully abused, churches were spoiled, and all places filled with mourning and dead bodies: the streets were in all places stained with bloud, for in the city was slain that day fourteen thousand eight hundred threescore and six persons. Neither was there any end of the spoile, vntill the greedy enemy had carried away all the wealth that long peace had heaped vp. It is reported, that the prey there taken, amounted to twenty hundred thousand millions of duckats: 200 of the most H
goodly and beautifull youths were chosen out of purpose to be sent to Constantinople for a present for *Selymus*. In the city were taken also 250 pieces of great ordnance: whereof some were by the enemy carried away, and the rest left for defence of the city. Thus the famous city of Nicosia, sometime the regall seat of the Kings of Cyprus, fell into the hands of the Turks, the ninth day of September in the yeare 1570, in whose power it still remaineth.

A great slaughter.

Mustapha hauing as he thought best disposed of all things in Nicosia, with the very terrour of his name, rather than by any force, brought most part of the rest of the townes in the Island vnder his obeysance; and by faire intreaty and promise of good vsage, brought backe again vnto their wonted dwellings the rude country people, who by the comming of the Turks were fled with all that they had into the mountains: them as men not to be feared, he commanded I
to till and sow their land as they were wont. The city of Cyrene is strongly scituated, not far from the sea, and was then well furnished of all things needful for the induring of a long siege. Hither the Bassa sent one of the Sanzackes to summon the city, more to proue the courage of the defendants, than for any hope he had to haue the city deliuered vnto him. But *Alphonsus Palacius* then Gouernour of the city, terrified with the losse of Nicosia, no sooner saw the enemy, but that without any further deliberation or force vsed against him, he deliuered vp the towne vnto the Sanzacke; couenanting only in reward of his cowardise, That he might in safety depart from thence with all his garrison souldiers: which was easily granted, and the city surrendred.

Cyrene yeelded vnto the Turks.

Not long after, *Mustapha* leauing a thousand horsemen, and three thousand foot in garrison K
in Nicosia, marched with the rest of his army to besiege Famagusta. And the more to terrifie them of the city, he by a poore country fellow, whom he had for that purpose set at liberty, sent vnto them in a basket the head of *Nicholaus Dandulus*, late Gouernor of Nicosia, and at the same time sent before him diuers horsemen, who vpon their horsemens staues carried the heads of many of the noblemen slaine at Nicosia, wherewith they rid as in triumph about the wals of the city. Which thing he did, in hope that they of Famagusta terrified with such a spectacle, and the late ouerthrow at Nicosia, would for feare of like misery yeeld themselues. But deceiued in this his expectation, he encamped his army about three miles from the city. Afterwards hauing taken view of the city, and well considered of the scituation thereof, he with wonderfull celerity cast vp diuers mounts against the same, and at the same time caused battery to be laid against the great tower which defended the hauen: he himselfe also in the meane L
while battering the gate that leadeth to Amathus. But perceiuing by the desperat sallies of the defendants, their great courage, and that it was like to haue much more to do in this siege than he had in the winning of Nicosia, and Winter also now drawing fast on (being about the latter end of September) he thought it best betime to prouide, that by lying there he hazarded not the honour he had with so much labor and danger before gained: and the rather, for that it was commonly reported, that the Christian fleet was at hand: wherefore he rise with his army, and retired himselfe further off into the country, where he shortly after bilited his souldiers in the villages round about for that Winter.

Famagusta besieged.

Mustapha raiseth his siege.

The Bassa's at sea, *Haly* & *Piali*, lying before Famagusta, doubting the comming of the Christian fleet, which then lay at Creet, sent out six galliots to discouer the doings of the Christians: who returning with certaine prisoners taken in the Island of Creet, declared vnto the Bassa's what they had learned concerning the Christian fleet, and that it was already vpon the way to Cyprus. Vpon which intelligence the Bassa's put their fleet in order of battell, and set forward M

The Turkes at sea aduertised of the comming of the Christian fleet, prepare themselues for battell.

A forwards towards Limisso to haue met with the Christians: who with a prosperous wind were comming betwixt the Islands of Caprathos and the Rhodes: but there vnderstanding by their espials, that Nicosia was lost, and that the Turks were come to besiege Famagusta; they called a Councell of all the chiefe Commanders in the fleet, to consult what were best to do in so dangerous a case. *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, and then chiefe Commander in the fleet, with *Zanius* the Venetian Admiral, were of opinion, That it were best to hold on theer course for Cyprus, and to relieue Famagusta: for that it was like that the Turks proud of their late victory, were for desire of prey, for most part gon ashore into the Island, and so left their fleet but slenderly manned. Beside that, they alledged, That the Venetian Senat had expressly decreed, That they should giue the Turks battell. But *Auria* the Spanish Admiral thinking it,
B as indeed it was, to be a matter of great difficulty and danger, was quite of another mind, saying, That he could not but maruel, how the Venetian Senators sitting at their ease in counsel, could before they knew their own strength, and power of the enemy, the nature of their country, and purpose of their foes, determine what were fit for martial men to do; vnto whose actions no certaine rule could be prescribed. All the shores (he said) were kept with the enemies garrisons; so that what need soeuer they should haue, they could neither get water or wood, or put into any harbor. Besides that, the enemy would giue them battell at his own pleasure, and not at theirs: for that they were not of so much power, as to inforce him to fight. And that if the Senat, which vsed to do al things warily, aud with great aduisement, did but see the weaknesse of their gallies, wanting both soldiers and mariners, they would be of another mind. He
C alledged further, That they were to wage war in the enemies country, where there was no port to receiue their fleet, no peaceable place, no confederate city, nor King to friend: whereas the time of the yere grew euery day worse and worse, when as they had neither harbor to put into, neither were able to abide the sea. And now that Nicosia was lost, for the relief whereof they were come so far, there was no reason longer for them to stay, the enemy so strongly possessing the Island with his great army, as that there was not any hope to do any good against him: and that to keep him from victuall, and so to distresse him, was not possible, lying in a most fertile Island, and in the midst of his own dominions: wheras they, who were still to be relieued from far, should sooner feele the want than the enemy. He was victualled (as he said) when he came from home, but for three months, in hope to haue made a short dispatch, & had now two thousand miles home. He said moreouer, that he had expresse commandment from the king, to re-
D turn to Messana before Winter, and that therefore so soon as the month was out he would depart. The Venetian Admirall desiring nothing more, than by battell at sea to ouerthrow the Turks, and so to relieue the distressed Cypriots, vrged the Spanish Admiral to proceed in the voyage; saying, That so great aid was not sent from the Pope and the King, only for the relief of Nicosia, but to deliuer the whole Island from the danger of the Turk. Of the same opinion with the Spanish Admirall were diuers other great captains in the fleet; namely *Sfortia*: who said, That nothing was to be so done, as might rashly expose to casualtie or power of the enemy, the publique fortune and majesty of the Christian commonweale, which was in that fleet greatly hazarded: That longer stay might bring further danger: that in that fleet consisted the
E whole welfare of the commonweale, wherin more might be lost, if any mishap should chance thereunto, than was good to be gained by the relieuing of Famagusta. The great commanders thus differing in opinions, the Councell was in a heat dissolued, and nothing concluded. Vpon which so foule a disagreement, the fleet began now to return back again, but so, that it was not now as before, one, but three fleets, euery Admirall by himself drawing after him his fleet. *Auria* the Spanish admiral, who first returned, after he had bin 2 daies wonderfully with tempest tossed at sea, came at last to Carpothos, and departing thence, with much ado arriued with his fleet in the Island of Crete: from whence he by a messenger sent of purpose, requested leaue of *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, that he might with his good will presently returne home. Whereunto *Columnius* answered, That he would giue him no such leaue: but rather charged
F him, in the duty he ought to the good of the Christian Commonweale, not to depart, but to keep company with the rest of the fleet vntill it were past Zacynthus, that so with their vnited forces they might more safely passe by the enemies countries: wheras otherwise, if any thing should by his hasty departure fall out otherwise than well, it should be imputed to the dis-

The commanders of the christian fleet of diuers opinions for giuing of the Turks battell.

The Christian fleet returneth vpon the foule disagreement of the commanders.

honour

honour of him that had forsaken his friends, and not of them that were so by him forsaken. But to this *Auria* answered, That the welfare of the kingdomes of Sicily & Naples consisted in the safety of this fleet: and that therfore hauing hast home, he could not stay to keep company with their heauy galeasses & other ships of burthen, which must oftentimes be towed forward. This he openly pretended for his departure; yet secretly sought (as it was deemed) occasion wherby to withdraw himself (being as he accounted the better man at sea) from the to find an command of *Columnius*, whereunto he was full sore against his will subiect.

After they had thus a while spent the time with reasoning the matter to and fro, *Auria* of himselfe without further leaue hoised saile, and so at length came to Messana in Sicily: neither did *Columnius* and *Zanius* stay in those quarters long after him, but hauing endured much trouble at sea, arriued at last, *Columnius* in Italy, and *Zanius* at Corcyra. Thus this mighty fleet which had all this Summer filled the Mediterranian with all the countries thereabout, with the expectation of some great matter, was by the discord of the Generals dissolued, hauing don nothing at all worth the remembrance. In this idle expedition many thousands of right valiant men lost their liues, being dead of diuers diseases proceeding of change of diet, and vnseasonablenes of the weather in that hot clymat; amongst whom was the valiant County *Hieronimus Martinengus*, sent by the Senat with three thousand soldiers for the defence of Famagusta, who also most of them perished in that voyage. The Venetian fleet was no sooner arriued at Corcyra, but *Augustinus Barbadicus* was sent from the Senat to discharge *Zanius* the admirall of his office, and to send him prisoner to Venice: in whose room was placed *Sebastianus Venerius* Gouernor of that Island.

Zanius the Venetian Admirall discharged of his office, and sent in bonds to Venice.

The Turks Bassa's at sea certainly aduertised of the departure of the Christian fleet, were not a little proud therof; as by the confession of their enemies, their betters. Yet forasmuch as the seas began then to grow rough, and no enemy appeared, they thought it to no purpose to keep the seas with so great a fleet, and therefore resolued to leaue *Mustapha* with his army in Cyprus, the next yere to make an end of his conquest so haply begun; and seuen gallies at sea before Famagusta, that no reliefe should that way be brought into the City, and so to depart themselues with the rest of the fleet to winter in more safer harbors: *Piali* with the greater part of the fleet to Constantinople, and *Haly* with the rest to the Rhodes. And because they would for their greater credit prepare some worthy Present for their great Lord and Master *Selymus*, they fraughted a great galliot of *Mahumates* the chiefe Bassa's, and two other tall ships, with the richest of the spoil of Nicosia, and the choice of the prisoners there taken. But when they were ready to hoise saile & depart, as they were carrying out of the gallion, certain barrels of gunpouder which *Mustapha* the Generall had commanded for his better prouision to be landed, a noble gentlewoman captiue in the gallion, wishing rather to die with honor, than to liue dishonored, secretly fired the pouder; by force wherof the said gallion with the other 2 ships, were suddenly rent in pieces, and all that was therin blown vp into the aire. Of all that were in those three vessels, none escaped with life but the master of the gallion, & two Christian captiues, but perished together with the rich spoile. But the Bassa's following their former resolution, departed from Cyprus, and afterwards in safety ariued at Constantinople: where both then and all the Winter following, such preparation was in making, as if *Selymus* had the next yeare purposed some far greater matter than the conquest of Cyprus.

A desperat fact of a woman.

Whilst *Sebastianus Venerius* (now the Venetian Admirall) yet lay at Corcyra, the rude Acroceraunian people, more famous for nothing than for their theft and want of all things; by trusty messengers promised to deliuer into his power the strong castle of Chymera, kept by a garrison of 300 Turks, if he himself with a few gallies, and a conuenient number of footmen, would come into the bay of Ambracia: offring him good hostages for the better assurance of their promise. Of which their offer he gladly accepted, and forthwith went to the appointed place with a company of horsemen, three thousand footmen, and certaine gallies; who were no sooner landed, but that presently a thousand of those rough mountaine people came vnto them: with which power taking the hill, and repulsing the Turks garrison comming to the reliefe of the Castle, he so discouraged them that were in the Hold, that the next night they let themselues downe with ropes into the valley below; but being descried, were there all either taken or slain. And so in a very short time was that strong Castle taken by the Admirall, and

The strong Castle of Chymera taken by Venerius.

and a strong garrison of Christians put into it in stead of the Turks.

Not long after, *Quirinus* the Vice-Admiral a man of great courage, landed with 24 gallies in Peloponesus neer the Bay of Maine, and there vpon the sudden both by sea and land besieged a strong castle, which the Turks but two yeres before had built to trouble the Christians passing that way. Which castle he took in fiue hours, and put to the sword fiue hundred Turks which lay there in garrison; and razing it down to the ground, carried away with him four and twenty great pieces of Artillery into the Island of Zacynthus.

Quirinus taketh a castle of the Turks in Peloponesus.

At such time as *Mustapha* before lay at the siege of Famagusta, *Bragadinus* gouernor of the town, and *Baleonius* a most expert Captain, from out of the high places of the city beholding the great army of the Turks (which couered the ground almost as far as they could see) with the cunning manner of their fortication, were therwith much moued: and therfore thought it good betime to giue the Senat knowledge thereof, and in so great a danger to craue their aid. And that their request might be of more weight, and haue the better hearing, they intreated *Hieronimus Ragazonius* Bishop of the City, a reuerend and deuout man, to take vpon him that charge; vnto whom they ioyned *Nicholaus Donatus* a noble gentleman of Cyprus. The Bishop at the first was very vnwilling to go, as loth in so great danger to leaue his flock: but at length ouercome with the intreaty of the Gouernor, and tears of the besieged, suffered himselfe to be intreated: and embarked in a gally about the going downe of the Sun, loosing out of the hauen, and hoising saile, with a faire gale of wind passed through the Tutks-fleet, which then lay at anchor before the city; and by the comming on of the night, and by the great way he made, got him quickly out of sight. After foure daies sailing he came to Crete, and so at last to Venice: where, as he had before vnto the Admirall, so there vnto the Senat he declared the dangerous estate of the City, the strength of the enemy, the weaknesse of the defendants against so great a multitude, and the wants of many things needful for the holding out of the siege: and to be briefe, that except they sent speedy reliefe, the City could not be kept. *Zanius* at that time Admirall, carefull for the besieged, caused foure tall ships to be loded with all maner of victual and a great quantity of gunpouder, and put into them 1700 select soldiers, al which he sent from Crete to the reliefe of them of Famagusta; appointing *M. Antonius Quirinus* with twelue of the best gallies in all the fleet, to conduct the same thither. This *Quirinus* was a most valiant and expert Captain, meanly descended, but by seruice grown to be a man both of great reputation and wealth: and therfore *Zanius* at his departure to Venice, although he knew the matter required hast, yet presuming vpon his wisedome and carefulnesse, left it to his discretion, when and how to performe that piece of seruice. *Quirinus* (not without cause) doubting to set forward, the seas as then full of the Turks gallies, staid vntil Winter was wel spent, and then setting forward the seuenteenth of Ianuary, kept aloose from the ships, which with a prosperous wind came directly before Famagusta; in hope that the Turks gallies which lay in the mouth of the hauen, might so be drawne farther into the sea, in hope of some good booty, he himselfe staying with his gallies in place conuenient out of sight. Neither had the euent deceiued his expectation, had not his fierce nature hindered the same: for the Turks vpon the dawning of the day descrying the ships, made hastily toward them: but *Quirinus* not able longer to stay himselfe, and before desirous to fight with them, shewed himselfe too soon in the open sea, before the enemy was come neer the ships: whom as soon as the Turks had seen, and that there was no hope to withstand him, they stayd their oares, and with all speed retyred. But *Quirinus* following faster vpon them, they were glad for safeguard of their liues, with all the power they could to run three of their gallies aground, and to run to shoare themselues: which three gallies, *Quirinus* did with his great Ordnance beat all to pieces, and sore gauled the other foure. The hauen thus cleered, he returned again vnto the ships, and brought them with the supply in safety to Famagusta: vpon whose arriuall was great reioicing both among the garrison souldiers and the Citisens: for the Turks thought nothing lesse, than that the Christian gallies durst at that time of the yeare haue put into those dangerous seas: which *Quirinus* well knowing, came forth again with his gallies, and roaming vp and downe at his pleasure, took two of the enemies ships riehly laded comming to the camp, with which booty he inriched his souldiers: and further incited by occasion, landed his men in diuers places alongst the sea coast in Pamphilia, and there did great harme. So hauing filled the countrey with terrour and fame of his name, he returned againe to Famagusta, where he notably encou-

Quirinus a valiant gentleman.

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encouraged the garrison souldiers, persuading them to remember their wonted valor: and filling them with hope that the Christian fleet would be with them in the beginning of the next Summer, to deliuer them from their enemies, and to raise the siege. So hauing in twenty daies dispatched that he came for, and done what good seruice else he could, he departed from Famagusta, and within fiue daies after arriued at Crete.

Negligence seuerely punished by Selymus.

It was not long, but *Selymus* had knowledge of this late supply put into Famagusta, and of the harms don by *Quirinus*; wherwith he was so highly displeased, that he commanded the gouernor of Chios his head to be struck off, and the Gouernour of the Rhodes to be disgraced, whose charge it was to haue kept those seas, so that nothing should haue been conueied into Famagusta. Neither spared he *Piall Bassa*, but depriued him of his Admiralty, and placed *Partau Bassa* Admirall in his stead, for that he had not the yeare before discomfited the Christian fleet at the Island of Crete, as it was supposed he might haue done.

From the beginning of this warre, the Venetians, with *Pius Quintus* then Pope, who greatly fauored their cause, had most earnestly from time to time solicited *Philip* King of Spaine, to enter with them into the participation & fellowship of this war; which their request standing indeed with the good of his state, he seemed easily to yeeld vnto: and therfore sent *Auria*, his Admirall the last yere, with his fleet to aid them, but with such successe as is before declared. As for to ioin with them in perpetual league and confederation (as it was termed) against the common enemy, that he referred vnto the discreet consideration of the two Cardinals, *Granuellan* and *Pace*, and *Io. Zunica* his Embassador, sent for that purpose to Rome: promising to performe whatsoeuer they should on his behalfe agree vpon or consent vnto. At the same time, and for the same purpose lay also *Surianus* the Venetian Embassadour at Rome: vnto whom the Pope ioined Cardinal *Morone*, *Aldobrandinus*, & *Rusticucius*, with certain other of the chief Cardinals, as men indifferent to both parties, to moderat and compose such differences & difficulties as should arise betwixt the aforesaid Commissioners for the king and the Venetians, concerning the intended league: but these graue men, sent from so great princes about so great a matter (as well there could not be greater) were no sooner met together and set in consultation, but that forthwith they began to jar about the capitulations of the league. Necessary it was thought that a league should be agreed vpon against so puissant & dangerous an enemy, but to find the way how the same might be concluded to the contentment of al parts, seemed a matter almost impossible: oftentimes these commissioners sat, but the oftner the farther off: if one difficulty were by the discretion of some appeased, in stead therof at the next meeting arise three others. The chiefe command of the army to be raised, the proportion of the forces, the maner of the war, with many other like circumstances incident to so great actions, made great differences among them: but most of al, the indifferent proportioning of the charge, the Spanish commissioners seeking to return the greatest part therof vpon the Venetians, and the Venetians vpon them: which was don with such earnestnesse and study of euery man towards his own part, as if they had all there met for the bettering of the particular state from which they were sent, rather than for the common good. For the Spaniard, who in former time was glad to keep the frontiers of his large dominions in Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Majorca, Minorca, yea and of Spain it self, with strong garrisons, for fear of the Turke; now that the war was risen betwixt the Venetians and him, and the danger thereof translated far off into other mens territories; enioied now in his own an vnwonted quietnesse, to the great content of his subiects, and easing of his own charge in maintaining of so many garrisons as before: wherof many were now thought needles. Besides that, he by the Indulgence of the Pope raised such great summes of money vpon his Clergy, as was thought by many, sufficient to discharge the charge of the war: For which causes he cared not for entring in any further league with the Venetians, but as it were in courtesie to send them a yearely aid, to maintaine a defensiue lingring war, and so to keep the Turks busied vpon the Venetian, a farre off from his owne Territories. But the Venetians, in whose Dominions the fierce enemy daily raged, as well in Dalmatia as in Cyprus, were euen for the same reasons mooued to hasten and shorten the war, that the Spaniard was to protract it: for beside the neerenesse of the danger, and the infinit calamities by them sustained, their yerely reuenues arising for most part of their customes, were greatly impaired, and their traffick (the maintenance of their state) almost quite cut off: which caused them more earnestly to confederate themselues with the Spaniard. But hard it was to

to ioyn in one, States so far differing in respect of their particular profit, and almost by nature conteraty. This was all the last yere, and a great part of this also, spent by the aforesaid Commissioners in turbulent and fruitlesse conferences, but nothing was as yet concluded concerning the league: which troubled the Venetians not a little, being of themselues too weake for so mighty an enemy as was *Selymus*, and yet no other certain strength from their friends to rest vpon. But whilst they stood thus doubtful of the league with Spain; and quite out of hope of any attonement with *Selymus*; on the sudden when it was left expected, it was by good fortune layd as it were in their laps, to make choice whether they would (as they had before most earnestly desired) ioyne in league with the Pope and the King of Spain, or els fall to agreement with *Selymus*: and that by this means.

Muhames Bassa a secret friend vnto the Venetians, put them in hope of peace.

Muhames the chiefe Bassa, a secret friend vnto the Venetians, of whom he had been of long time honored, had no great liking of the prosperous successe of *Mustapha* in Cyprus, and therfore deuised night and day, how to crosse the rising of him, the competitor of his honor; and withall to help the Venetians, vnto whom he was much beholden. He by secret messengers had before oftentimes sounded the mind of the Venetian Embassadour, and put him in hope, that if suit were made vnto *Selymus* for peace, it would vndoubtedly be granted; and further promised, to be himselfe a helper and intercessor for the same. But finding the Embassador to cast many perils, and to giue smal credit vnto their talke, who had before by trusting them deceiued him: he did not so giue ouer the matter, but referring the further tempting with him vnto a more fitter time, for the present he took opportunity to enter into discourse with *Selymus* himself concerning the Venetians; and told him that it was reported, That they weary of the long alteration they had had with the Spaniards concerning the league, & now destitute of all hope and aid, would now haply of their own accord grant him that which they had before to him denied. And perceiuing him not vnwillingly to heare so of them, he proceeded further in the matter, to know his pleasure what he would haue done therin, cunningly by the way of good counsell persuading him vnto that which he most wished himself to be don. Immediatly after, he secretly aduertised *M. Antonius* the Venetian Embassador, That there was great hope of peace, and that therefore the Senat should vnder the colour of exchanging of prisoners, and redeeming of Merchants goods, send some fit man to Constantinople, with whom he would in secret confer of al such matters as might further the pacification. This vnexpected news from the Embassador brought to Venice, was well heard of the Senat: for they thought it much to concern their State, to haue a way opened wherby vpon tolerable conditions to make peace with the mighty tyrant, if that the league betwixt them and the King of Spain could not be concluded. Hereupon they made choice of one *Iacobus Ragazonius* to goe about the matter to Constantinople. This *Ragazonius* was a man of great spirit and dexterity of wit to take any matter in hand, and of a great reach and deep iudgement in the managing therof; and withall exceeding rich, and of so good carriage of himselfe, as that he was therfore famous: al which things were thought of great moment to win the fauor of that couetous and barbarous nation. The Senat, although they had not yet made proof what men thought of the matter, yet doubted they not, but that vpon the report of the sending this notable man, men would thereof diuersly diuine, euery man according to his own fantasie; and that many of the wiser sort would indeed surmise, as the truth was, that he was sent for to intreat of peace, although the exchange of prisoners, and redemption of Merchants goods, were the only things were openly pretended: and the Senat, although they thought it not amisse to haue it so vnderstood, because such a suspition was like enough to stir vp both the Pope and the Spaniard to accept of such conditions of the desired league, as they had before reiected; yet lest the hope of the league (which they for many causes thought good to cherish) thereby cut off, might cause the Pope & the Spaniard both to be cold in the matter, they certified both them and other Christian princes, of the sending of *Ragazonius*; yet of purpose concealing the secret drift of his going. *Ragazonius* throughly instructed by the Senat, was in a gally conducted to Ragusa: which *Cassim Bey* (the great Bassa *Mahomets* son, Gouernor of Liburnia) vnderstanding, met him vpon the frontiers, & told him, That he was sent by his father, both to meet him and safe conduct him: which the mercial man, contrary to the maner of the Turks courteously performed, honorably entertaining him, & afterward sending him with a safe conuoy till he was out of all danger. *Ragazonius* comming to Constantinople, was there by night secretly receiued

The Venetians send an Embassador to Selymus to intreat with him of peace.

Ragazonius the Venetian Embassadour commeth to Constantinople.

The conference betwixt Mahomet the Great Bassa, and Ragazonius.

ued into the city, and at first brought into a little base Inne, and a guard set ouer him that he should speak with no man. But after three daies he was remooued to a much better place, and presented with diuers kinds of dainty dishes of sundry kinds of meats. The effect of his message was, to try the Turks minds, and after conference had with the Embassador, to intreat of peace. At length hauing accesse to the great Bassa *Mahomet*, after he had deliuered vnto him (as he had in charge) his message concerning the exchange of prisoners and merchants goods, *Mahomet* asked him, If he had nothing in charge from the Senat concerning a pacification to be made? Wherunto he answered, that he had, but that he must first speak with the Embassador, without whose aduice and counsel he was not of himself to do any thing. At that first incounter, the Bassa to terrifie the messenger, declared vnto him the innumerable multitude of the Turks horsmen and footmen, which no nation (as he vainly boasted) was able by force or policy to withstand: also his great and inuincible fleets at sea, with whom all the power of the Christians ioined together, was not able to encounter; and much other such like strength and wealth of his: and that the Venetians were now no more able to withstand *Selymus*, than they were in times past to resist his father & his ancestors. Yet he discoursed of this matter in such sort, as not therby to cut off the hope of the pacification: but said, That the Venetians should best haue prouided for the safety of their state, if at the first they had listned vnto him, friendly & faithfully aduising them not to haue entred into arms, in which doing they shewed more courage than power: and that yet, as the case now stood, and that *Selymus* was in a most assured hope, in short time to become lord and master of the whole Island, it should be to their great good to prefer the fauour and good will of the Turks before war, and by the voluntary yeelding of Cyprus, gain to themselues perpetuall peace and tranquility. As for the Isle it selfe, it was not now worth the hazarding of so many dangers, being destitute of inhabitants, which were almost all either slain or fled, the cattell driuen away, the townes ransackt and burnt, and the whole country, of late most pleasant and beautifull, now so spoiled and vnpeopled, that it could not of long time yeeld vnto him that should haue it, any profit or commodity. *Ragazonius* being a coole and aduised man, and withall perceiuing that the Bassa was not to be contraried in his talke, so tempred his answer, as that he shewed no token of feare, neither let any word fall that might offend his ears, saying, That he was right glad that he had found so much fauor in his sight, as to haue accesse and leaue to talk with so great a Prince, who for wisdome and grauity excelled all the rest of the Princes of the great Emperors Court, who so far as he might with his loyalty towards his soueraign, had alwaies most gratiously fauored the Venetian state: who also not ignorant of the vncertainty of worldly things, knew of all others best, that on both sides were both men & arms, and that most mighty Princes had oftentimes with small forces bin ouerthrowne, the euent of things neuer deceiuing men more than in matters of war: no power vpon earth being sure, which could not within some bounds containe the strength of it self: and that therefore he was in good hope, that he so worthy a man, knowing best what belonged both to peace and war, would deuise some such course as might sort to the good and quiet both of the Venetian State and Turkish Empire; in which doing he should find sufficient matter for his eternal praise and glory, if by his discreet wisdome a pacification might be made. Such talk hauing passed at their first meeting, *Ragazonius* had leaue to speake with the Embassador, who then lay at Pera vnder safe keeping. In passing ouer to Pera, *Ragazonius* might see a fleet of Turkish gallies encountring one with another in manner of a fight at sea, which the Turks had prouided of purpose to shew vnto him as a strange sight. Whereat *Ragazonius* smiling, said vnto the Turks that were present with him, That it was a pretty childish sport for him that had neuer seen the like before; but not to the Venetians, who were acquainted with these matters in earnest, as the Turks should well know whensoeuer they had a mind to make proof what they were able to do at sea. *Ragazonius* comming to the embassador, had conference with him at large, and resolued with him what to do in his negotiation. And so returning to *Mahomet*, easily dispatcht with him for the exchange of prisoners and Merchants goods: but when they came to talk of the capitulations of a pacification to be made, at the first they were so far off, as if they would neuer haue met; but after much and often conference, somtime the one yeelding, sometime the other, the matter was brought to some conformity, so that there was no such great difference betwixt them, but that they were like enough to haue agreed. *Pius* the Pope, & *Philip* king of Spain aduertised of the sending of *Ragazonius* to

The Popes, the K. of Spain fearing lest the Venetians should make peace with the Turk, hasten the confederation.

to Constantinople, began to imagine as the truth was, that he was sent about some treaty of peace, what colour soeuer the Senat pretended to couer the same. And therfore doubting lest the Turkish Emperour hauing once made peace with the Venetians, should turn his great forces already prepared, vpon the one or both of them, they thought it good for troubling of that peace, now with all speed to hasten the league, which they had so long before delayed. For which purpose the Pope sent the noble *Columnius* to Venice: who admitted into the Senat, declared at large how matters had passed at Rome concerning the league: and afterward, what profit might arise of such a league concluded, and what harms might insue of the same, neglected. And to hasten the matter, set as it were before their eies, how much it concerned the common good, but them especially, to haue the same with speed confirmed. As for to giue any trust vnto the Turks, was (as he said) not beseeming their deep wisdome and iudgement, seeing they so often had bin by them rather deceiued than vanquished. In conclusion, he requested them, That for his Holinesse sake, moderating in some part their hard demands, they would with speed ioin with him and the King in a most firm and Christian league. Although this speech of *Columnius* had much moued the minds of the Venetians, so that many inclined to the league; yet were there many doubtfull therof, and could not be resolued whether it were better to imbrace peace with the Turk, or the league with the Pope and the King. Peace pleased them, neither did the league displease them: it seemed a matter most difficult, whether to resolue vpon. They were fearful of the league either receiued, or reiected: the hope of victory, the inconstancy of the Turks, their owne strength at sea, the large promises of the Christian Princes; the certain hope of the league, and vncertainty of the peace, persuaded them to embrace the league. On the other side, the bad successe of the yere before, their forces shaken, and almost spent in Cyprus, the suspected and doubtfull faith of the confederats, with the vncertainty of the successe, induced them to prefer the hoped peace before the league. So the Venetians in suspence betwixt both, gaue the Embassador daily more doubtfull answers than other, neither by promise binding themselues, neither by flat denial cutting off the hope of the league, by examples and arguments rather refelling what was by others alledged, than any way declaring what they themselues thought. Somtime they alledged such things as might make a man beleeue, that they were willing to ioin in league, and by and by again, they would seem neither to reiect nor accept of the same. In which doubtfulnesse many daies passed. At length the matter being propounded in the Senat, there found not vnlike disposition of minds that it had among the meaner sort: for some of the Senators inclined to the league; whose reasons were grounded not vpon profit only, but vpon credit & honor also, which they wished to be chiefly regarded: declaring also, what great security, honor and glory, should redound vnto them, by entring into such an honourable league. But the remembrance of former losses, the strength of the Turk possessing a great part of the world, compared to their own, the terror of the enemies name, the feare of euill successe, the small hope of preuailing, induced others to like better of peace: whose opinion was also confirmed by this, That the confederation with those Christians, was of no more assurance or continuance than the Turks peace: besides that, they alledged, That leagues were therfore of lesse assurance, for that confederations and amities were seldom or neuer sincerely & faithfully kept on both sides, euery man commonly seruing his own turn, without care of other men. They also set as it were before their eyes what great occasions, euen small suspitions might giue princes to break their leagues, what strange effects the feare of the losse of goods, or some part of their territory might work. After this so weighty a matter had bin thus with great contention throughly debated on both sides in the Senat, it was at last put to voices: and so by consent of the greater part, the league was as more honorable receiued, & the Turks peace reiected; & a decree of the Senat to that effect made. *Ragazonius* by secret letters from the Senat vnderstanding of all these matters, began to deale more warily with *Mahomet* the great Bassa in matter concerning the peace, and more hardly to yeeld to his demands, & propounding many difficulties of purpose deuised, requested of him, That he might by his good leaue return to Venice, to be resolued of many things by the Senat, wherof he was not able himself to iudge, & so to return, to him again with more certain instructions, assuring him, that the Senat would vpon knowledge of the conditions of the peace do and deuise many things for the furtherance of the same: which could not so well be done by letters, as if he were there himself present to resolue them vpon euery particular. This his request

The Venetians resolue to accept of the League with the Pope and the King.

quest obtained, he with great speed got him out of Constantinople: but was scarcely got out of the gates, when report of the league which the Venetians had made with the Pope and the King of Spain, was brought vnto the Court, and had in short time filled the city, which made all the way as he trauelled more troublesome, and frustrated that also which was before concluded concerning the exchange of prisoners & Merchants goods. *Ragazonius* being come to Venice, declared at large in the Senat the drift and purpose of the Turk, and what conference he had had with the great Bassa, and in what forwardnes the peace was: for which his discreet carriage of the matter, his wisdome was highly by the whole Senat commended, and he himselfe afterward honourably rewarded.

A perpetuall league concluded betwixt the Pope, the K. of Spaine, and the Venetians.

In the mean time the commissioners of Rome after long consultation concluded a league, which they would haue to be perpetuall, as well for for inuasiue as defensiue wars against the Turke: and was by solemne oath confirmed by the Pope, the king of Spain, and the Venetian Senat the 24 day of May, in the yeare 1571. For the execution of which league, it was agreed vpon, That the sea and land forces should consist of two hundred gallies, an hundred ships, fifty thousand footmen, and foure thousand fiue hundred horsmen, with a proportionat quantity of great artillery, victuals, and other things necessary, to be euery yeare ready in March, or at farthest in Aprill, to meet together at such a place in the East, as should be to them for that purpose appointed, to be imploied as the Admirals saw cause, & as the present state of things should require: for maintenance of which charge it was agreed, that the king of Spain should

The proportioning of the charge of the warres against the Turke: and the other capitulations of the league.

desray the one halfe, and the other halfe to be diuided into three equal parts, wherof the Venetians should beare two parts, and the Pope the third; which if it should be too heany for him, then that remained by him vndischarged, to be diuided into fiue parts; wherof the King was to discharge three, and the Venetians two. The charge thus proportioned, they tooke order also for the prouision of victuals, to be at a reasonable price taken vp in any the confederats dominions, where the army or fleet should chance to stay: yet so, that it should be at the King of Spain his discretion, out of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, first to take his prouision for the victualling of Guletta, Malta, and his own nauy. It was also agreed, That if the King of Spain should at any time, when as the confederats had no common war, inuade Algiers, Tripolis, or Tunes, that then the Venetians should of their own charge, aid him with fifty gallies well appointed: as also, that the king should in like manner and with like forces ayd them as oft as they should by the Turks be inuaded. But if it should fortune the Roman territory to be inuaded, that then the aforesaid Princes should be bound with all their forces, to the vtmost of their power, to defend those places, and the person of the Pope. And that in managing of the confederat war, the three admirals should confer vpon all matters, and whatsoeuer the greater part agreed together vpon, that to be reputed as agreed vpon by them all: That *Don Iohn* of Austria, *Charles* the fifth his naturall son, and brother to the king, should haue the chief command of the forces both at sea and land: but not to display his own ensigne, but the common ensign of the confederats. Also, that such places as should be gained from the Turk by the confederat army, should be diuided amongst the confederat princes, excepting Tunes, Algiers, and Tripolis, which should remain only to the King of Spain. That all controuersies arising amongst the Generals should be decided by the Pope, to whom the Venetians should lead twelue gallies, furnished of al things fauing men and victuals, which the Pope should of his owne charge supply: Which gallies at the end of the war he should again deliuer, in such case as they then were: That an honorable place should be left for *Maximilian* the Emperour, the French King, the King of Polonia, and the King of Portingall, to enter into this league, whom with the rest of the Christian Princes, it should be seem the Pope to stir vp in so good a quarrell: and that it should not be lawfull for any the confederat Princes to intreat of peace, or enter into league, without the knowledge and consent of the other confederates. And for the better proceeding of all things, it was agreed, That euer in Autumne the confederat princes should by their embassadors at Rome consult of the next warre, and according as the time and currents should require, to determine, whether their forces would at that time be increased or diminished. This league thus at length with much adó concluded, was not long after that time with great pomp and triumph openly proclaimed in Rome, Venice, and Spaine, to the great ioy of the greatest part of Christendome.

The league proclaimed.

The Venetians the more to trouble the Turke, seeke to stir vp Tamas the Persian king to take vp armes against him.

Whilst these things were in doing, the Venetians the more to intangle the Turke, thought it good to make proofe, if they might by any means stir vp *Tamas* the Persian king to take vp armes against him: who as he was a Prince of great power, so did he exceedingly hate the Turks, as well for the difference betwixt the Persians and them about matters of their vain superstition, as for the manifold iniuries he had oftentimes sustained. There was one *Vincent Alexander*, one of the Secretaries for the state, who hauing escaped out of prison at Constantinople, was but a little before come to Venice, a wary wise man, and of great experience, who for his dexterity of wit, and skilfulnesse in the Turkish language, was thought of all others most fit to take in hand so great a matter. He hauing receiued letters and instructions for the Senat, and furnished with all things necessary, trauelling through Germany, Polonia, and the forrests of Mœsia, in Turkish attire, came to Moncastron, a port towne vpon the side of the Euxine or blacke sea, at the mouth of the great riuer Boristhenes: where he embarked himselfe for Trapezond, but was by a contrary wind driuen to Sinope, a City of great traffique; from whence he trauelled by rough and broken waies to Cutay, keeping still vpon the left hand, because he would not fall vpon any part of the Turks army (which was then marching towards Cyprus through all those countries) neuertheless he fell vpon a part thereof, from which he with great danger rid himself being taken for a Turke, and by blind & troublesome waies, through rocks and forrests, arriued at length at Erzirum, a strong city of the Turks, then vpon the frontiers of the Turks dominions toward the Georgians. This iourney of *Alexanders* was not kept so secret, but that it was vented at Constantinople by a spie, who vnder the color of friendship, haunting the Venetian Embassadors house at Pera, had got certain knowledge of the going of *Alexander* into Persia. Wherupon certain courrors were sent out with al speed to beset the three streit passages into Persia, wherby it was supposed he must of necessity passe with certain notes also of the fauour of the man, of his stature, and other marks, wherby he was best to be knowne. But he in so dangerous a countrey doubting all things, and fearing such a matter, leauing his company behind him, with incredible celerity posted from Erzirum to Tauris, and was a great way gone before the Turks currors came into those quarters: who yet hearing of him, followed after as far as they durst, but could not ouertake him. *Alexander* comming to Tauris, vnderstood that the Court lay at Casbin, about twelue daies iourney farther vp into the country; comming thither, the fourteenth of August of this yeare 1571, he chanced to meet with certaine English Merchants, with whom he had before bin acquainted: by whose help he not only got to speake with *Ayder Tamas* the Kings third sonne, but learned of them also the manners and fashions of the Persian Court, and how to beare himselfe therein. The Persians by reason of the intollerable heat, do most of their businesse at that time of the yeare by night. Wherfore *Alexander* about midnight brought into *Ayder*, declared vnto him the cause of his comming: and the next night admitted vnto the speech of his aged father, deliuered his letters of credence, and in the name of the Senat declared vnto him, with what perfidious dealing *Selymus* the Turkish Emperour was about to take away Cyprus from the Venetians, with what greedinesse and pride he had set vpon the Christians, and that discharged of that war, he would of all likelyhood set vpon the Persians, hauing the selfesame quarrel vnto the Persians that he had vnto the Venetians, that is, an ardent and insatiable desire of soueraignty: a sufficient cause for the greedy Turke to repute euery King the richer that he was, the more his enemy. After that, setting forth to the full the prowesse of the Christians, the wonderfull preparation they had made both at sea and land, he persuaded the King with all his power to inuade the Turke, now altogether busied in the wars of Cyprus; and to recouer again such parts of his Kingdome as *Solyman* the father of *Selymus* had taken from him. Wars he said were more happily managed abroad than at home: that since he alone (the Christian Princes all then at quiet) had withstood the Turks whole force and power, he needed not now to doubt of his most prosperous successe, the Christian Princes now ioyning with him. That he was much vnmindfull of his former losses and wrongs, if he thought he enioyed an assured peace; which he should find to be nothing else but a deferring of war vnto more cruell times; and that the Turke if he should ouerrun Cyprus, would forthwith turne his victorious armes vpon him: The end of one warre was (as he said) but the beginning of another: and that the Turkish Empire could neuer stay in one state: and that he should obserue not the Turks words, but his deeds; and how that the *Othoman* Emperours according to the opportunity

Alexander the Venetian Embassadour hath audience with the Persian king.

tunity of the times, vſed by turnes, ſomtime force, ſomtime deceit, as beſt ſerued their purpo-
ſes: That no Princes had at all times by diſſembled peace & vncertain leagues more deluded G
ſome, vntill they had oppreſſed others. He wiſhed alſo, that at length this his cunning dealing
might appear to the world: and that Princes would think, that being combined together, they
might more eaſily ouercome the Turk, than being ſeparated, defend their own: That in former
times, ſometime will, ſometime occaſion, was wanting to them to vnite their forces: and that
therfore they ſhould combine themſelues for their common good againſt the common ene-
my: That it concerned no leſſe the Perſians than the Chriſtians, to haue the power of the
Turk abated: and that this taking vp of arms, ſhould be for the good of the Perſian king how-
ſoeuer things ſhould fall out; if well, he ſhould then recouer what he had before loſt, with
much more that was the Turks: if otherwiſe, yet by voluntary entring into armes to counte- H
nance himſelf, and to giue the Turk occaſion to think that he feared him not: which was (as
he ſaid) the only way to preſerue their common ſafety, which would be vnto al the confederat
Princes eaſie enough, if they themſelues made it not more difficult than the power of the ene-
my. The ſpeech of the Embaſſador was willingly heard: wherunto the king anſwered, That he
would conſider thereupon what he had to do: and in the mean while, a faire houſe was appoin-
ted for the Embaſſador and his followers, and bountifull allowance of the Kings charge. He
was alſo many times ſumptuouſly feaſted by the noblemen, whom he ſtil requeſted to be me-
diatours to the King, to take that honorable war in hand. The King had at that time a ſon cal-
led *Iſmael*, a man of great ſpirit, whom he kept in durance, for that he with too much inſolency
made roads into the frontiers of the Turks dominions, to the diſturbance of the league his fa- I
ther had before made with the late Turkiſh Emperor *Solyman*: vnto him *Alexander* hauing ac-
ceſſe, was of him courteouſly heard, who fretting and languiſhing for very griefe of reuenge
vpon the Turks, wiſhed, that either the king his father had his mind, or he himſelfe the power
of a king: and ſaid, That if euer it were his good fortune to obtain the kingdome, he would in-
deed ſhew what he then in mind thought. But of him more ſhal be ſaid hereafter. Whilſt this
matter went more ſlowly forward in the Perſian Court than the Embaſſador would haue had
it, news was brought to the Court, of the great victory which the Chriſtians had much about
that time obtained of the Turks at ſea: vpon which occaſion the Embaſſador ſolicited *Tamas*
more earneſtly than before, to make himſelfe partaker of the victory of the Chriſtians, by en-
tring into confederation with them, and by taking vp of arms, rather than to hold vncertaine
friendſhip with the Turks in their miſeries, by whom he had bin ſo often wronged. This he K
ſaid was the only time for the Perſian king to recouer his former glory, the like offer whereof
would neither often chance, ne ither long ſtay: and that if he ſuffered ſo fit an opportunity to
ſlip away, he ſhould afterwards in vain wiſh for the ſame, when it were too late. This ſo whol-
ſome counſell was well heard, but preuailed nothing to ſtir vp the aged King: who then trou-
bled with rebellion in Media, or weary of the former wars he had had with the Turk, and glad
of ſuch peace as he had then with him, anſwered the embaſſador, That forasmuch as the Chri-
ſtian Princes had made a perpetuall league amongſt themſelues, he would for 2 yeres expect
the euent, and afterward as occaſion ſerued, ſo to reſolue vpon peace & war. This improuident
reſolution of the King, brought afterward vnprofitable and too late repentance to the whole L
Perſian kingdom; when as within a few yeres after, all the calamities which the Senat had by
their embaſſadors (as true prophets) foretold, redounded to the great ſhaking therof. For the
Cyprian war once ended, and peace concluded with the Venetians, *Amurath* the ſon of *Sely-*
mus, ſucceeding his father in the Turkiſh Empire, inuading the Perſian King, tooke from him
the great countrey of Media, now called Siluan, with a great part of Armenia the Great, and
the regal city of Tauris, as ſhal be hereafter in due place declared. At which time the Perſian,
who now refuſed to take vp arms, or ioyne in league with the Chriſtian Princes, repented that
he had not before hearkned to the wholſom counſell of the Venetians: and taught by his own
harms, wiſhed in vain, that the Chriſtian princes would again take vp arms and ioine with him
againſt the Turke. M

The anſwer of Tamas the Perſian King vnto the Venetian Embaſſadour.

Muſtapha Baſſa returneth to the ſiege of Famagusta.

Muſtapha the great Baſſa and General of the Turks army, furniſhed of all things that could
be deſired for maintenance of his ſiege; and ſouldiers in great number dayly repairing vn-
to him out of Cilicia, Syria, the leſſer Aſia, and the Countries thereabout, beſide great
ſupplies brought vnto him by *Haly Baſſa* from Constantinople; inſomuch, that it was
thought

A thought he had in his army two hundred thouſand men: began now that Winter was paſt, in
the later end of Aprill, to draw neerer vnto Famagusta, and with incredible labour to caſt vp
trenches & mounts againſt the City, of ſuch height, that the defendants from the higheſt pla-
ces of the city could ſcarcely ſee the points of the Turks ſpears, or tops of their tents, as they
lay incamped: which was no great matter for the Baſſa to perform, hauing in his camp forty
thouſand pioners alwaies ready at his command.

The deſcription of Famagusta.

The City of Famagusta is ſcituat in the Eaſt end of the Iſland, in a plain and low ground
betwixt two promontories, the one called S. *Andrews* head, and the other the head of Græcia.
It is in circuit two miles, and in form foure ſquare; but that the ſide toward the Eaſt, longer
and more winding than the reſt, doth much deform the exact figure of a quadrant: it is almoſt
B on two parts beaten vpon with the ſea, the other parts toward the land are defended with a
ditch not aboue fifteen foot broad, a ſtone wall, and certain bulwarks and parapets. Vpon the
gate that leadeth to Amathus ſtandeth a ſix cornered tower: other towers ſtand out alſo in
the wall, euery one of them ſcarce able to contain ſix pieces of Artillery. It hath a hauen ope-
ning toward the Southeaſt, defended from the iniury of the weather by two great rocks, be-
twixt which the ſea commeth in by a narow paſſage about forty paces ouer, but after opening
wider giueth a conuenient harbor to ſhips, whereof it cannot contain any great number, and
was now ſhut vp with a ſtrong chain. Neer vnto the hauen ſtandeth an old Caſtle with foure
towers, after the antient manner of building. There was in the city one ſtrong bulwark, built
after the maner of the fortification of our time, with paliſadoes, curtains, caſements, and ſuch
C like, in ſuch manner, as that it ſeemed almoſt impregnable. All which, although they made
ſhew of a ſtrong and well fortified city, yet for that there wanted many things, it was thought
too weak long to hold out againſt the great power of the Turk: but what wanted by reaſon of
the ſituation and weak fortification, that the Gouernour and other noble captains ſupplied
in beſt ſort they might, with a ſtrong garriſon of moſt valiant ſouldiers, the ſureſt defence of
ſtrong places. There was in the city two thouſand and fiue hundred Italians, two hundred Al-
banois horſmen, before entertained by the Gouernour; and of the Cypriots themſelues were
muſtred two thouſand and fiue hundred mo, all men reſolutely ſet down to ſpend their liues in
defence of their country.

The number of the defendants of Famagusta.

Muſtapha with wonderfull celerity hauing brought to perfection his fortifications, planted
D his battery of 64 great pieces; amongſt which were foure great Baſilisks of exceeding bignes;
wherewith he continually without intermiſſion battered the wals of the City in fiue places;
but eſpecially that part of the wall that was between the hauen and the gate that leadeth to
Amathus. And with great mortar pieces caſt vp huge ſtones, which from high falling into the
City, with their weight brake downe the houſes they light vpon, and fell oftentimes through
their vaults, euen to the bottome of their cellars, to the great terror of the beſieged. The wals
in diuers places ſore ſhaken, and the houſes beaten down, he began to aſſault the city: which
the defendants (their forces yet whole) valiantly repulſed, and not only defended their wals
and draue the Turks from the breaches, but furiouſly fallied out vpon them, and hauing ſlaine
and wounded many, wonderfully diſturbed their fortifications, & abated their courage: nei-
B ther did the enemy with greater fury maintain the battery or aſſault, than did the Chriſtians
the defence of the city, ſtill ſending their deadly ſhot into the thickeſt of that great multi-
tude; inſomuch that in few daies the Baſſa had loſt 30000 of his men: and the captains them-
ſelues wondring at the valor of the defendants, as if they had not now to do with ſuch Chri-
ſtians as they had before ſo oftentimes ouerthrown, but with ſome other ſtrange people, began
to deſpair of the winning of the city. The Turks thus doubting, & almoſt at a ſtand, the Chri-
ſtians in the mean time made vp their breaches with earth, baskets, wool ſacks, and ſuch like,
not ſparing their very beds, and bed-cloths, cheſts, carpets, & whatſoeuer els might ſerue to fil
vp the breach. Among many wants they feared, the greateſt was the want of pouder which
with continuall ſhooting began greatly to diminiſh: wherefore to reſerue ſome part therof
F againſt al extremities, they thought it beſt whilſt yet ſome ſtore was left, to vſe the ſame more
ſparingly, and to ſhoot more ſeldome. But the Turks ſtill drawing neerer and neerer the city,
& caſting vp mounts higher than the wals of the city, with earth & faggots filled vp the ditch:
which done, they of the broken ſtones made wals on either ſide, to ſaue themſelues from the
flankring ſhot of the Chriſtians; then giuing a freſh aſſault, they vſed not only their ſhot and
other

Famagusta aſſaulted and notably defended by the Chriſtians.

Famagusta aſſaulted by the Turks.

other missiue weapons, but came foot to foot, and notably fought in the breach hand to hand. G
Which manner of fight (as if it had been so agreed vpon) they euery day maintained for the space of six houres. And although the Turks by reason of their multitude were diuided into many parts, and fresh men still succeeded them that were weary; yet such was the courage of the defendants, that euery man requested to haue the places of most danger, and from thence with couragious hand repulsed the Turks with exceeding great slaughter. But for all that, the furious enemy maintaining the assault, not only by day, but by often alarms in the night also, kept the Christians continually in doubtfull suspence and readinesse, as if they should haue receiued a present assault: and as soon as it was day, with fresh men that had slept their sleep, desperately assailed the Christians almost spent and megre for lack of sleep and rest. Force not preuailing, the restlesse enemy leauing nothing vnattempted, by a queint deuise was like to H
haue taken one of the gates of the city: there was growing in the Island great plenty of a kind of wood much of the nature of the Firre or Pitch tree, easie to be set on fire, but hardly to be quenched, but diffring in this, that in burning it gaue forth such a noisom smell, as was not by any man well to be endured: of this kind of wood the Turks brought a wonderfull quantity to one of the gates called Limosina, which once set on fire, could not by the defendants by any means be quenched, although they cast whole pipes & tuns of water at once into it, but most terribly burning close vnto the gate by the space of foure dayes, with the vehemencie of the heat and lothsomnesse of the smell, so troubled the defendants, that scarce any of them could endure to stand vpon the wall, but forsaking the same, were euer and anon like to haue giuen the enemy leaue to enter. I

Bragadinus encourageth the defendants.

Bragadinus the Goueruour, more careful of the common safety than of his own danger, ceased not still to be going about from one place to another; telling the Italians, That now was giuen the fittest occasion they could desire, for them to shew their valor in, and to gaine great honour of their barbarous enemies: that it would be to their eternall glory, if by their onely means without any other help, the city so far off from the reliefe of the Christians might be defended, and the great power of the Turks defeated: this (he said) was the only time wherein it stood them most vpon to play the men; for if they could keep that little was left, the rest of the Isle would be easily recouered: and although the Turks army exceeded far in number, yet did they excell them in prowesse and valour; whereby a few, and as it were but an handfull of men, had oftentimes preuailed against most infinit multitudes: now all the eies of the world, K
as well friends as foes to be fixed vpon them, so that if they held out against so great a power, both their enemies would admire their valour, and all Christendome extoll their inuincible courage and prowesse, and that they themselues should therby reap both great profit and honour: neither that any thing could be alledged, why they should not be compared with the worthy knights of Malta, who to their eternall fame deliuered themselues out of the mouth of the Turke, and left to the world a most faire example for men valiantly to stand in so good a quarrell vpon their own defence: Nicosia (he said) was lost rather by the cowardise of the defendants, than by the valour of the enemy. He also praised the fidelitie and courage of the Græcians, who for any feare or danger could neuer be remoued from the Venetians, or induced to submit themselues vnto the Turks gouernment: and persuaded them, with the same re- L
solution to defend their owne city, that they saw in the Venetian soldiers, fighting for them, and for their own honour to striue with the Italians, in defence of their State, their countrey, their wiues, and children, against the tyrannie of the Turks; forasmuch as aid would in short time come, and set them free from all danger. The Senat also in like maner had sent letters to Famagusta, willing them to be of good cheere, and yet a while to hold out the siege, and that they should be in short time relieued. *Baleonius* also Generall of the garrison souldiers, him-

Baleonius a valiant captaine.

selfe in armes was present at euery skirmish, carefully foreseeing what was in euery place and at all times to bee done; and by encouraging of his souldiers, and aduenturing of his person, shewed himselfe to be both a worthy commander and a valiant soldier. Neither did the soldiers alone, but euen the women also what they might, striuing aboue the power of the strength M
both of the minds and bodies; some bringing meat, some weapons vnto the defendants, and others, stones, beds, chests, and such like stuffe to make vp the breaches. But victuals beginning now to wax scant, 8000 of the vulgar sort of people were turned out of the city, who al in safety were suffred to passe through the midst of the Turks army, to seek their liuing in the countrey.

Thus

A Thus whilst open force preuailed not according to the Turks desire, they began in foure places to vndermine the City, in hope to haue found entrance: but the defendants doubting such a matter, by diligent listning, and great vessels set full of water neer vnto the wals, and drums laid vpon the ground, by the mouing thereof discouered their works, and with countermines frustrated those of the enemy: yet in so great a stir and hurly-burly all things were not possibly to be discouered; wherby it came to passe, that whilst the defendants were altogether busied in defending the wals, a mine not perceiued was suddenly blowne vp neer to the tower standing vpon the hauen, by force wherof a great part of the wall thereabout was in a moment with a most horrible noise ouerthrown. With the fall therof the Turks thinking the City as good as taken, with an horrible shout and outcry mounted the wall, and in the breach set vp

The Turks seek to vndermine the City.

B their ensigns; County *Peter*, who had the charge of that part of the wall, being not now able to defend the same, so suddenly ouerthrown: which *Nestor Martinengus* quickly perceiuing, came speedily from his own station, to repulse the enemy now ready to haue entred. The fight became there most fierce and terrible, on the one side hope, on the other side desperation, inraged their minds: the Turks were in hope, that if they forced themselues but a little they should forthwith win the city; and the defendants propounding nothing vnto themselues but shamefull death and torture, fought as men altogether desperat. The Turks trusted to their multitude, and the Christians to their valor. In the mean time, *Andreas Bragadinus* with certain great pieces aptly placed, out of the castle slew a number of the Turks as they were comming to the breach. *Baleonius* hearing of the danger, came in hast with a company of couragious soldiers,

The breaches notably defended.

C to relieue them that were fighting at the breach, and cheering vp his followers, thrust himself with the formost into the face of the breach; and there not only appointed what was to be don, and with cheerfull countenance encouraged his soldiers, but with his own hand, hauing slain many, took one of the Turks ensigns, when as he had before slain the bearer thereof, and tumbled him headlong into the ditch. With the sight therof others incouraged, both on the right hand and on the left, made there a notable battell, as men fighting for their last hope. In fine the Turks were glad to retire, leauing behind them foure thousand carkases of their slain fellows in the town ditch, with fourteen of their ensigns which were brought into the city. Neither was this victory gained without some losse of the Christians; about a hundred were slain, among whom were *Robertus Maluetius*, *Dauid Nocius*, *Celsus Feto*, *Erasmus Firmo*, all Cap-

D taines.

For all this, they in the city, took small rest, the Turks great shot stil thundring in amongst them; & that in such furious sort, as that in one day (which was the eighth of Iune) were numbred about fiue thousand great shot, shot into the city. With which continuall battery, one of the round bulwarks of the towne was so shaken, as that a part of the front therof was fallen downe into the ditch, and another part stood leaning ready to fall, in such sort as that it was not longer to be defended: which the Christians perceiuing, presently vndermined the same bulwark, and in the mine placed certain barrels of gunpouder. The Turks comming to assault the place they had so sore battered, the defendans after some small resistance feigned themselues to retire for feare, so to draw the enemy the faster on; who was no sooner come to the

E place desired, but that fire being put to the mine, blew vp the bulwark with al them that stood thereon; of whom some were ouerwhelmed with the earth it selfe, other some were blowne vp in the aire, and falling downe again, miserably perished; and other some shot (as it were) out of a gun, fell down a great way off, and so were rent in pieces: which was vnto the defendants a most pleasant sight. About six hundred of the Turks perished at this assault, amongst whom were *Mustapha* Generall of the voluntary soldiers, and *Feregates* a man of great marke amongst the Turks. But by the hasty firing of the mine, there perished also about an hundred of the Christians, ouertaken in their owne deuice, amongst whom were also some of great account.

They of Famagusta blow vp one of their own battered bulwarks with 600 Turkes theron.

The Turks inflamed with their losses, were more inraged with the speeches and persuasions

F of *Mustapha* their general; who most earnestly exhorted them, with one consent to assaile their enemies, now driuen into a corner of the Island, spoiled of al their country, trusting more vnto the strength of the place, than of themselues, intreating for nothing more, than with their liues to depart thence. But what place (said he) is there impregnable for the Turks? Nicosia, Zigeth, and such other strong Townes woon, what are they but the monuments and testimo-

nies of the cowardise of the Christians, and the prowesse of the Turks? This day (said he) wil G
confirm your former labors & victories, which you before vndertook for honor, but here shal
you haue honor mixt with gold, and prey sufficient to make you all rich. The Turks incoura-
Famagusta hardly assaulted. ged with this speech of their General, as men forgetfull of all dangers, began a more terrible
siege than before; and hauing with incredible labor made three great mines; and firing them,
ouerthrew a great part of the castle wall, the notable defence of the hauen. Which don, they
with all their force oftentimes assailed the city, as if it should haue bin their last labour; nei-
ther ceased they so to do night or day. At which time also that part of the city which is bea-
ten vpon with the sea, was assaulted by them in the gallies also.

The poor Christians spent with deadly wounds, continual labor, perpetual watching both
night and day, and now brought to smal number, hardly withstood the furious enemy, assay- H
ling them in so many places at once, and held out that tempest rather with courage than
strength. In the mean while the enemies army increased daily, the Turks in hope of the like
spoil they had at Nicosia, continually repairing out of the countries therabout, to the camp.
The Christian captains seeing their men with continual assaults sore spent (insomuch that
how many soeuer they seemed to be, there was not aboue 300 sound men left) but 7 barrels
of pouder remaining, want of al things daily increasing, and hope of aid decreasing, & the Ve-
netians, their only comfort, so far from them; the captains (I say) themselues began to quaile
in courage: and the rather, for that the relief sent from Venice could not possibly be brought
them, but staid at Crete; the Turks gallies stil lying before Famagusta, so that nothing could
in safety be brought thither. This fear of the Captains could not long be hid or dissembled, I
but that it was of the Citisens perceiued: who hauing neither power to hold out the siege,
neither place left to fly vnto, ouercome with necessity, came flocking to the Gouernour, cra-
uing of him aid and comfort; and with aboundance of tears besought him, in this Common
desperation to take compassion of them, their wiues, and children, a people that had always so
wel deserued of the Venetian State. Their Walls (they said) were beaten down, their Bul-
warks ouerthrown, the soldiers that remained spent with wounds, watching, and famin; the
Enemies strength increasing daily; so that they must needs in short time all perish with the
sword, if the city were by force taken. Wherfore they besought him, that yeelding to necess-
sity, which no power was euer able to withstand, he would at last whilst time yet serued, pro-
uide for the safety of so faithfull and kind a people, and not to refuse any conditions, how hard K
soeuer.

The requests and tears of the Citisens of Famagusta, with the due consideration of the
distressed state of the City, mooued *Bragadinus* to compassion; who comforting them vp in
best sort he could, persuaded them to be of good cheer, for that he had care both of them and
their state, and would so prouide for them, as that they should neuer repent themselues of
their fidelity and loialty toward the Venetian State. Hee in the mean time considering the
greatnesse of the danger which presently hung ouer all their heads, propounded the matter in
a general councel called together for the same purpose; where after a little debating the mat-
ter, they all agreed to yeeld: only *Baleonius* at the first dissenting, as doubtful of the Turkes
faith; but afterwards yeelding vnto the opinion of the rest. So an herauld being sent vnto the L
Bassa, a truce was taken for certain daies to parle in, and hostages giuen on both sides, during
which time not so much as a dart was thrown, or an arrow shot from either side. After a few
They of Famagusta parley with the Turks daies parly the conditions were agreed vpon, wherupon the City should be yeelded into the
power of the Bassa; which were these: First, That the inhabitants in the city yet aliue, should
in safety injoy their liues, liberty, and goods, with the free exercise of the Christian religion.
That the Gouernour with the rest of the Captains and souldiers might in safety depart with
bag and baggage; and at their departure to take with them fiue great pieces of ordnance and
three horses, which soeuer it should please them to make choice of; & that the Turks should
safely conduct them into Crete, finding them both victuall and shipping. All which things
were with more kindnes promised, than with fidelity performed: yet all these matters agreed M
vpon and conceiued into writing, as also by solemn oath on both sides confirmed; the gouer-
nor sending a messenger before, requested that he might haue leaue to see the Bassa, and to de-
liuer vnto him the keyes of the city. Leaue being granted, *Bragadinus* the Gouernor, *Baleonius*,
Andreas Bragadinus, *Laurentius Theupolus* Earle of Paphos, *Io. Antonius Quirinus*, *Aloisius Mar-*
tinengus,

A *tinengus* with a great sort of other Captains came into the Camp: but before they entred into
the Bassa's pauilion, they were commanded to deliuer their weapons, which they all did. At
the first meeting *Mustapha* entertained them curteously, and with many glorious words, as if
it had bin in admiration, extolled their worthy valour and courage; saying, That he was glad
now to know them by face, whose valiant minds he had before known by their most valiant
deeds. Now prowesse and valor seemed not only in safety, but also honoured of the Enemy:
when after a long discourse, the false Bassa revolved vnto the mischief and trechery he had be-
fore resolued vpon; complaining, that certain of his men taken at the siege, had bin afterward
against all reason and order slain. Which the gouernor and the rest vtterly denying, hee start
vp as in a rage, and with high words and stern countenance vrging the fact, commanded them *The treachery Bassa breaketh his faith, and cruelly massacres Bragadinus and diuers others.*
B all to be forthwith cast in bonds; and so bringing them out of his pauilion, in the sight of the
Army, contrary to his oath and promise caused them all to be slain. At which time *Bragadi-*
nus and *Theupolus* were oft times commanded to lay down their heads to haue had them struck
off: yet was their execution deferred, and their liues reserued, not to saue them, but with
more exquisit punishment and torture to satisfie the barbarous cruelty of the faithlesse and
vnmercifull Tyrant. The next day after, *Bragadinus* hauing his ears before cut off in despight,
was brought forth to be wondred at, and tortured with the most extremest kind of torture
that Tyrannie it self could haue deuised: for dispoiled of his jewels and attyre, and a basket
laid vpon his shoulders filled with earth, he was inforced oftentimes to carry the same, to re-
pair the rampiers that were ouerthrown; and euer as he passed by, the proud Bassa insulting
C vpon him, to fall down and kisse the ground at his feet: and so buffeted with the Turkes fists,
and spurned as a dog with their feet, was in great derision and despight asked, whether he ho-
ped that Christ his God would come to helpe him or no? Which indignity of it self bitter
and miserable, the dignity of the man made much more miserable; whose comly and stately
countenance, with his long and reuerend beard, euen in that extremity added vnto him a cer-
tain majesty and grace. In this so foul a sight of vertue troden vnder foot, the poor Christians
could neither wel stay their tears, nor let them fall for fear of the Turks displeasure. But the
forsworn Bassa, not only forgetfull of all humanity, but inraged rather with extream cruelty,
caused that noble and worthy *Bragadinus* to be set in a chair, and his skin flain off from him
quick: a punishment vnworthy of him that suffered it, but most worthy him that inflicted the
D same. Yet in so great & horrible a torture he was not heard to let fall any word not beseeming
a faithfull Christian, and the honor of his country; only he called vpon God for mercy, and
detested the Turks perfidious trechery, and so breathed out his life. But the Tyrant, worthy
of eternall infamy, not satisfied with the torture of the liuing man, caused the head to be cut
off from the dead body, and vpon the point of a spear to be set vp on a high place for all men
to look vpon. His skin also stuffed with chaffe he caused to be hanged vp at the yards arm, and
so to be caried about; not so true a trophy of his victory, as a testimony of his perfidious ty-
rannie. Two daies after, County *Theupolus*, after he had bin most shamefully intreated, ful of
the marks of the Turks cruelty, was (to make an end withall) shamefully hanged in the mar-
ket place. With what cruelty the Bassa had tyrannised vpon the Nobility, with the same he
E also raged vpon the meaner sort of citisens, of whom some he slew, some he chained in the ga-
lies, and caried away the rest into bondage: 300 Christians, some soldiers, some citisens, that
came forth with the gouernor to see the Turks camp, were there also slain. *Nestor Martinengus*
a famous captain escaped the tyrants hands, being hidden by one of the Bassa's Eunuchs; who
by the help of a Greek fisherman got to Leptis, and from thence to Crete, and so afterwards
to Venice; where he faithfully reported to *Aloysius Mosenicus* the Duke, the whole proces of
that War, with the losse of that City: and that in the space of threescore and ten daies there
was aboue a hundred and forty thousand great shot discharged against the city. Such Noble-
men and gentlemen as escaped out of this so general a slaughter, banished their Country, and
in misery, dispersed without hope of return, led afterward a miserable and vagrant life, though
F some of them euen at this day (as I haue bin credibly informed) are by the Venetian State
right wel maintained. The country people and artificers were generally by the Turks spared,
for the peopling of the Country. This was the fatal ruin of Cyprus, one of the most fruitfull *Cyprus lost.*
and beautiful Islands of the Mediterranian. The losse wherof not without cause grieued ma-
ny Christian princes, as sometime a kingdome of it selfe, but now a prouince of the Turkish
Empire:

Empire: our sins, or the euil agreement of Christian princes, or both the cause therof, I know not; neither if I did, durst I so say. G

Whilst *Mustapha* yet lay at the siege of Famagusta, the other two Bassa's, *Partau* and *Haly*, (the one the Admiral, and the other General of the soldiers appointed by *Selymus* for the kee-ping of the sea, that no relief should be sent by the Venetians to Famagusta: and further, as occasion serued to infest their dominions) about the midst of May arriued in Euboea, with 230 gallies: whither *Vluzales* Viceroy of Algiers, with diuers other the Turks notable pyrats resorted vnto them with their gallies. With this fleet departing from Euboea, and sailing a-longst the coast of Mysia, Ionia, Caria, and so directly toward the Rhodes, they were met with 30 gallies of the Turks aduenturers. After that, hauing left certain gallies to lie before Fa-magusta, they directed their course for the Island of Crete, and the thirteenth of Iune put in-to the bay of Amphimalea, now called Suda, and there landed 12000 men. H

The Turk with a great fleet arriues at Crete.

Crete described

The Island of Crete, now called Candia, is greater than Cyprus, but lesser than Sicilia or Sardinia: but for fertilitie comparable with any of the Islands of the Mediterranian. It was in antient time famous for many things, but especially for a hundred cities which stood ther-in, as witnesseth amongst others, *Seneca*, *Vrbibus centum speciosa Creta*: but at this time it hath only three, Candia a Colony of the Venetians, wherof the Isle now taketh name; Canea, and Rhetimo. The circuit of the Island is fiue hundred and twenty miles, ful of hills; for which cause people of the Country are much delighted in hunting; in it is no nauigable riuer or ve-nimous creature. It is now most famous thorow a great part of the World, for the good Malmsey which there groweth, and is from thence in great aboundance sent into many far countries. Therin grows also great plenty of Cypres trees, seruing for shipping. It is at this day subject to the Venetians. The Turks being landed, and ranging vp and down the Coun-try, did what harm they possibly could, burning and spoiling all as they went; vntil that at last they were vpon the sudden incountred by *Franciscus Iustinianus*, who but a little before their landing was come into the Island with a thousand souldiers, and now joining with the Island people, notably charged them, being altogether dispersed and seeking after prey, and hauing slain many of them, inforced the rest to retyre to their Gallies. The next day the Turks lan-ding again in great number, burnt diuers towns, and ransacked Setia and Rhetimo, where they took a rich prey, and caried away many prisoners. But loded with their booty, dispersed, and fearing nothing lesse than to be at that time set vpon, they were assailed by *Lucas Michael* a valiant Captain, two thousand of them slain, and with the losse of their booty and prisoners glad to retyre vnto their Gallies. Thus repulsed from Crete, they took their course to Cythe-ra, Zacynthus, and Cephalenia, Islands subject to the Venetians, where besides other harmes by them don, they carried away with them six thousand poor Christians into most miserable captiuity. I K

The Turks driuen from Crete.

Departing thence, and sailing alongst the coast of Epirus, they came to Suppolo an hauen town in Epirus, which *Venerius* in the beginning of these wars had taken from the Turks, but was now again by them recouered. After that, they came to Dulcigno, which the Turks had but a little before besieged by land, for that the Gouernor therof and of Antivari (another town of the Venetians vpon the frontiers of Dalmatia) had compacted with three hundred Epirots to stir vp the country into rebellion, and to reuolt to the Venetians. For the effecting wherof the Epirots requested of the Venetians six thousand soldiers to make head, which the Venetians promised to send them. Wherupon the aforesaid Epirots forthwith took Arms, and raised most part of Epirus into rebellion: vnto whom was sent at the first a captain with a hundred Italians from Catora. But when the Epirots vainly expecting the promised aid, saw themselues on euery side hardly beset with their enemies, dispairing of any good succes, they yeelded themselues to the mercy of *Achmetes Bassa*, *Selymus* his great Lieutenant in Grecia, (who to represse that so dangerous a rebellion was come thither with an Army of fourscore thousand Turks.) So was a most fair occasion lost, when as the rest of the Epirots, inflamed with the hope of liberty, were ready to haue come vnto their friends already in Arms, and by their example like enough to haue raised all Grecia into rebellion. But now deceiued of their expectation, they bewailed their misery, and trusting to the promise of the Venetians, they had cast themselues and al theirs into most manifest danger. They of Dulcigno seeing them-selues hardly beset both by sea and land, sent to *Partau Bassa*, and couenanting with him, That they L M

A fair occasion let slip.

A they might in safety depart, deliuered vnto him the town; and so *Sara Martinengus* gouernor of the town, with the garison soldiers, were in four ships conueyed in safety to Ragusium. As for the citizens, promise was kept with them after the Turkish maner. In the same hurly the Turks took also the towns of Antivari and Budua. Antivari was both by situation and forti-fication strong, and furnished with a good garison. Neuertheles *Alexander Donatus* gouernor therof, a man of no experience in martial affairs, ouercome with the present fear, & dispairing to be able to hold the town, cowardly yeelded the same vnto the enemy. Which his beastly cowardise the Senat suffered not vnpunished, but confiscating his goods, and remooving him from the Senat, cast him into exile. From Antivari, the Turks following their good fortune, departed with their fleet into the Bay called Rizonicus, but now the Bay of Catharo, and B both by sea and land layd hard siege vnto the strong Town of Catharo, called in antient time Ascrivium: against which they cast vp two great bulwarks, and planted theron nine great pieces of Artillery, wherwith to haue battered the Town and Castle. But the defendants as resolute men sallying out, put them from their Ordnance, and inforced them againe to their Gallies.

Certain strong townes of the Venetians yeelded vnto the Turks.

Cowardise punished.

Whilst these things were in doing, *Vluzales* and *Caracoza*, both men of great account and name among the Turks, got leaue for ten days of the Admiral, with 60 Gallies to spoile the Islands neer therabouts subiect vnto the Venetians. Who comming to the Island Curzola, about eighty miles Eastward from Ragusium, landed their men, with purpose to assault the town of Curzola, of the same name with the Island. Which *Anthonius Contarenus* the gouer-C nor therof perceiuing, in the dead time of the night fled for fear out of the town, into the rocks and places of more safety; after whom the townsmen followed also: so that in the town were not left aboue 20 men, and about 80 women; who with weapons in their hands, after the rest were fled, came to the walls, as wishing rather there to die, than to fall into the hands of the barbarous enemy. But at such time as the Turks began to approch the town, and the women with stones, fire, and such weapons as they had, were beating them off, and with greater cour-rage defending the place, than was to haue bin in their sex expected; by the goodnes of God a great tempest arose suddenly out of the North, which so outragiously tossed the gallies, that *Vluzales* & *Caracoza* were glad to giue ouer the assault, and to get them thence into a place of more safety. Sailing alongst the coast, they by the way spoiled Lysna, Bracia, and Lissa, D little Islands vpon the coast of Dalmatia, out of which they carried away 1600 poor Christi-ans into captiuity. These arch pyrats at their pleasure roaming vp and down the sea, fortuned to light vpon a ship of the Christians, bound from Messana to Corcyra, which they took, and in rifling therof found certain letters directed to the gouernor of Corcyra, certifying him of the league then but lately concluded among the Christian Princes. Which letters they sent in post to *Selymus*, to giue him knowledge therof: who therupon writ to his Admirals, With all hostility to infest any of the dominions of the Christian Confederats.

Curzola forsaken by the men, is defended by women.

The Turks fleet thus raging and reigning in the Adriatick, brought a great feat not onely vpon the coasts of Dalmatia, Istria, and the Islands therabouts which were by them most afflic-ted; but also vpon the sea coast of Apulia, and all alongst that side of Italy, yea and vpon the E city of Venice it self: insomuch as they were glad to fortifie as wel the City, as the frontiers of their dominions, with new fortifications and garisons; as did also the King and the pope in Italy: for why, no ship or gally could now look out of any port but it was presently surprised and taken by the Turks. Which with the sundry calamities before receiued, so confounded the Venetians, that they in their assemblies and consultations seemed rather to quake for feare, than after their wonted maner, gravely to consult how the enemy was to be repulsed. Yet for the more safety of their city, and for fear lest the Turks fleet should forcibly break in vp-on them, they strongly fortified the passages through the rock or bank which defenderh the city from the sea, and kept continually twelue thousand men in readines in the City, for the more assurance therof.

F All the Turks fleet being again met together, *Partau* and *Haly* departed from Aulona, the 26 of August, and sailed directly to Corcyra: which little Island seemed to be compassed in round with the great enemies fleet. *Partau Bassa* at his first arrival there landed 800 horsemen and a thousand foot, who ranging vp and down the Island, did great hurt, and burnt the very suburbs of the city. At which time the garison soldiers sallying out vpon them with a thou-

sand

sand horsmen and 500 foot slew a great number of them, and among the rest one *Paphus Rays* a man of great name. Thus the Turks fleet hauing don wonderful harm in the Venetian territory, as wel in the Islands as vpon the frontiers of Dalmatia, inriched with the spoile of those countries, and carying away with them fifteen thousand most miserable captiues; departing from Corcyra, arriued al in the bay of Corinth, now called the gulf of Lepanto, where we wil for a while leaue them to ride in safety.

The Turkes put into the Bay of Lepanto.

At such time as this great fleet (the terror of that part of Christendom) first put into the Adriatique, *Venerius* the Venetian Admiral then lying with fifty gallies at Corcyra, and fearing if he should longer stay there, to be inforced with so small a power to fight against so strong an enemy, or els so to be shut vp, that he could not joyn his forces with the Spanish fleet, which was daily expected; vpon the comming of the fleet departed thence to Messana, there more commodiously and more safely to attend the comming of *Don Iohn* of Austria, general of the Spanish forces. At his comming *Columnius* met him with 12 gallies (which the great Duke of Florence had sent in the aid of the Confederats) and three gallies of Malta, who only were yet come thither, and with great honor receiued him. Not long after, *M. Antonius Quirinus* and *Antonius Canalis* came thither also with 62 gallies, before appointed by the Venetians for the relief of Famagusta, but now called back again to join with the rest of the fleet: and in short time the gallies of Sicily arriued there also. At last after long expectation in the later end of August came *Don Iohn* with his Spanish fleet; a man then about 24 yeares old, in whom wanted no honorable parts, his mothers blemish only excepted: who although he was most dear vnto his father *Charles* the fift, yet left he him nothing by his Wil, but only commended him to his son *Philip* as his brother. The Venetian and the Popes Admirals hearing of his comming, went to meet him, and that with such triumph and joy, that all the former heauines before conceiued of his long staying, was turned into gladnes; with most assured hope of triumphant victory; their doubled forces, and two great fleets joined in one, encouraged them aboue measure, filling all the West with expectation of some great matter. The Venetian fleet consisted of 108 gallies, six galliasses, two tall ships, and a great number of small galliots. Vnto them were joined 12 gallies of the Popes, of whom *Columnius* was admiral. And with *Don Iohn* the General, and *Auria* the Spanish Admiral, came 81 Gallies, of whom three were from the Knights of Malta. In this fleet, beside mariners, were reckoned to be twenty thousand men; an Army not only beautiful for shew (as consisting of most choice bodies) but indeed strong and puissant, old beaten souldiers almost throughout it, in euery place intermixed with others of lesse skil: many known to be men of great experience, rich and lusty bodies, were by name called forth to this so honorable seruice; and diuers others of great nobility, as wel old men, as yong and lusty gallants, for the naturall hatred they bare against the Common Enemy, came, and as voluntary men cheerfully thrust themselues into that religious War; euery of which Noblemen as they were greater by birth or power, so had they drawn after them a greater number of their fauorits and followers, strong and able bodies of their own charge brauely armed; who sought for no other pay for their pains and danger, but by some notable victory to eternise their names, or honourably to spend their liues in so iust a quarrel, as for the defence of the Christian faith and Religion. Among these most honorable and resolute men were three of greatest mark, *Alexander Farnesius* Prince of Parma, in time to be the honor and glory of Italy, his natiue country; whose vntimely death in the low Countries euen his honorable enemies lamented; and being dead, is not without cause, and worthy desert accounted among the most politique and famous leaders of our age. The second was *Francisco Maria* prince of Vrbin, a yong man honorably descended, and of an inuincible courage. And the third *P. Iordanus Vrsinus*, an honorable gentleman of the family of the *Vrsini* in Rome.

The forces of the confederats meet together at Messana.

Don Iohn of Austria General.

All the power of the confederat princes thus met together at Messana, and al things now in readinesse, a Councel was called by the General, to resolue what course to take in those most dangerous wars; against so puissant an enemy: vnto which Councel were admitted onely *Don Iohn* the General himself, and *Aloisius Requesenius*, of some called *Requesenius*, great Commendor of Castile, the Generals lieutenant, or rather director of his actions; *Sebastianus Venerius* the Venetian Admiral; and *Augustinus Barbadicus* General proueditor, of equal authority and reputation with the Admiral; and one Secretary. *Marcus Antonius Columnius* the Popes admi-

rall,

rall, with *Pompeius Colonna* his kinsman. The chief point whereon these great Commaunders were to resolue, was, Whether they should aduenture the general fortune of a battel against so strong an enemy, or only seek to defend the frontiers of their own dominions. Which question (as all others of like sort) was of diuers diuersly fansied, euery man pleasing himselfe with his own reasons. *Requisenius*, *Don Iohn* his chief Counsellor (without whom he willingly did nothing, and vndoubtedly a man of great valour and experience) speaking first, said, That the Enemies strength was necessarily to be known, before they committed all to the fortune of a battel; and that therfore delay was to be vsed, lest improuident hast ouerthrew all. Matters of War that were to be decided by the sword, were (as he said) with great and sound aduice to be administred, for that the errors of battel, wherby all was to be put in hasard, were not again to be amended. He highly commended *Scipio Africanus*, who counselled great Commanders not to fight with the enemy but vpon some great advantage, or els therunto forced by necessity. But as things now stood, what opportunitie could be ministred, or aduantage taken, the enemy keeping himself close within the bay of Corinth, and no apparant means how to draw him out from thence. Neither that he for his part was of so great spirit, as within the harbor in place of disaduantage, without hope, to set vpon an enemy in common estimation stronger than himself. For what dishonor should they incur, if hauing receiued some notable losse, they should be inforced with shame to giue ouer the enterprise begun? And to besiege Orichus, Dirrachium, or Castrum Novum, frontier Towns of the Turks, so to draw them out to battel; what were this more, than to shew a certain fear & distrust in themselues, and to discourage the minds of the souldiers? For as well the Enemy, as the common souldior, would forthwith deem such a poor attempt to proceed of a meer fear, as to make a vain shew of somthing doing, when as they durst not incounter the enemy in his ful strength. As for the other reason drawn from Necessity; What necessity had they, so desperatly to set vpon the enemy, who vpon the approch of Winter must needs in short time lay vp his Gallies; and being already in safe harbor, would neuer be drawn to the hasard of a battel, especially like hope, like strength, like danger appearing on both sides? Wherfore it were best in his opinion, only to make a great shew of their forces, so to terrifie the barbarous Enemy; but in no case to hazard the hope of the whole Christian Commonweal vpon the fortune of one battell. He further also propounded vnto him the vncertain euents of things, the common chances of War, the strength of the Enemy as wel by sea as by land, with whom they themselues were hot (as he said) indeed comparable. Then what an infinit heap of miseries was like to ouerwhelm the Christian Commonweal, if they should in any thing miscarry. And that therefore safe aduice was in this case to be preferred, before that which was attended vpon with great and imminent danger.

On the other side the Venetians, who thought all delay both infamous and dangerous to their State, were far of another opinion. Where *Venerius* and *Barbadicus* not only vehemently persuaded, but most instantly requested the Generall, with the rest of the great Commanders, That as soon as opportunity serued they would commit the matter to the trial of a battel, and not make that Councel, which their couragious minds might make most glorious & fortunat, by declining of battel to become dishonorable & frustrat. If desire of honour (sayd they) mooue vs not, shal neither these things mooue vs? the losse of so great and chargeable a preparation, the spoiling of our frontiers, and the insolencie of our enemies, which we increase by delay? We defend our selues and ours, we inuade not them: We go not about to driue the Turk out of his Empire, but that we our selues be not by him driuen out of our own countries. Wherfore we ought so much the more readily and speedily to think of battell, by how much the necessity of him is greater that repulseth a danger, than of him that offreth the same. What are our weapons blunt, or our hands benummed? Shall the Turks so often prouoke vs, & we stil be vnrenenged? Shall we alway shew our weapons, & neuer fight? One fortunat battel is able to blot out the infamy of former time, & to fil vs with hope of future happines. If nothing els, let the very indignity of the matter stir vs vp to battell. And what doubt is there but that the Enemy swelling with pride, wil come forth with his fleet and giue vs battel? Think you that a smal discredit wil insue to our honour and reputation, if contented with a vain brag, hauing not once skirmished with the Enemy, or so much as seen him, we shall return home, to the generall shame of Christendom? See how many pestilent inconveniences

The Venetians urge battell.

uenience will insue, if we shall take this course. This manner of proceeding wil fil all mens G
minds with dispair; the people wil murmure, That they are to no purpose oppressed with exactions and tributes. The confederat princes (carefull of this war) will say, That they have in vain wearied themselues with often embassies and care therof. The proud enemy wil account our departure, or declining of battel, for a manifest victory. The next year we may looke for him again with a greater and stronger fleet, which wil not only make a more heauy War, but destroy and bear down all before it. At which time who can assure vs that the Christians will haue the like preparation, if we shal now delay to fight. What labor is to be taken? what cost to be bestowed, to set forth again so great a fleet? Vnto these causes which impose vpon vs a necessity and force to fight, is adioyned not only a singular regard of our honor, but a most notable opportunity also offered. We neuer had a greater fleet, nor better furnished with men, H
munition, and all things els to be required for the gaining of a notable victory: & who knows not the Christian gallies are far stronger than the Turks? Besides that, the greatest part of their best soldiers are in hope of prey gon into Cyprus, who there seeking after spoil, & forgetful of the enemy, without controlment glut themselues with the pleasures of that rich Island, wherby their fleet is so much the weaker. All which things, as they promise no hard victory, so do they propound vnto vs honor, glory, fame, and most honorable rewards; & open vnto vs the way both for the defence of the present, and recouery of that hath bin before lost. What then stand we stil looking for? or why do we not in Gods name ioin that battel, which is vnto vs not only necessary, but profitable also.

Thus much said, they began to intreat and beseech the General and the rest, not longer to I
suffer the Christian commonweal to receiue losse vpon losse, but to repose their only hope in the good succes of one worthy battel; and neuer to look for the like opportunitie if they let slip the present. This matter of so great consequence thus thorowly debated among the greatest commanders, they thought it good to hear also the opinions of other noble Captains, of no lesse experience than themselues (then in the fleet) before they would conclude any thing. Among the rest, *Antonius Cornea* and *Gabriel Serbellio*, both Spaniards, and for their great wisedom and valor had in general reputation of all men; beeing demaunded their opinions, with most substantial reasons declared the necessity of giuing battel; and that it was not so dangerous as to be therfore shunned, or delaied, forsomuch as that violent enemy was far easier to be dealt with all at sea than at land, where he must fight without his great multitude of men, the K
Turks chief hope, and onely means wherby they haue obtained so many victories against the Christians. And so concluded their opinions with an effectuall persuasion to set forwards to Corcyra, and without delay as occasion serued to giue the enemy battel. Which their opinion being generally wel liked, was shortly after by the General and the rest approoued, & aresolution set down for the giuing of battel. Which was no sooner known but there was a general rejoicing through the army, euery man cheerfully preparing himself to lay down his life in defence of the Christian Commonweal, and that with such an ernest desire of battel, that euery day now seemed nothing els but a delay of a most assured victory.

Cornea & Serbellio persuade the giuing of battell.

Yet before they should come into the sight of the enemy, the three Admirals thought it good to bring forth the fleet into the sea, and there to martial the same in such sort, as if they L
should euen then presently haue joined battel: to the intent, that by such orderly disposing of their fleet, and by appointing to euery man his place he was to keep, they might so acquaint them with the order of the battel, as that they should when time serued, of themselues without further direction, martial themselues, and so more readily enter into battel. The next day the Admirals brought forth their fleets into the open sea: in the right wing (which consisted of fifty three Gallies) was *Auria* placed; in the left wing was *Augustinus Barbadicus* with the like number of Gallies also; and in the middle battel stood the General himself with seuenty gallies: on the right hand of the General stood *Columnius*, and on the left *Venerius*, his associats. Thus with equal front the fleet set forward, as if they should euen presently haue joined battel. Betwixt the wings and the middle battel was left no more space but for three gallies M
to row: in the rereward behind the General followed *Requisonius*, the great Commander of Castile, with his gallies. After *Columnius* followed the Admiral gally of Genoa, wherin was *Alexander Farnesius* Prince of Parma: and behind *Venerius* came the Admiral gally of Savoy and in her the Prince of Vrbin: in the space betwixt the middle battel and the left wing, was placed

The confederats put their fleet in order of battell.

A placed *Paulus Iordanus*: and betwixt the middle battel and the right wing was *Petrus Iustinianus* with the gallies of Malta: vpon the left wing attended *Anthonius Canalis*, and *Quirinus* on the right. About half a mile behind all the rest followed *Alvarus Bacianus* Marquis of Sancrace, and Admiral of the Neapolitan fleet, with 30 gallies; a man of great experience in matters at sea, and now so placed, to be at all times ready to relieue this or that part of the fleet, as the fortune of the battel, or impression of the enemy should require. The Christians had reposed great hope in six galliasses; which furnished with great store of ordnance, & certain select companies of most resolute soldiers, seemed rather like castles than ships. These galliasses conducted by *Franciscus Dodus* a most expert captain, were placed aboue half a mile from the fleet, two of them before each wing, and the other two before the middle battel: so far di-
B stant one from another, as that with equal space they answered the whole bredth of the front of the fleet, which was almost the space of fiue miles, and serued the same in stead of most strong bulwarks. The gallies throughout the fleet kept not close together, but such a conuenient distance one from another, as might serue for them at liberty to discharge their Ordnance when time should require. In the wings, as also in the main battel, were the Popes, the Kings, and the Venetian Gallies indifferently intermixed, that by the quality of the danger they should haue more care to relieue one another than if they had serued apart. *Ioannes Cardonius* a most valiant captain, with 8 gallies of Sicily and 2 galliots, was appointed to go ten miles before the fleet, to descry what he might of the enemies doings, and in his return to join the one half of his gallies to the one wing, and the other half to the other.

C In this sort they departed from Messana, with purpose to seek out the enemy; and not long after came to Paxo; where of a small broil at the first had like to haue risen a great mischief: for the next day, whilst *Don Iohn* staied there to take a view of the Venetian Gallies, and how they were furnished both of men and munition; he finding them but weakly manned, for supplying that want, appointed 4000 Spaniards and a thousand Italians to be put abord into the Venetian gallies where most need was.

Amongst these souldiers was one company vnder the commaund of *Mutius Tortona* their Captain, a man of an vnquiet and furious nature: who going aboord the gally of *Andreas Catergus*, fitst fel to words with the Captain of the gally, and after much stir into plain fight; so that in a trice they were altogether by the ears, as wel the soldiers as the captains: of al which
D stir *Mutius* was the only author. *Venerius* being not far off, and hearing of the matter, sent the captain of his own gally to appease the tumult: who thrusting himself into the midst of the furious multitude, was by *Mutius* in his fury fouly intreated, and diuers of them that came with him shrewdly beaten. Which thing *Venerius* (himself also of an hot nature) taking as don in disgrace of the Venetians, and therwith exceedingly mouued; to the terror of others caused *Mutius* and his Ensigne-bearer to be hanged vp at the yards arm of the same gally, to the great offence of all the Spaniards. The General also taking this execution in euill part, ful of choler and indignation grieuously complained, that he himself as General was therin not a little wronged; and that it became euery man to know what belonged to his place, and not to incroch vpon his betters: so should the conditions of the league be better kept, if euE ry Commander could keep himself within the bounds of his own authority. *Venerius* (he said) whose authority was inferior to his, could not of right without his command determine any thing against *Mutius* a Spanish captain: and that therin his honor was impaired. For which if he had not a publique and honorable amends, he threatned by force of arms to redresse his wrong, and the league being broken, to carry away with him the Kings gallies. Neither wanted there some, who fauoring *Don Iohns* quarrell, and angry with the Venetians, laid still more coles on the fire that was already too great. Hereunto *Venerius* sent word vnto the Generall, That he should do wel to moderat his anger, and at loisure to aduise himselfe, and better to vnderstand the matter; so should he plainly see, that there was neuer more iust and wholsom execution don vpon any, than vpon those mutinous persons. But if he, carried away with the
F heat of youth, should attempt any more violent course than stood with the common quiet, it were not to be marueled if he afterward repented. He (as he said) was also in Arms, and ready to shew himself a man. The matter was grown to that heat, that it was not onely not far from the breaking off of the league; but euen at the point to haue set all on a broile, and to haue put the whole fleet in great danger. Had not *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, against this

A Spanish captain raiseth a mutiny.

He and his Ancient hanged.

Dissention between Don Iohn and Venerius.

this tempest opposed himself: he with al his power labored to cure the wounded mind of the General, and to appease his anger; telling him, That the Common enemy would hardly be withstood by them all, being at vnity and concord among themselues: but if vnto the forrein danger were also ioined domestical discord, then were the Christian commonweal vndon. But if he would moderat his anger, and more regard the honor and credit of the Venetian Admiral, than the punishment of a seditious man, euen they which were vnto him friends, and enemies vnto the Venetians, would highly commend his moderation & staidnes. Yea, that howsoeuer the matter was don, it could not be now vndon. But whatsoeuer *Venerius* had don, was in his opinion iustly don. That it was alwaies so accounted and obserued, that when princes joined their forces together, in matters that concerned the common mannaging of War, nothing was to be don without the command of the Generall; but in matters belonging to the priuat gouernment of euery mans regiment, euery General had power of life and death ouer them that were vnder his command. Which to be so, was as he said herby to be vnderstood: King *Philip* was King of many kingdoms, and that he might long so be he heartily wished: Now if any Millanois had committed any capital crime worthy of death, in the kingdom of Naples, should the iudgment of that crime be of right to be referred vnto the King himself, as the chief Soueraign? or vnto the Gouernor of Millain, where the offendor was born? or rather to the ciuil Magistrat of Naples, in whose iurisdiction the fault was committed, and so of right there to be executed? What difference was there then, but that *Mutius* might iustly seem to haue bin rightly punished by *Venerius*, who although he were a Spanish Captain, had yet raised a mutiny in a Venetian Gally which was vnder the commaund of the Venetian Admiral. Beside that, the discipline of War somtime required a seuere and exemplary kind of punishment. For which cause it was both notably and truly said of *Clearchus*, That a General was to he more feared of his soldiers, than the enemy. And that among the antient Romans it had bin the custom, euen for priuat men with more seuere punishment to restrain the factious Citisen, than the most cruell enemy. That the fact was not so much to be regarded, as the intention of him that did it. That it was the duty of Commaunders to withstand the madnes of the mutinous. The author of sedition and tumult, he said, had suffered but condign punishment of his fact: who if he had escaped vnpunished, would but haue bin the more disordred. But now his exemplary punishment would deter others from the like insolencie. Beside that, the external danger was such, as ought to reconcile them were they neuer so great enemies. That such men as they were should aboue all things regard what might profit or hurt the Common cause; in contemplation wherof all priuat injuries were to be remitted: and the rather, for that the honor and dishonour of the good or bad succes of such an important action should redound vnto themselues, but especially to the General. His own duty he had as he said discharged, in dealing so plainly and faithfully with him, and could do no more but pray vnto God, with mercifull eie to behold the troubled Christian Commonweal in so dangerous a time.

Don Iohn still enviith Venerius.

Barbadicus a notable man.

Thus was the mutiny at Paxo by the great labour of *Columnius* hardly appeased. Neuertheless *Don Iohn* could not afterwards endure to participate with *Venerius* his Counsels, or so much as to come into his company: but all was don by *Barbadicus* the Venetian Prouidetor. This *Barbadicus* was not inferior to *Venerius* in courage and valor, but far beyond him in discretion: a man of a tall and goodly personage, wel coloured, his beard grizy, though not for age, for why he was not aboue fifty years old: besides that, in his eies and countenance appeared a vivacitie or liuelines of spirit: in his very gate and comly motion of his body hee carried a certain grace and majesty: his talk and speech was alwaies calm and temperate, his counsell graue and sound; so that he was greatly honored and beloued of all men. His chief endeauor also was, to further the hope of attonement betwixt the Spaniards and the Venetians, so well begun by *Columnius*. And so all things brought into some reasonable good rearint, they departed from Paxo and came to the Island of Corcyra, the spoil whereof wel declared the Enemies late being there. From thence they departed vnto Cephalenia, where they by Letters from *Pau. Contarenus* Gouernour of Zacynthus, were aduertised, That the Turks fleet of three hundred and three and thirty sail, of one sort and other, lay in the gulf of Corinth, which is now called the gulf of Lepanto. Whereupon they shortly after remooued, with full purpose to haue gon to Petala, an hauen lying opposit ouer against the Islands (or rather rocks) called Echinades,

Echinades, but now Corzulares, and so to the bay of Corinth, to draw the enemy forth to battel: but stayed with contrary winds they put back again into the vally of Alexandria, another port in the Island of Cephalenia; from whence they afterward departed to the Islands Corzulares, where by the way they vnderstood by letters out of Crete, That Famagusta was lost. With which bad news they were no whit discouraged, but rather inflamed with desire of reuenge. From the Islands they went to Galanga, a good harbour, where they staied one night, purposing the next day to haue gon to the mouth of the gulf of Lepanto, there to dare the Turks to battel.

The Turks Bassa's *Partau* and *Haly*, who then lay in good safety within the gulf, hearing of the comming of the Christian fleet, began to consult with the rest of the most expert Captains, Whether to giue the Christians battel, or to keep themselues stil within their safe harbor: vpon which doubt they were among themselues of diuers opinions. Amongst the rest, *Chiroche* a man of great years and authority, and withall a most noble Captain, exhorted the Bassa's, in no case, when no need was, vpon a vain-glory to aduenture all to the fortune of an vncertain battel: it was, as he said, the part of wise and worthy commanders, to moderate with reason their happy fortunes, for that therunto were incident many accidents, wherby their former felicity might be disgraced. They had already run along the enemies coast, spoild the frontiers of his countries, and were with much honor & greater spoil safely returned, hauing increased the Turkish empire with many strong towns of the enemies. The Island of Cyprus was with wonderfull good fortune brought vnder the Turks obeisance, the enemies great prouision at sea frustrated, in such sort, as that hauing lost diuers of their gallies, they were neuer yet able to draw their swords: they had with their fleet at their pleasure romed vp and downe the Adriatick, and displaied their victorious ensignes almost vnto the very City of Venice. What could they then deuise or wish for more honorable or glorious, than with the safety of their fleet, yea without any losse at all, to haue performed so great matters? Now the three General commanders of the enemies fleet to be so at discord among themselues, as that they were ready to fall in sunder of themselues; who now vpon the approch of winter, and for want of victual must needs in few daies return home again, neuer herafter to meet again with like strength at sea. And therfore to what purpose were it, by force of arms and vncertain battell, with danger to seek for the soueraignty and command of the sea, which would forthwith of itself without any danger fal vnto them? neither should they by the doubtful victory so much increase their honour, as by the vncertain euent of a battell blemish the same, if any thing should fal out otherwise than wel. And that therfore they should do well to take heed, that in seeking to augment their former victories, they hazarded not their honor already gained; but wholsomly to delay the War, and keepe themselues in safety with their fleet within the gulf, and not to go out at the enemies pleasure, but when they should see good themselues, at such time as the enemy was not so wel prouided. So should they (he said) without any great labor or danger attain to the full of their own desires.

Chiroche dissuades the Bassa's fro giuing the Christians battell.

Partau Bassa was of opinion, that the Christians would not at all offer him battel. Which opinion the Christians had also of him: and in this question, for giuing or not giuing of battel, seemed neither to approoue or dislike that *Caroche* had so grauely spoken, but as a man indifferent, loth to incur any blame, shewed himself ready either to stay or set forward, as should be thought fit by the greater part. But *Haly Bassa*, a man of a hoter spirit, and the great Champion of the Turks, could not indure to hear of any delay, but of present battell. The pleasure of *Selymus*, the hope of victory, the remembrance of the displeasure of *Pial Bassa* had the last year incurred, for not giuing the Christians battell, induced him now in no case to refuse battel, but forthwith to go out of the gulf, and to accept therof if it were offered. In which opinion he was the more confirmed by the relation of *Caracoza* a famous Pyrat, and in great account among the Turks; who in a swift galiot taking view of the Christian fleet, had reported it to be much lesse than indeed it was; deceiued as it was afterward thought by not taking ful view therof, by reason of his posting hast; or els blinded by the Island, which lying behind the fleet, suffered him not perfectly to descry the same. Vpon which report there was great reioycing among the Turks, who now after their accustomed maner dreamed of nothing but victory and spoil. So that *Haly*, vainly persuaded that his fleet was both the greater and stronger, would

Partau Bassa indifferent for giuing or not giuing battel.

would now needs fight, in hope that the Christians vpon first sight of the Turkes fleet would either retyre and saue themselues by shamefull flight, or els in aduenturing battel at so great odds, by their foolish hardines receiue a notable ouerthrow. This opinion of the Bassa was also not a little confirmed by the persuasion of *Cassanes*, *Barbarussa's* son, *Vluzales*, and *Chais Beg* Gouernor of Smyrna, all men of great mark and experience, especially in sea matters. And although *Partau* the other Bassa stood wauering as a man in doubt, and *Chiroche* Gouernor of Alexandria, with *Carabuzes* Gouernor of Cilicia, and *Mechmet* Gouernour of Eubœa, men of no lesse worth than the other, vpon better consideration were of a quite contrary mind, for not giuing the Christians battel. Yet such was the authority of *Haly*, or rather his importunitie, forced to his own destiny, that his opinion preuailed; so that now out they must needs and fight. Albeit that two other Spies sent out after *Caracoza*, and hauing more perfectly viewed the fleet, returning with speed told the Bassa's as truth was, That the Christians very strong and wel appointed, were comming with ensignes displaied, of purpose to fight; and that their fleet was in number much greater than was before supposed. With which news so far contrary to their expectation, the Bassa's were exceedingly troubled: and demaunding whether the formost gallies were all Venetians or not; and being answered that they were intermixt, some Venetians, some Spanish and of the other Western countries, they began to doubt the worst, and became exceeding pensiue. Neuertheles knowing themselues to be of all things wel furnished, hauing now victualled in the bay of Corinth, and there also taken in 12000 Ianizaries and Spahies, drawn out of the garrisons of Ætolia, Acarnania, Peloponesus, and the countries there by, all resolute men, and four thousand other common soldiers, and that they could not now with their honor shrink back, they heldit stil for the best to on hold their former resolution for the giuing of the Christians battel. Yet before their setting forward, calling together the captains and chief commanders of the fleet, *Partau* the more to incourage them, spake vnto them as followeth:

The Turkes resolue to giue the Christians battell.

Partau Bassa incourageth the Turks.

We are to fight (said he) *fellows in arms, with that kind of men whom our ancestors haue driuen out of Eubœa, the Rhodes, Mitylene, Peloponesus, and Tripolis, and we our selues but yesterday out of the famous Island of Cyprus; whose cities and strong towns, in number infinit, our Emperor hath as the reward of his wars; whom we haue alwaies vanquished as well by sea as by land: and shall it then now repent you that you in this war imbrued in the Christian bloud, haue sunk or taken many of their ships and gallies? That you haue caried away great and rich spoils? that you haue taken whole Islands and cities at the first assault? That we haue by proof shewed vnto the world, what force there is in the Turk to subdue strong cities and towns? and what little power is in the Christians to defend the same? What direction brought vs victory before, the same shall also at this present giue vs the like. Not to speak of that, that we far excell them both in number of men and gallies; this is more to be reckoned of, that we excell them in valour and prowesse: for you being old expert soldiers, from your infancie trained vp in the wars, hardned in infinit battels, and full of courage and strength, shal fight against weak fresh-water and effeminat soldiers; who entertained for pay (of the refuse of all Nations) know nothing belonging to the warres; or forcibly pressed out of Cities, serue not because they would, but because they can neither will nor chuse. But to speak no more of the maner of the Christian soldiers, who are nothing els than the perpetual exercise of your renowned prowesse; and to come vnto him vnder whose fortune and conduct they serue: What should I say? Should I compare either of vs (who haue spent our liues in victories and triumphs: who born & brought vp amongst arms, haue with our right hands gained vnto our selues honor and fame) with this stripling and half-moneths captain, who neuer saw battels but these? Who in a lesse matter neuer shewed proofe of himself, why should he be accounted of in a greater? who in so mighty a cause needeth a tutor; and such a one as indeed bears the name of a General, more for his honor, than for any worth in himself. Besides, amongst the enemies is such dissention, that euery man regardeth his own priuat, serueth as pleases himself, contemneth and is contemned: whereas with vs is such consent, that it canot be deuised how the soldiers in general should more trust their commanders, or the Commanders their soldiers. What things were by the discipline of war or carefulnes of a General to be prepared, all those you haue abundantly and plentifully in readines: Onely this last warlike labour remaineth; which once dispatched, our Enemies shal be discomfited euen in that wherin their greatest confidence resteth. They shall be despoiled of their honour and traffique at sea: and that * city once subdued (which is alone the glory of the sea) there shal be no hope left for*

* Viz. Venice.

for the Christians, whether by sea or land: and (that we haue alwaies wished) Italy, faire Italy (wherein these matters are plotted against vs) shall be in our hand and power: wherefore let vs with such courage assaile our enemies, as beseemeth most victorious conquerors, men so many times conquered: And so set forward, as if you saw our Emperor himselfe encouraging you, and giuing you the signall of battell; of his bounty, and the present victory, expecting all felicity and blisse.

This comfortable speech with great grauity delivered by the Bassa, so encouraged the Turks, as that they all with one voice and mind seemed to desire nothing more than battel: for they still possessed with the first report of *Caracoza*, and encouraged by the Bassa's speech, were in good hope to haue fought the battell vpon great aduantage, and therfore thought vpon nothing but present victory. Whereupon setting forward with great cheerefulnesse, they came out of the gulfe, and shaped their course for the Islands Echinades, about mid-way betwixt Lepanto and Patras, before little Islands, or rather obscure rocks, scarcely appearing in the sea, but now to be made famous throughout the World, by the most notable battell that euer was fought in those seas.

The Turks fleet commeth out of the gulfe of Lepanto.

The Islands Echinades, or Corzulares.

The Christians also comming still on towards the enemy, the seuenth of October in the afternoone vnderstood by their espials, that the Turks fleet was comming, and euen now at hand: whereupon the Generall commanded the great Ensigne of the confederats (the appointed signall of battell) to be forthwith displaied, and a great warning piece to be shot off out of his Admirall gally. And himselfe glistering all in bright armor, with *Cardona* Admirall of Sicilia, and *Soto* his secretary, in a long boat went to all the squadrons of the fleet one after another, exhorting them with cheerefull countenance to follow their leaders, and to play the men: remembring, that they that day carried in their hand the wealth, honour, glory, and liberty of their countries, yea, and the very religion of their forefathers; and that that daies victory would bring vnto them and theirs perpetuall felicity: whereas otherwise, if they should as cowards suffer themselues to be ouercome and vanquished, it would be vnto them the beginning of all manner of most wofull calamities. To which and other his like speeches, the Captaines and souldiers (before of themselues cheerefull enough) in euery place where he came gaue such applause with the joyfull cry of Victory, Victory, so often and so cheerefull in all places resounded, as that it was taken as a lucky aboadment of the glorious victory shortly after ensuing. In like manner *Auria* in the right wing, and *Barbadicus* in the left (for the fleet kept the same order that they had appointed before at Messana) ceased not by all comfortable speeches to encourage their followers: shewing vnto them, That now the time was come they so long wished for, wherein they not oppressed with multitude, might at length shew their true valour against the false and faithlesse enemies; who being indeed nothing els but base & contemptible slaues borne to bondage, and hauing lost their owne liberty, came to impugne the liberty of others; bringing with them a greater terror of their name, than valour of their persons: and that therefore, if euer, they would now shew themselues valiant and couragious, and that day, wherein of all others true force was to be seene, to abate the pride of the barbarous and cruell enemy, and to make their rejoycing for the conquest of Cyprus short, before they had well tasted the pleasures thereof. At which time also, the Captaines generally thorowout the fleet, with cheeerfull countenances and couragious speech encouraged their souldiers; leauing nothing vnsaid that might hearten them on; or vndone, that might further the victory.

Neithet were the Turks wanting to themselues (although it was fallen out much contrary to their expectation, to see the Christians, who they before thought durst not haue shewed themselues, now ready to dare them battel!) but encouraged with their former victories, and furthered with a faire gale of wind, came on proudly with their fleet orderly and gallantly set after their wonted manner in forme of a Croisant or halfe-Moon, their fortunat ensigne: neuertheless in their comming on they were much troubled with the brightnes of the Sun, which then shining full in their faces, with his bright beams so dazled their eies, that they could not well see how to their most aduantage to direct their gallies. In this fleet of the Turks were two hundred and fifty gallies, fifty galiots, and twenty brigadines & other small vessels: all which a far off shewed like a thicke wood, but cumming neere hand, presented (as we said) the forme of a Croisant. The middle battell in number much like the Christians, was conducted by the great

The number & order of the Turks fleet.

great Bassa's *Haly* and *Partau*, attended vpon with *Agan* Master of the Turks Arsenall; *Mustapha Zelibi* the Treasurer; *Achmat Bay*, with *Mahomet* his younger brother, the sonnes of *Haly*: *Achmat Aga* Gouernour of Teuthrania: *Assis Caiga* Gouernour of Calipolis: *Caracoza*, *Cossines* the sonne of *Barbarussa*; *Malamur* Gouernour of Mytilene: *Dely Solyman Gider* Captaine of Chios; *Cassambeius* Gouernour of the Rhodes; *Proui Aga* Captaine of Nauplium; *Giaper Zelibi* President of Calabra; *Dordagnan*, *Dondomeni*, and many others, whose barbarous names I purposely omit: all men of great account and place, and for their experience at sea the chiefe strength of the Turkish Empire. The right wing was by the appointment of the Bassa's commanded by *Mahomet Bey* with fifty six gallies, with whom were also many worthy Captaines; and in the left wing was *Vluzales* the old Arch-pyrat, but now the Vice-Roy of Algiers, with ninety fiue gallies, accompanied with *Cariolo* and *Arabey* his two sonnes, with a multitude of pyrats, men of his owne profession, but most valiant and expert souldiers. In the rereward came *Amurathes Dragut*, with thirty gallies, and diuers other small vessels.

The great and notable battell betweene the Turkes and the Christians, commonly called, the battell of Lepanto.

Now was the day well spent when both the fleets were ready to giue battell, the enemy still comming on almost in the same order that the Christians did: for their middle battel came directly against our middle battell, and their wings against ours. So the signall of battell on both sides giuen by the shooting off of certain great pieces; the Turks after their maner comming on with an hidious cry, first light vpon the six galiasses, which lying at anchor almost a mile before the fleet, as most strong bulwarks, out of their forecastles poured out thier murthering shot vpon the Turks, now come within their danger; and in their passing by so plagued them, by discharging their whole broad sides, first the one, and eftsoons the other vpon them, that hauing receiued great losse, and diuers of their gallies sunke, they were inforced to breake their order, and to fall further off. Which so much the more troubled the Turks, for that they had before supposed, those great carts and vnseruiceable ships (as they accounted of them) to haue carried little or no great ordnance on their sides, after the manner of their gallies: for the vse of the galeasses was not vnto the Turks known, vntil now that they had receiued from them most notable harme: which as it was the beginning of their misery, so was it vnto the Christians of greatest importance for the gaining of the victory. At which time also the wind, which all that day had much fauoured the Turks, was now (God no doubt fighting his own battell) come about to the West, and with a pleasant gale in the time of the fight carried the smoke of the great ordnance vpon the Turks, to their no small disaduantage. Yet for all this losse and disorder in their fleet, the fierce enemy with wonderfull pertinacie passing by these galeasses, quickly repaired again to their places, and made good their disordred squadrons, and with all their force assailed the Christian fleet. The trumpets, drums, and other instruments of war had scarcely wel sounded, when all shook with confused cries, flames of fire, thundring of artillery, and other noise of the mariners and sea men: wherwith many were so astonied as if they had bin both deaf and blind, hauing vpon the sudden almost lost the vse both of their sight & hearing. At which very instant a man might haue seen the whole showers as it were of arrows and darts mixt with the deadly shot, flying from the one fleet to the other; the masts broken, the saileyards strucke downe, the tackles rent, and all confused with horror and feare. *Haly* beholding the Admiral gally (which was easie to be known by the flag) & vsing the surpassing cherfulnes of his mariners & rowers, ran vpon her with such violence as if he would haue presently stemmed her: but being with like force incountred by the Admirall, they met together with such violence, that both their beaks were with the feaze broken off, and so fell into the sea. There began a most cruell fight betwixt these two great commanders, who had before drawne vnto them the strongest gallies in their fleets, and the choiest men in their armies. In the Admiral gally of the Christians were 400 select men pickt out of the whole army, most of them Captains & antients, men of approued valor; who not only valiantly repulsed their furious enemies, but with greater courage inforced them to shrinke backe, and pressing hard vpon them, entred the gally euen to the main mast; where the enemy strengthned with new supplie, fought courageously, repulsed the Spaniards, and cleered again their gally. Many were there wounded on both sides, and many slain. *Don John* seeing his men giue way, sent in new supply; wherewith the other encouraged, bestirred themselues more lustily than before, and hardly charged the Turks, who with like hope and like courage encountred them. The battell was like vnto the

A terrible onset

A dreadful and doubtfull fight betweene the two Admirall gallies.

ebbing

A ebbing and flowing of the sea: thrice the Turks were driuen euen vnto the maine mast, and thrice strengthned with new supplies, they with great slaughter repulsed the Christians backe againe.

Venerius perceiuing the danger of the General, was about to haue assailed the poupe of *Haly* his gally, so to haue indangered her, being set vpon both before and abathe: but in comming thither he was encountred by *Partau* the other Bassa, who with a company of gallies opposed himselfe against him, and that with such celerity, that hauing made shew as if he would haue charged him afront, he by and by set vpon his side. Which vnexpected manner of fight so suddenly fashioned, at the first much troubled the Christians; who afterward gathering courage, notably defended themselues. *Venerius* (vpon whose valor the Venetian State rested) gallantly B armed, not only incouraged his men, one while with intreating, another while with threatning, but was himself in the midst of them fighting; whose great honour much moued the minds of his souldiers, but his reuerend yeres more; to see him (being aboue 77 yeres old) to performe all the parts of a braue youthful commander, in the very face of the greatest danger. The fierce enemy hauing slain many of the Christians, pressed on more furiously, & fighting close together, entred the prow of *Venerius* his gally now bared of defendants, and with their multitude rather than true valor oppressed the Venetians: who had there no doubt bin ouercome, had not *Ioannes Lauretanus* and *Catherinus Malipetra*, two valiant captains, and lying not far off, speedily come to their relieſe. By whose comming in, the fight was in the turning of an hand quite altered; so that they which a little before fiercely assailed the Venetian gallies, were now glad C to defend their owne: so for a space the fight stood indifferent, but in processe of the battell, those two worthy captaines, whilest they also performe the parts of most resolute souldiers, were both slain; shot through with small shot. The fall of these notable men did rather enrage than discourage the minds of their soldiers: so that blinded as it were with fury, and suddenly become other men, they desperatly pressed in vpon the Turks: so that whilest they on the one side kill and wound them, and *Venerius* more hardly chargeth them on the other; the terrour of the battell was turned from them that was euen at the point to haue been vanquished, vpon the victors; and our men after great slaughter of the Turks, tooke two of their gallies: *Partau* the Bassa in a long boat escaped the danger, and so got him out of the battell. Not farre off thence, *Columinius* the Popes Admirall, as a valiant Chiefetaine hardly assailed other of the D Turks gallies, and made amongst them great slaughter: one singled from the rest, he took, and disordred the other. *Lignius* the Admirall of Genoa with like courage thrust himselfe into the thickest of the enemies, and there made a notable fight. Many an enemy fell about the Prince of Parma, *Rueres*, *Vrsinus*, *Cornea*, and *Iustinianus*; who for their present honor, and future fame, fought most couragiously.

Venerius comming to the relief of Don John is incountered by Partau Bassa.

Venerius in danger.

Lauretanus and Malipetra slaine.

At which time *Chiroche* or *Sirocke* (of some called *Mahomet Bey*) with his right wing with great confidence came forward against the left wing of the Christian fleet; but falling before he was aware into the danger of the galeasses, was from out of them miserably beaten with the great ordnance, hauing many of his men slaine, and diuers of his gallies sunke and torn, few of the huge and deadly shot falling in vaine into the sea, by reason of the thick standing of the E Turks gallies: where also diuers of the enemies were burnt with pots of wildfire cast into their gallies out of the tops of the galeasses. *Chiroche* to auoid the danger of the galeasses, & to shun the dangerous shelfe betwixt him and the main (which the riuer Achelous running betweene the borders of Acarnania and Ætolia, and there falling into the sea, maketh) sent a great part of his gallies vnder the conduct of one *Alis* a notable renegat of Genoa, to cast about aloofe vpon the right hand, and so to come vpon the backe of *Barbadicus* the leader of the left wing of the Christian fleet. Which he perceiuing, forthwith turned his gallies, & with their prows receiued the first onset. The great ordnance first on both sides discharged, diuers of the gallies grapled fast together; in such sort, as that they incountred one another not with their missiue weapons only (as with their small shot, arrowes, and darts) but with their drawne swords foot to F foot. Among the rest, the fight of two of the Christian gallies was most notable; in the one was *Barbadicus* himselfe, in the other *Marcus Ciconia*, vpon whom fell six of the enemies Gallies, and vpon *Barbadicus* fiue: who although they were on euery side distressed with a most doubtfull and dangerous fight, yet did they most valiantly with worthy resolution endure the same. In the fury of this battell, *Barbadicus* encouraging his souldiers, and fighting himselfe euen

The right wing of the Turkes fleet sore gauled by the galeasses.

A terrible fight betwixt Chiroche and Barbadicus.

euen there where most danger was, was hit in the left eie with an arrow, and so strucke into the braine almost thorow the head: wherewith falling presently downe, he was taken vp for dead; howbeit he died not thereof vntill three daies after. The supposed death of this worthy man much troubled the Christians, and both the armies felt his fall (such force there is in the valour of one worthy man) for the Turks now as conquerors lustily boorded the gally, troubled with the losse of the Captaine; and the Venetians as men discouraged gaue way: the galley there had vndoubtedly bin lost, had not *Fredericus Nanius* and *Sylvius Porcia* with their gallies speedily come to her reliefe: by whose comming in such an alteration was made, as that the gally before halfe taken, was not only cleared, but diuers of the Turks gallies also boorded, and some of them taken, not without the great slaughter of the Turks. In this so hard and mortall a conflict, *Sylvius* was grieuously wounded in the thigh and in his right side. It is reported of *Barbadicus*, That lying that euening at the point of death, the battell then ended, he like another *Epaminondas*, asked which part had got the victory: and being told that the Christians had got it, and that the Turks fleet was most part taken, and the rest sunke or burnt; he with his eies cast vp to heauen, gaue vnto God immortall thankes therefore, and not long after joyfully departed this life, to liue in blisse for euer.

The death of Barbadicus.

Ciconia hardly beset, and in danger to haue beene lost, is relieued.

Ciconia in the meane time hardly beset with six of the enemies gallies, (as we haue before said) was himselfe sore burnt with wild fire and hurt in the face; and hauing indured a long and terrible fight, was now euen at the point to haue been lost; when sudden reliefe comming in, he was now contrary to all hope saued, and therewith so much encouraged, that with his weary and wounded souldiers, as men from death reuiued, he afresh charged the enemy, and tooke one of the principall gallies, with one of the Turks fairest ensignes, which in the Venetian Armory is yet there to be seene: of his worthy valour, his honest wounds in his face and the fore part of his body, were most certaine and vndoubted witnesses.

A hard fight betwixt Contarenus and Chiroche.

Not far off, in the same wing *Ioannes Contarenus* an honourable and valiant gentleman, did with his great shot exceeding much harme amongst the Turks gallies: which *Chiroche* perceiuing, and therewith inraged, ran so fiercely vpon the side of *Contarenus* his gally, that with his beake he had wel neer stemmed her; & presently grappling fast with her, was like to haue boorded her: whom neuertheless the Christians notably repulsed, with greater slaughter than was thought possible for so small a number to haue made: neither did the enemies fall vnreuenged, but all imbrued with the bloud of the Christians. Seldome hath bin seene a more cruel fight, or more resolute Captaines to encounter hand to hand. But after the battell had of long time stood doubtfull, the hope of the Christians increased vpon two causes, for which the courage of the enemy quailed: first, for that many of the Turks being slaine or wounded, they were brought to a small number; then, for that both parties saw *Chiroche* himselfe slain: from which time the enemy as well destitute of a leader to conduct them, as of fresh supplies to relieue them, began to be cut down right or taken: which their danger was the more increased, because the gally bulged with the great shot, was now leake, and in danger to sink: wherfore the Turks in that wing ouercome with despaire, began to thinke rather how to saue themselues by flight than by fight, reposing their trust in nothing more than in the neernes of the main. But as they were turning about toward the shore, they were preuented by the Christians: who entring the gally, and hauing slain and driuen ouerboord almost all that were left, took *Chiroche*, yet breathing, but halfe dead; and seeing small hope of his life, with fresh wounds made an end of him.

Chiroche slain, and his Galley taken.

Diuers and doubtfull was the whole face of the battell: as fortune offered vnto euery man his enemy, so he fought; according as euery mans disposition put into him courage or feare, or as he met with mo or fewer enemies, so was there here and there somtime victory, and somtime losse. Many fights were in sundry places seene mingled together: some gallies whiles they run to stem others, are themselues by others stemmed: some, which you would thinke were flying away, falling by fortune vpon one victorious gally or other, suddenly take them: other some, as if they had bin of neither part, row vp and down betwixt the battels. The chance of war in one place lifteth vp the vanquished, and in another ouerthroweth the victorious: all was full of terror, error, sorrow, and confusion. And albeit that fortune had not yet determined which way to incline, yet the Christians at length began to appeare much superiour both in courage and strength: and the Turks seemed now rather to defend themselues, than to assaile their enemies.

A hard and doubtfull battell.

Bacia-

Baciaphe in the rereward intentiuely marked all the whole fight, and euer as need required, sent in present aid, without respect whether they were the Popes gallies, the king of Spaines, or the Venetians, that were distressed. In this long and terrible fight it chanced, that the Turks seeing the Christian Generals gally hardly charged on the prow by *Haly Bassa*, to be almost bared of defendants in the poupe, all the souldiers hauing their hands full before, were about to haue boorded her abathe, and to that purpose were fetching a compasse about her: Which *Baciaphe* quickly perceiuing, glistering in bright armour came speedily in with certaine gallies, and by opposing of himselfe against them staied their course. In all the battell was not seene a more cruell fight; for hauing discharged many volleys of shot, and arrowes and darts without number, they grapled at length together, and came to the sword, wherewith the foremost, *Baciaphe* not only with words, but with his presence and valour wonderfully encouraged his souldiers, hauing receiued in his targuet of proofe two small shot. Many were on both sides slain. The Spaniards attempting sundry times to haue entred the Turks gallies, were with great losse repulsed: but not giuing it so ouer, neither giuing the enemy leaue to breath, or so much as to looke behind him, valor was vanquished by pertinacie, and the Spaniards hauing ouerthrowne and slaine their enemies, enjoyed their gallies.

A terrible fight betwixt Haly Bassa and Don Iohn.

Now had *Don Iohn* with like courage and strength, but with doubtfull victory, fought three houres and more with *Haly Bassa*: when after so dreadfull and dangerous a fight, and many a deadly wound on both parts giuen and receiued, our men began to faint, and brought to the vttermost of their deuoire, were in danger to haue beene ouercome, had not *Don Iohn* betaken himselfe vnto his only and last refuge. He had (as is before said) reserued vnder the hatches 400 of his best and select soldiers, for their valour chosen out of the whole army against all the euents of so long and dangerous a battell: these men attentiuely attending euery becke of *Don Iohn*, vpon signe giuen, as was before appointed, suddenly start out and with a terrible cry and desperat onset assailed the enemy, before almost spent with labor and wounds. This fresh and vnexpected company so suddenly grown vp, first astonied, and afterwards confounded, & with a great slaughter vanquished the Turks, and possessed the gally. The Bassa deadly wounded in the head with a shot, and all imbrued with bloud, was taken, and as a joyful spectacle brought to *Don Iohn*; who seeing him ready to breathe his last, commanded him to be despoiled of his armor, and his head strucke off. Which presently set vpon the point of a speare, he for a space held vp aloft with his owne hand, as a trophy of his victory, as also with the sight thereof to strike a terror into the minds of the other Turks, who in the other gallies fast by fought yet right valiantly: neither was he therein deceiued; for the Turks beholding the knowne countenance of the Bassa their late General, and a flag of the crosse set vp in the top of his gally, and the noise of the Christians, crying Victory, running thorow the army; were therewith so discouraged, that confounded with fear they turned their gallies and with might and main made toward the land, which was not much more than a mile off. Which *Canalis* and *Quirinus*, yet breathing with the late slaughter of the Turks, perceiuing, with their gallies hardly pursued the flying enemy, and sunke and tooke diuers of their gallies. *Partau* his son by the staying of the rest got time to run his gally on ground, and so forsaking her, saued himselfe and his men by running ashore: so did also diuers others run themselues aground and forsake their gallies, which presently became a prey vnto the Christians. In this hot conflict *Caracoza* the famous pyrat (who abjuring the Christian Religion, had turned Turke, and of long time done exceeding much mischiefe vpon the coasts of the Christian countries) valiantly fighting, was slaine by *Buzzacharinus* of Padua, by whose death many were deliuered of great feare.

Haly Bassa slain.

The Turks middle battell discomfited.

Caracoza the famous pyrat slaine.

Haly Bassa had brought forth with him his two sons *Achmat* and *Mahomet*, the one 23 yeares old, and the other 13, the nephewes of the great Emperor *Selymus*, by his sister married to *Haly*; them their father had placed in a great gally, with a strong guard of the Ianizaries: who seeing the discomfiture of the main battell, with the danger now drawing neere vnto themselues, were exceedingly affraid, and therefore to saue themselues, thought it best with all speed to make toward the maine. But in so doing they were preuented by *Requisenius* the great Commendor, who with his furious Spaniards boording the Turks, already dismaied and running away, slew of them a great number; and after a great fight and much cruell execution done, tooke the gally, and that which pleased him more, the two sonnes of *Haly* both aliue: in the time of which fight, the poore Christians who fast chained in the gally, had as slaues long

serued

histories. There was also in her diuers liuely counterfeits, engrauen and wrought with gold, with so cunning hand, that for the magnificence thereof it might well haue bin compared vnto some princes palace. The cabbin glistered in euery place with rich hangings wrought with gold twist, and set with diuers sorts of precious stones, with certaine small counterfeits most cunningly wrought. Besides this, there was also found in her great store of the Bassa's rich apparell; wrought with the needle, so curiously and richly embossed with siluer and gold, that his great lord and master *Selymus* himselfe could hardly put on more royall or rich attire. His casket there also found with six thousand duckats in it, with a yeerely pension of three hundred duckats, was giuen in reward to a Greeke, borne in Macedonia, which slew the Bassa; and was therefore also knighted by *Don Iohn*: who had also giuen vnto him the Burgell of the Turkes standerd, which at his returne to Venice (where he had of long time before dwelt, and serued in the Arsenall) sold vnto the goldsmith: whereof the Senat hauing intelligence, redeemed it of the goldsmith, paying for euery ounce a duckat, and layed it vp amongst the trophies of that most famous victory. It was all of massiue siluer, guilt and engrauen round about with Turkish letters. On the one side was written, *God doth conduct and adorne the faithfull in worthy enterprises: God doth fauour* Mahomet. On the other side, *God hath no other God, and* Mahomet *his Prophet*.

The Greeke that slew the Bassa, honourably rewarded.

This notable victory thus happily obtained, *Don Iohn* the Generall, with *Venerius* and *Columna*, the other two Admirals, came together; whom the Generall friendly embraced, but especially *Venerius*, calling him father, and attributing vnto him the greatest part of the victory. Afterwards, all together with their hands and eyes cast vp towards heauen, they vpon their knees gaue immortall thankes vnto Almighty God. So did also the rest of the captains and masters; commending one anothers valour and good seruice: but especially theirs, who for their religion and country had there most honourably spent their liues, which were in number about 7566. Amongst whom, the chiefe men that were slaine, were *Iob.* and *Bernardinus*, of the honourable family of *Cordona* in Spaine, *Horatio Caraffa*, and *Ferantes Riballus*, *Virginius*, and *Horatius*, noble Romans, of the honourable family of the *Vrsini*. Of the Venetian Nobility, *Augustinus Barbadicus*, *Benedictus Superantius*, *Vincentius Quirinus*, *Ioannes Laurctanus*, *Marinus Contarenus*, *Catherinus Malipetra*, *Georgius* and *Andreas Barbadicus*, *Marcus Antonius Landus*, *Franciscus Bonus*, *Hieronimus Contarenus*, *Antonius Paschalicus*, *Hieronimus Venerius*, all of the Order of the Senators. Besides diuers other honourable Gentlemen, who well deserued to be enrolled in the eternall monuments of Fame. Of the knights of Malta were also many slaine, amongst whom of the German Nation these were chiefe: *Ioachim Spart*, Commendour of Moguntia and Franckfort, *Ro.* of Hambergh, Commendour of Hemmendorf, and *Fra. Drost*. Of them that were wounded, these were of greatest name: *Don Iohn* the Generall, *Venerius* the Venetian Admirall shot through the foot, *Paulus Tordinus*, *Troilus Sauell*, and *Mar. Molinus*, with diuers others of lesse fame, to the number of almost seuen thousand.

The number of the Christians slain in the battell of Lepanto.

Great was the joy conceiued of this victory, but to none more welcome, than to the poore Christians fast chained to the Turks gallies, of whom twelue thousand were thereby deliuered from most miserable thraldome, and contrary to all hope restored to their ancient liberty.

Two daies after this victory, *Venerius* sent *Humfredus Iustinianus* with newes thereof vnto the Senat at Venice: who comming in at the Adriaticke port about noone the 19 of October, by shooting off of certain great pieces, gaue warning vnto the city of his comming, which at that time hung in a great suspence betwixt hope and feare. The citizens generally awaked with the report of the great ordnance, came flocking by heaps to the port, euery man longing to heare the first newes. There they might see *Iustinian* comming a far off with his gally, but when he was come neerer, they might perceiue all the mariners attired like Turks, and foure of the Turks ensignes hanging behind at the poupe of the gally, which filled their minds with the hope of good newes, deeming it to be (as indeed it was) part of the spoile of the enemy. But after that *Iustinian* was landed (which he had much to do for the presse) and was gone to the court, with a world of people following after him, crying one for newes, and had there deliuered his letters, and at large discoursed of all the successe of the battell (which was forthwith blowne into the City) and that the mariners also after his departure had reported the victory, and that the enemy was in a great battell ouerthrowne: good God, how the

A generall reioycing, especially in Venice, for the victory.

A the people as men ouerjoyed, ran vp and downe the streets, doubling and redoubling the joyfull name of victory. The Senators also rejoycing together, gaue thanks to God with publike praiers and joyfull hymnes in euery Church: and afterwards by ringing of bels, peals of ordnance, bone-fires, & other such like things, shewed all the tokens of joy possible. And to make this joy the more generall, all prisoners were set at liberty, and all debts that exceeded not the summe of fiue and twenty crownes, payed out of the common treasurie; which was generally done through all the Venetian Seigniory: and a decree made, That that day whereon the victory was gotten, which was the seuenth of October, dedicated to the memoriall of *Iustina*, should for euer be kept holy-day: and for the perpetuall remembrance thereof, a great masse of mony was coined, with the impression of *Iustina* vpon it, and an inscription decla-
B ring the victory. Many also their neighbor Princes sent their Embassadors congratulatory to Venice; namely, the Dukes of Sauoy, Florence, Ferrara, Parma, Mantua, and Vrbin, and the Knights of Malta. In which so publike joy no man was seene to put on any mourning garments, or to shew any token of heauinesse, although many had lost their dearest friends and neerest kinsemen; whose liues they reckoned not lost, but giuen vnto the Christian Commonweale. The like rejoycing was also made in Rome, in Spaine, Naples, Sicilia, and Malta; especially at such times as Embassadors from their neighbour Princes, came to joy them of this victory: yea, and afterwards in other countries further off was like rejoicing and signes of joy, as with vs here in England.

This is that notable battell, commonly called the battell of Lepanto, fought neere vnto the
C Island Curzolari, the seuenth day of October, in the yeare 1571, the like whereof was neuer fought at sea against the Turke, wherein he lost his chiefe strength at sea, with most of his best sea captains: and might thereby well perceiue what he and his successors were to feare, if the Christian Princes at unity amongst themselues, all discord set apart, should in zeale of their religion joyne their inuincible forces against them.

In the middest of all this joy, generally conceiued of the late victory, one of the chiefe prisoners of the Turks, hearing it compared with the losse of Cyprus (for that *Selymus* had therein lost his fleet, his best men of war, with great store of ordnance) by a fit comparison shewed it not to be so, saying, That the battell lost, was vnto *Selymus* as if a man should shaue his beard, which would ere long grow again; but that the losse of Cyprus was vnto the Venetians, as the
D losse of an arme, which once cut off, could neuer be againe recouered. Declaring thereby the great inequality of the losse.

A witty and fit comparison made by a Turk, to shew that the losse of Cyprus was greater than the losse of the battell of Lepanto.

The rich spoile taken from the enemy in this most glorious victory, was thus diuided amongst the princes confederat. Vnto the Pope were allotted 19 gallies, two galliots, nine great pieces of ordnance, two and forty lesser pieces, and foureſcore and one prisoners. Vnto the king of Spaine eight and fifty gallies and an halfe, six galliots and an halfe, eight and fifty great pieces and an halfe, eight great murthering pieces & a halfe, an hundred twenty eight lesser pieces, and a thousand seuen hundred and thirteen prisoners. Vnto the Venetians were assigned for their share, nine and thirty gallies and a halfe, foure galliots and a halfe, nine and thirty great pieces and an halfe, fiue great murthering pieces and a halfe, foureſcore and six lesser pieces,
E and a thousand one hundred threescore and two prisoners. The rest were bestowed vpon such other Princes as had giuen aid, or otherwise well deserued in that seruice.

The spoile of the enemy diuided amongst the confederats.

The joy conceiued of this victory was not so great amongst the Christians, but that the sorrow thereof was amongst the Turks far greater. *Selymus* himselfe was then at Hadrianople, where eight daies after the battel, news was brought vnto him, That his fleet was ouerthrown aud almost all taken or sunke by the Christians. Which so soone as he heard, he was strucken with exceeding griefe: and ouercome with melancholy, would not that day suffer any man to speake with him. And the rumor of the ouerthrow still increasing, had in short time filled all places with feare, teares, mourning, and heauinesse: some bewailing their parents, some their children, some their husbands, some their friends or kinsmen, there lost. But that which most
F grieued the Turkish Emperor, was the losse of so many worthy and expert captains, of so many skilfull masters and notable souldiers; who brought vp all their liues at sea, were not thought inferior to any then liuing: besides the perpetuall ignominy and vnwonted disgrace, thereby inflicted vnto him and his posterity for euer. Wherefore full of wrath and indignation, he was about

found the old Admirall *Venerius*, with no lesse care prouiding for all things, than if he should himselfe haue still continued the war. Of which great care *Fuscarinus* at his comming eased him, by taking it wholly vpon himselfe.

Castra Novum in vain attempted by the Venetians.

Whilst *Fuscarinus* thus lay making his preparation against the next Spring at Corcyra, *Sara Martinengus*, who had the charge of the Adriaticke (by the counsell of *Venerius*, who was now returned to Venice) vpon the sudden landed his men, & besieged Castro Novum, a strong towne of the Turks in the borders of Istria, where at his first comming he tooke the suburbs, and had in short time brought the towne to great extremity. But in the height of his hope to haue won the towne, hearing that the Beglerbeg of Græce was with great power comming thither, he was glad to raise his siege, and with all speed to get him againe to sea. The Turks in like manner, to distresse the strong town of Cataro, holden by the Venetians in the borders of Dalmatia, built a great and strong fort vpon the passage from sea to the towne, wherein they placed great store both of men and artillery: in hope by keeping them of the towne from all reliefe by sea, at length to gaine the towne which they had many times in vaine attempted by force; for by land it was already inuironed with the cruell enemy, possessing the country round about it. *Iacobus Superantius* the great Prouidetor, then lying at Corcyra with the Admirall, vnderstanding how Cataro a town of no small importance, was thus both by sea and land by the enemy distressed: with twenty gallies manned with the most choice souldiers could be pickt out of the whole fleet, tooke vpon him the rasing of the fort, and relieuing of the towne. *Superantius* with this select company, and certaine other gallies which met him by the way, came by night before the mouth of the bay of Cataro, and there diuiding his fleet, left the one part thereof at anchor before the fort, and with the other himselfe couragiously passed by the fort, further into the bay: at whom the Turks out of the fort made diuers shot, but (by reason it was darke) to small purpose. In passing by, *Superantius* tooke such view as he could of the fort, and by and by began on that side to batter the same; as did also the other gallies on the other side: and withall landed their men on both sides; who vpon signall giuen, ran resolutely to the fort, and by plaine force entering the same, preuailed vpon the fearefull Turks, and put them to the sword euery mothers son; so that of all that great garrison, was not one left aliue to carry newes of the slaughter. This fort was in length fiue hundred paces, but not strong towards land, from whence no such feare was doubted. In it was taken seuenteen great pieces of ordnance, with much faire armour, and great abundance of victuals: and seuen gallies which lay at anchor vnder the fort. Cataro thus relieued, *Superantius* with victory returned againe to Corcyra.

Superantius releeuth Cataro, and taketh a great fort of the Turks.

1572 *Fuscarinus* the Venetian Admirall with all things in readinesse, hauing long lien at Corcyra, expecting the comming of the confederates, as was before appointed; sent *Superantius* the Prouidetor with fiue and twenty gallies to Messana, to hasten the comming of *Don Iohn*, and to attend vpon him by the way. But comming thither, and thinking to haue found a great fleet and a strong power in good forwardnesse to haue set forward, he found such small preparation, as well shewed the Spaniards small care for repressing of the Turke, and that they would not be very forward in the seruice intended. Which filling him with griefe and indignation, caused him to complaine vnto himselfe of their vnfaithfulnesse, and to bewaile the state of his country, with the whole Christian common-weale: for *Don Iohn* had before solemnely promised vnto the Venetian Embassador, that all things should be in readinesse against the appointed time: but now a great part of Summer was past, when scarce some few companies, and about fifty gallies were met together at Messana; and when *Auria* would come with the rest, no man could tell. So that the carefull Prouidetor stood now no lesse in doubt of the Spaniards delay, than of the Turks fury.

Selymus, after the great ouerthrow he had receiued at the Islands Corzulares, for feare he should be driuen quite out of the sea, was aboue all things carefull for the renuing of his nauy: and hauing partly new built, partly repaired two hundred gallies, commended them to the conduct of *Vluzales*; with expresse charge, That by how much things had fallen out worse the last yeare, he should with so much the more care now beware of the like danger; and not goe out of the bounds of the Archipelago, or to aduenture battell but vpon aduantage, or at least-wise vpon an euen hand.

Selymus sends out Vluzales with two hundred gallies.

This *Vluzales* (otherwise called *Occhiall*) was an Italian borne in Calabria, who in his youth

youth taken at sea by the Turks, and obtained in the gally, and afterward renouncing his faith, by many degrees grew vnto the highest preferments amongst the Turks, and so became an exceeding plague as wel to his own country as all other of the Christians bordring on the Meditetranian. He now Admirall for the Turk, after the manner of the proud Barbarians, threatened with fire and sword to be reuenged vpon the Venetians; which knowne at Venice, much troubled them, as well acquainted with the fury of the old Archpyrat. Beside that, *Aylemir Barbarus* their Embassadour, all the time of this war kept in safe custody at Constantinople, had by letters certified them, what a great fleet, and what a strong army *Selymus* had prouided against them: and that he himselfe told 250 saile of gallies when they set forward from Constantinople, beside some other that were to meet with him at Calipolis: and that therefore they should beware how they incountred with the Turks fleet but vpon equal strength. It was also at the same time commonly reported, That king *Philip* chief of the Confederats, greelesse of the wars against the Turk in the East, was about to turn his forces vpon the Kingdomes of Tunes or Algiers, neerer vnto him; as indeed he did the yeare following. The Venetians intangled with so many difficulties were euen at their wits end, and day by day the Senat sate from the rising of the Sun to the setting of the same, consulting how all these mischiefs were to be remedied. But forasmuch as the greatest danger was to be feared from the Turks fleet, as then houering euen ouer their heads; they by Letters commanded *Fuscarinus* their Admiral, That whether the Confederats came vnto him or not, he should forthwith take his course towards the East, and there according to the enemies designes, and his own discretion and valour, to do what he should think best to be done for the common good of his country; and not to refuse to ioyn with the enemy in battell, if he saw any good hope of victory. Neither ceased they at the same time, both by their Embassadors and letters, earnestly to call both vpon the Pope and the King, to hasten their forces to incounter the enemy before he should come out of his own seas; and to carry the terrour of the war home to his own doores, rather than to receiue it at their owne. The like message was also done to *Don Iohn*, putting him in minde what his place, what the time, and what the danger of the time required; intreating him (if it were possible) of himselfe to adde somthing vnto that hast which the necessity of so important a cause required. Who neuertheleſse, for all the messengers and letters to him sent (which were many) went still on faire and softly, delaying from day to day; telling, That he would by and by come, and that the Spaniards would alwaies be so good as their word. Which was so far from his thought, that afterwards finding one excuse after another, he not only staid his comming, but called back again *Requisenius* also, whom he had sent before with twenty gallies to Corcyra. Now were two months (fittest for the wars) vainly spent; when *Superantius* grieued to see time to no purpose so slip away, and fearing left the rest of the Summer should to as small effect in like manner passe also, with great instance importuned him to hasten his journy. Then at length *Don Iohn* answered, that the Venetians requested but reason, neither that he wished for any thing more than to satisfie their desires; but that a greater care hindred the lesse, which was first to be preuented: He was aduertised (as he said) that the French King pretending the suppressing of certain pyrats, had assembled a great fleet at Rochel, with purpose indeed to inuade Spain, now that the king was busied in these wars against the Turk: and that therfore they must pardon him if he preferd the regard of Spain before others, being expressly commanded from the king, not to depart from Messana vntill he had other commandment from him. But whether this excuse by France proceeded of a true fear or otherwise, the Venetians much doubted; and the rather, for that the French King vnderstanding thereof by the Venetians, was therwith (as reason was) exceedingly offended: protesting, that he was euer so far from that purpose of hindring any the confederat princes in that their religious war, that if the troubles of his own country would haue so permitted, he would gladly haue giuen them aid therin. Many there were also that thought, *Enuy the antient enemy of vertue and valor*, to haue had a great power in this delay; doubting whether the Spaniards would more reioyce of the victory wel hoped for, if they should ioin with the Venetians; or grieue if the same should by the Venetians be obtained without them. *Superantius* weary of discourses and long expectation, and almost out of hope of any help in time from the Spaniard, how vntowardly soeuer things went, thought better yet warily to moderate his griefe, than in so dangerous a time to giue any occasion for the Spaniard to fall quite off. Yet spake he not fauningly or flatteringly

Vluzales a renegat Christian and now the Turks Admirall.

Superantius hasteth Don Iohn.

of the matter, but with a certaine modest gravity declared, That he had thought heauen would sooner haue fallen, than that *Don Iohn* would not at the appointed time haue come to Corcyra. And withall besought him, and wished him to beware that he brought not the common state into some great danger: if they had to do with such an enemy as might be delaied with, then he said he could easily abide delay; but now, for that the war and the enemy was such, as wherein, or with whom neuer any Generall had delaied without losse, to what end did he longer defer or trifle out the time? or what other fleet did he expect? If they should diuide their forces, then were they all too weake, but vnited together, strong enough to defend the common cause. The neerer the enemy came, the more hast were to be made to ioyne with the Venetian fleet. And what could be (as he told him) more honorable or glorious, than for him a noble young Gentleman royally discended, of whom the world had conceiued a great hope, that he would in martiall honour exceed the glory of his most famous ancestors, again to vanquish the proud Turk, the greatest and most mighty Monarch of the world; to fight the battell of the Highest, to assure the Christian commonweaith against so puissant an enemy, and to purchase vnto himselfe immortall glory and renown. As for the French, there was no such thing to be feared as was pretended, who with such slender preparation, not worth the name of a fleet, was not so vnaduised as to set vpon a Kingdome of such strength and power as Spain. Furthermore he said, that it concerned not the Venetians more than the King himselfe, to haue the Turks repressed: whose Kingdoms of Naples, Sicilia & Spain, were no lesse than their territory, exposed to danger by sea. The good successe of their affaires in the East would open the way to the conquest of Africk: but if the Turk should preuaile, then were they to despaire, not of Africk, but of all Italy, Sicily, yea and of Spain it selfe. The time (he said) and necessity of the war, with the extremity of the danger of the whole and common state, required that he should with all his power and speed possible, take vpon him the defence of the common cause, or to say more truly, of the Christian commonweale, then so dangerously impugned. These reasons drawn from the common good and the truth it selfe, much moued the Generall: but the Kings pleasure was to be preferd before all reasons or dangers that could be alledged. But hearing afterward, what resolute command the Venetian Senat had sent vnto their Admirall, he became exceeding carefull: for he feared left if the Admirall should without his help fight the battell and gain the victory, he would conuert all the glory therof vnto himself: but if he should chance to be ouerthrown, it would turn to his vtter reproch and perpetual infamy, that in so necessary a time he had withdrawn himself from the common cause. Wherefore as a man perplexed, and in doubt what to doe, he stood for a while as one at his wits end: yet at last, he vpon deliberation resolued to take a middle course, and so neither without the command of the King (by whose prescript order all was to be don) to depart with the fleet from Messana; neither altogether to frustrat the Confederats of the expected ayd. And to that purpose sent two and twenty gallies vnder the conduct of one *Lilly* of Andrada (a noble Gentleman) to the Venetian Admirall at Corcyra; with whom went also *Columnius* with the Popes fleet. Now was *Pius Quintus* the late Pope dead, and *Vgo Boncompanius*, by the name of *Gregorius Decimus Tertius*, Pope in his stead; who vpon the same conditions with his predecessour, had entred into the league, and liking very well of *Columnius*, kept him still for his Admirall.

Don Iohn in doubt whether to send aid to the Venetians or not.

He sendeth Lilly of Andrada, with 22 gallies.

Long had *Fuscarinus* expected the comming of the Confederats, and albeit that the yeare was far spent (August being then come) and no such aid sent as he had expected; yet desiring to do somthing worth the remembrance, and beseeming their honour, he earnestly persuaded *Columnius* and *Lilly* to set forward with him toward the East, and with their vnited forces to giue the enemy battell: telling them, That if they were all of like courage, they should go not only to the glory of the present battell, but to the great honor and aduancement of the Christian commonweale. After that, he extenuated the power of the enemy, saying, That he could not but maruell from whence such a number of gallies as was reported, could so suddenly be gathered, or whereupon so great confidence and boldnes was grown vnto them, so lately ouerthrown and put to flight: the enemies fleet (he said) was the yere before ouercome and dispersed, the Captains and mariners slain; and that therfore it was not credible, that so many gallies could with such celerity be built, and such a number of mariners and masters as was needfull in so short time prouided: That the prouision of the enemy was by flying fame made far greater

A greater than indeed it was or possible could be: for why, they might easily guesse what the enemy was able to do, by the Christians themselues, who could not without much adoe and great labour build their fleets, and train vp their Mariners and Masters: and that therfore letting fame flie, which commonly maketh things greater and more dreadfull than they are; he was verily persuaded, that the enemy was glad to vse most vnskilfull and ignorant as well Mariners, Masters, as soldiers: who suddenly taken vp in the inland countries, and put into the gallies, knew not so much as the very names of the ropes and tacklings, and other equipage: and then those gallies which they had were like enough to be [illegible]eake, as of them which were the last yere rent and bruised, & now again botched vp, or [illegible]t built of green timber, could not be nimble or greatly seruiceable. Wherefore he exhorted them, as valiant men to set forB ward against the enemy; and that with the greater courage, for that the last yeares victory had opened vnto them the way for the gaining of another. Which if it should so fall out, as good hope there was, they should therby take from the proud enemy both power and hope (but in long time) to be able to recouer his strength at sea: so that they in the mean time without fear, might at their pleasure take the rich Islands in the Archipelago. Now if the Turks declining battel, should retire themselues into the Hellespont, then might they with fire & sword spoil all the frontiers of their dominion on this side the streits, and open a way vnto the Christians to do great matters.

Hardly were *Columnius* and *Lilly* persuaded by the Admirall: neither did they thereunto giue their consent, vntill it was decreed. That they should not in any case ioin battell with the C enemy, but with their gallions & galeasses first placed in the front of the battel, in whom consisted the greatest hope of the victory. So setting forward toward the enemy, & come to Commentitia, letters were brought vnto them from *Don Iohn*, certifying them, that he was now by letters from the King commanded to come towards the East, and to ioin his forces with the confederats; but yet that for certain daies he could not come, vntil he were better prouided of all things necessary: and that therfore they should in the mean time carefully looke vnto all things, promising so soon as he possibly could to come to them. Vpon these letters *Columnius* and *Lilly* began to doubt, whether to go on further, or to expect the comming of the Generals yet forasmuch as he had not expresly written any thing concerning their staying, and *Fuscarinus* vrged them forwards, on they went, with their fleet diuided into three battels. The whole D fleet consisted of 155 gallies, six galeasses, and twenty tall ships: in the right wing was *Superantius*; in the left wing *Canalius*; and in the middle battell, *Columnius*, *Fuscarinus*, and *Lilly*; and in the rereward followed *Quirinus*. Before each battell went two of the galeasses stil in readines for present battell. In this order they came first to Zacynthus (commonly called Zanto) & so to Cerigo: the next day after to Colubraria (commonly called Dragonaria) ouer against Cerigo. Here *Angelus Surianus* a valiant gentleman, sent before to discouer the enemy, & what strength he was of, returning vnto the fleet, declared vnto the Admirall, That the Turks fleet, consisting of 160 gallies, 60 galliots, and four great ships, lay about Maluasia, in the entrance of the bay called Sinus Argolicus, vpon the borders of Peloponesus, about fifty miles off from the Christian fleet. Shortly after, the same fleet was again discouered making for Maleas E wherupon the Christians, before resolued to fight wheresoeuer they should meet the Enemy, forthwith put themselues in order of battel, and so with their galeasses in the front, made with what speed they could toward him. These two fleets were thought for many respects almost equal: the enemy was in number moe, but inferiour in strength. The Christian fleet by reason of the heauines of the galeasses, made but smal way; and the enemy afraid of the great store of Ordnance the galleasses carried, durst not come neer them. The Turks fleet was rather nimble than strong, but ours more firm and forward. Look wherin each exceeded the other, therwith they endeauored to help themselues and annoy the enemy. The Christians fearing to be circumuented by the multitude of their enemies, opposed their ships and galeasses before them as a most sure fortresse: and the Turk, by how much he had had the worse successe the yeare F before, was so much the more carefull to beware how he indangered himself within the reach of the galeasses. The Christians desired nothing more than to fight and to come to handy blows: but the Turk who thought it sufficient for the present not to be ouercome, somtime made away as fast as he could, and by and by stayd again, if haply he might haue taken the gallies separated from the galeasses; neuer seeming willing to aduenture further than reason and

The number & order of the christian fleet.

The Christians fleet and the Turks almost equall.

The Turke warily declineth battell.

and discretion were. The enemy seeing the Christian fleet comming still on, and ready to giue battell, first seemed as if he would haue don the like, but afterwards turned his course vp- G
on the right hand, and kept aloof alongst the coast of Malea: At which time the Christians, although they were very desirous to haue followed them, yet the Turks with their nimble fleet were quickly too far gon for the Christian fleet to ouertake them, especially with their heauy ships. That day almost spent as it were in the chase of the enemy, towards the going down of the Sunne, the enemy put into the current of the sea betwixt Cerigo and the Harts Island, in bredth about ten m[illegible]ad, there diuiding their fleet into three parts, lay in good order, as expecting the comm[illegible] the Christians, with the prowes of their gallies turned, as if vpon the confidence of the pl[illegible], which they had filled ouerthwart, they had purposed nothing more than to fight. Yet both fleets seemed resolued; the one not to fight without the H
galeasses, and the other not to come neer those hot ships, from whom they had but the yeare before receiued so great harm. And although the enemy, as was afterwards known, purposed nothing lesse than to fight, but vpon great aduantage; yet fearing by open flight to dishonor his lord and master, and by granting as it were of victory, to increase the fame of the Christians, the crafty pyrat made a great shew of that he left indeed purposed. For pretending a great desire to fight, he indeed deluded the Christians hope: who although the wind had failed them, yet in hope the enemy would abide them battell, with much labour and rowing came so neer him, that the great shot began to fly too and fro on both sides: but when the matter should haue come to haue bin tried by dint of sword, then it plainly appeared what the enemy had indeed purpose: for still keeping the prowes of his gallies vpon the Christians, he by let- I
tle and little shrunk back, and beside that the shadow of the night began then to approch, he caused all his great Ordnance, charged only with pouder, to be shot off, and so in the thick of the smoake retired vnseen; colouring his subtill departure also, by certain lights left in their cock-boats, making shew as if the whole fleet had still there staid. By this means the Turks with great celerity escaped, being also holpen in this, that the Christians hindred vp the heauinesse of the galeasses, could not but faire and softly pursue them: for these galeasses, as they are vessels of great seruice, so are they also heauy and vnweldy, and not fit for chace. The departure of the enemy at length known, the Christians also vnwilling to fight by night, returned to Cerigo. Two daies after, the Turks stayd in the bay of Tenarus (now called Metapan) & the Christians at Cerigo; contented in that, that the enemy was the cause that the bat- K
tell was not fought, and reckoning his weary and couert declining of battell, as a secret confession of the victory. The third day after, the Christians desirous of nothing more than to joyn in battell with the enemy, in their former order set forward from Cerigo, and sailing all the night, were in the break of the day descried from land by the Turks: whereupon *Vluzales* by shooting off of certain warning pieces commanded all his men to go abourd, and to put themselues in readines for battell. And now the Christians were not far off, when as the Turks (left declining of battel, might reproue them of feare) came out of the hauen, with their fleet diuided into three battels: whereof the left wing was extended a great way into the sea, the right wing still keeping neer vnto the maine, and in the middle battell was *Vluzales* himselfe: who came all on no faster than the tide draue them, staying their course oft times of purpose, L
to haue drawne the gallies of the Christians from the galleasses and ships. *Vluzales* seeing his fleet thus in order, and fearing nothing more than the galliasses, commanded both the wings of his fleet (hauing in each of them fourscore gallies) to fetch a great compasse about, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left, aloofe off from the galleasses, and so to assaile the wings of the Christians on the sides or behind: in hope so to haue disordered their battell, and without danger to haue drawne the gallies from the galleasses and the other heauy ships. Which their intent the Christians perceiuing, in their wings turned about their gallies also, in manner of the new Moone, their maine battel still facing the middle battell of the Turks. The wings of the Turks fleet thus farre separated from the middle battell, seemed to present vnto the Christians a great aduantage: which *Fuscarinus* (intentiue to all the offers of good fortune) M
quickly perceiuing, and calling vnto *Columnius* and *Lilly*, and shewing them the enemies main battell at hand, and the wings gone a great way off, requested and persuaded them, That not staying for the heauy Ships and Galleasses, they would with him vpon the sudden assaile the enemies middle battell now destitute of the wings: not doubting but so to ouerthrow the

Vluzales meaning nothing lesse, yet maketh shew of battell.

The Turks politiquely retyre.

The Christians desirous of battell, go against the Turks.

A the enemies greatest strength there, before the wings could, now they were so far gone, ioyne themselues to the battell again. What could (as he said) haue hapned more wishedly, than to haue their battell diuided. So that they might at more aduantage fight against euery part therof, now separted, than against all three parts at once. If they had thought themselues not only equall, but too strong for the whole enemies fleet, should they not the better ouercome them apart and dispersed. The opportunity, as he said, was but short, and therefore to be forthwith resolued vpon. If they would take the present occasion of victory then offred, and as resolute men charge their enemies, little fearing any such thing, they should by their celerity and valor, teach the Turks what the Christian discipline of war and power was able to do: but if they would therein vse delay, they should ere long in vain wish for the like occasion they
B had let slip, when as their battell was again strengthned with the wings. This the Admirals speech was of most that heard it ioyfully receiued, and his counsell well liked; and that with such a generall cheerfulnesse of the souldiers, as shewed in them no want of courage to haue giuen the enemy present battell. But *Columnius* and *Lilly* being of the same mind they had bin alwaies, said it were dangerous so to do, for fear of drawing the whole three battels of the enemy at once vpon them, against which they should be too weak, without the help of the galeasses and heauy ships: and therfore said flatly, That without those vessels so much feared of their enemies, they would in no case hazard the fortune of a battel. But whether *Columnius* and *Lilly* were of that opinion for that they so thought, or were so charged by *Don Iohn* (of whom they altogether depended) not to fight in his absence, many doubted. The wings of the Christians
C in turning about to confront the enemies wings, were a little disordred: which the Turks perceiuing, and taking the present opportunity, with 15 of their gallies were about to haue charged the stragling gallies: which *Superantius* perceiuing, to stay their course, went out couragiously against them with foure gallies, and made with them a great fight: in the heat whereof, *Superantius* seeing forty more of the enemies gallies comming towards him, and doubtiug to be inclosed, with all speed sent for relief, which came presently in, namely twenty gallies, with two of the galeasses: which forthwith sent their thundring shot so thick and furiously among their enemies, that in a little time eighteen of their gallies were by them al rent and torn; and the Turks therwith dismaied, were glad in such hast to returne, as if they had rather fled than retired. *Superantius* hauing at that fight but one of his gallies shot through, returned again to
D his place. Of this light fight many deemed what would haue bin the euent of the whole battell, if the opinion of *Fuscarinus* had preuailed. Both the fleets falling again into their order, although the Christians could not so fast follow, as the Turks went before them; yet came they so neer them, that oftentimes they changed bullets, as well with their small shot as their great. And yet for all that, it was by many signs gathered, that neither the Turks would abide present battell, neither the Christians longer delay, if by their enemies they so might. The Christians had agreed (as is before said) not to ioyn in battel without their galleasses and tal ships: which *Vluzales* wel vnderstood, both by the fugitiues and his own espials, as also by their maner of sailing. And he himselfe, although he had no great desire to fight, yet to be the better able to frustrat the endeuors of the Christians (who with great labour drew with them the
E galeasses and other heauy ships) sent his chargable great ships to Maluasia, there to be vnrigged; wherby he discharged himself of a great burthen, & made himself able at his own choice and pleasure, to leaue or take, to fight or not: and also with such soldiers and other necessaries as were in the same great ships, supplied the wants of his whole fleet. By which policy the matter was brought to that passe, that if the Christians would needs draw the enemy to battel, they must of necessity forsake their galeasses, their most assured strength; or if they would not leaue them, then they could not by any means inforce the ready enemy to fight. The day now declining, the enemy supposing himself to haue done enough for that time, both for the abating of the heart of the Christians, and encouraging his owne people, in seemly order, as one not afraid, sailed with his fleet to Corona. The Christians in like manner retiring them-
F selues to Cerigo.

The Turks fleet at Corona, and the Christians at Cerigo.

Whilst things thus went, *Don Iohn* by a frigot sent of purpose, gaue knowledge to the fleet, that he was come to Corcyra, sharply blaming the great commanders for their departure, and that they stayd not for his comming: and further commanded them as their Generall, all other things set apart, forthwith to meet him at Zacynthus, there to resolue of all matters.

Don Iohn sendeth word to the fleet to meet him at Zacynthus.

Columnius wholly deuoted to the Spaniards, and preferring the fauour of *Don Iohn* before the rest, hearing his message, was in such hast to haue returned, that he would haue persuaded *Fuscarinus* to haue left the heauy vessels and other weak gallies at Cerigo; and with a hundred of the best gallies with all speed to haue returned to the Generall. Of which opinion was also *Lilly*: but *Fuscarinus* more careful than the rest, as he whom the danger more concerned, would not yeeld to that persuasion: for that in so doing, they should (as he said) leaue the ships and galleasses, the chiefe part of their strength, in danger to be spoiled by the enemy; whom they now kept at a bay without the help of their general; and should, as he wel hoped, by often prouoking of him, at one time or other draw him to battell, and haue ouer him a notable victory. And therefore requested them for the loue of God, and the zeale they bare vnto the common good of all Christendome, not to depart farther off, nor to suffer the enemy to escape out of their hands, neither by their departure to leaue the Islands of the Venetians subiect to the fury of the enemy: whereas the Generall might at his pleasure and without danger come vnto them, they lying betwixt the enemy and him. But *Columnius* and *Lilly* resolutely set down, hap what hap should, to do what *Don Iohn* had commanded, would not listen to the reasonable persuasions of the Venetian Admirall, but told him flatly, That if he would not in that they had said yeeld to them, they would forthwith leaue him to himself, and with their gallies presently return to Zacynthus, as the Generall had commanded. Whilst they were yet thus discoursing, news was brought, that the enemy was come with his fleet into the fret of Cerigo: which caused them all with one consent to resolue in such order to passe by the enemy, as if they should haue giuen him present battell: wheras before, they were determined by the persuasion of *Fuscarinus* to haue gon to Crete, and there leauing the ships and galeasses in safety, to haue afterwards returned to the General. In such order the Christians passed by the enemies fleet, which lay still in the fret of the sea without mouing, standing as it were rather vpon the guard of themselues, than resolued for battell. In three days sailing they came to Zacynthus, where they found not *Don Iohn*, but two of his gallies, & commandment, that they should there leaue their heauy ships, and with their gallies come to Cephalenia, where they should not faile to meet him. Hereupon the Venetians were exceedingly grieued, and muttered through the whole fleet, That the Spaniards bearing themselues vpon their wealth, were too proud, and in comparison of themselues, regarded neither the conditions of the league, neither any other mans credit, but troad all men vnder foot; & would now vse the Venetians not as their friends and confederats, but as their slaues and vassals, feeding them in the mean time but with vaine hope. Yet forasmuch as the time and necessity so required, they were content to be ouerruled: and so leauing the ships and galeasses at Zacynthus, went with the rest of the fleet to Cephalenia: whither *Don Iohn* was not yet come, and sent word thither, That if they had any desire to ioin their forces with his, they should yet come further back vnto him to Corcyra. This message (which they had rather feared than expected) much troubled the Venetians; who readier to suspect euery mischiefe, than to hope for any good, began to fret and complain, That the Spaniards could very wel tel the Venetians what they had to do, and forgot in the mean time, what was on their own part to be performed. A hard thing it was to say, and yet to be said, that now they had more to do with those their dallying friends and confederats, than with their enemies: for with their enemies they were to fight but in time of battell, but with them they were to wrestle at all times and in all places. They were by them (as they said) drawn from the sight of their enemies, when as they might haue bin ouerthrowne: not to the intent that with their vnited forces they might more safely fight against them, or vnder the conduct of *Don Iohn* gain the victory; but rather lest any thing should haue bin don which might be to the honor or profit of the Venetians: and that time which was to haue bin bestowed in the managing of the war, spent in lingring and delaying, and vain going forward & backward to no purpose. One only way there was (as they said) to haue dispatched with the Turke, which was by ouercomming him in another notable battel, & so to haue vtterly broken his strength at sea: which course the confederats made no lesse difficult by their ofwardnes and delaies, than the enemy by declining of battell: That they had long ago by many secret signes probably coniectured, that the Spaniards had more care to hinder & crosse other mens doings, than to do any thing of themselues: That their endeauors were to frustrate those great hopes which promised vnto the Christian commonweale the greatest felicity and happines, together with immortall glory:

Don Iohn sendeth for the fleet to Cephalenia, where he also saileth to meet them.

Don Iohn commandeth the fleet to repaire vnto him to Corcyra.

glory: and, That the Turks of late discouraged with the fortunat proceedings of the Christians, might again reioice at their mishaps.

The Venetians, notwithstanding all these their murmuring speeches, loth to fall off from the Spaniard, kept still on with the rest vntil they came to *Don Iohn* at Corcyra, who then lay with 53 gallies, and 18 ships at Spilea, in the vtmost end of the Island. At their first meeting *Don Iohn* shewed himself not a little offended, that they had not with more duty before attended his comming: and they againe not a little complained of his long stay, with many other their grieuances, which were tedious here to rehearse. The fleet now all with much ado at length met together, which consisted of two hundred gallies, nine galeasses, and thirty six tall ships: it was by generall consent agreed, That they should again set forward toward the Enemy. They were not yet vnder saile, when two of their espials brought them news, that the enemies fleet (weakly furnished both of mariners and souldiers) was come to Nauarinum: which filled them all with good hope, that the Turks fleet so euill prouided, might in that place vpon the sudden be easily oppressed, and the rather, if they came vpon them vnexpected. Wherfore because they would not be descried, they kept not their course on right forth, but sayling by night, kept aloof vpon the right hand: & hauing passed Zacynthus, came with great silence vnto the Strophades, where they lay at anchor all that day. In the euening they loosed thence, so casting their course, that the more to terrifie the enemy, they might before day fall vpon him; and be seen in the mouth of the hauen where he lay, before there could be any report made of their comming thither. But this course so well set, the time was so euill cast, that it was fair day long before they could come to the appointed place; when the Turks out of their watch towers discouered afar off the comming of the Christian fleet, gaue warning therof vnto their fellows: wherupon an alarm was presently raised in the towne, and all men in armes ran headlong to the wals and to the hauen. But the Turks out of hope with their euill rigged fleet to be able to withstand the Christians, and not daring to trust to that weak harbour, they all now in a great hurly burly ran confusedly hand ouer head, soldiers and mariners, aboord: and whilst they had yet time, got them in hast out of that harbour, and as men chased by their enemies, got them into safe harbour at Modon, a strong town of Peloponesus, about six miles off. *Columnius* was sent before the rest of the fleet to haue pursued them: but they were got so far before him, that they had recouered the harbor before he could ouertake any of them. The Christian fleet comming before the harbour, and leauing a space as it were of purpose for the enemy to come out into, there lay in the face of the town, daring the Turks battell. But when they had so lien almost all that day, and no man durst come out; and now towards the euening certain signes of tempest appeared, the Christians fearing to be by force of weather driuen on ground, put farther off again to sea. Then at length *Vluzales* sent out certain light gallies to follow in the taile of the fleet, when the Confederats suddenly staying their course, and turning their prowes vpon them, draue them headlong again into the harbour: and afterwards retyred themselues with the whole fleet into the Islands Oenusæ, now called Sapientia, right opposit against Modon. The next day wanting fresh water, they remoued to the bay of Messana, there to water in the mouth of the riuer Pamisus, which there falleth into the sea: where in passing by Corone, they were oftentimes shot at out of the town; and landing their men to water, were encountred by certain troups of horsmen, sent for that purpose by *Vluzales*. There was water deerely bought with the liues of many there slain on both sides: in the end, the Christians preuailing, watered, and so returned againe to the Oenusæ from whence they came.

The Christian fleet al together at Corcyra, setteth forward again towards the enemy.

The Christians offer the Turks battell.

Methone or Modon (for it is by both names known) standeth almost in an Island stretching far into the sea, where toward the West runneth out a long point of the land a great way into the sea; in the vttermost part whereof standeth a great round tower. The towne it selfe, is on the one side inclosed with the sea, and toward the land so strongly fortified, as that it seemeth almost impregnable: Towards the South commeth in a faire bay about three miles wide, safe from all winds except the Northerly wind only; and shut vp by a little Island in the mouth of the bay, maketh a safe & quiet harbor, with two entrances therinto on either side of the Island. Within this bay lay the Turks fleet, with the sterns of their gallies toward the land, and their prows toward the sea. At the Southerly comming in of the bay standeth an hil, which the inhabitants call Albus: on the top whereof, the enemy had placed six great pieces of Ordnance, where-

The description of the bay of Modon.

wherwith to keep the Christians from entring that way. So had they also vpon that point of the main, which (as we said) runneth out from the town, and vpon S. *Bernards* rock, planted other great pieces of Ordnance to defend that passage also. The Christians comming vnto the mouth of the bay, there lay with their fleet diuided into foure parts, but yet doubtful what to do: for beside that the entrances of the bay were but narrow, they were also far more dangerous to be entred, by reason of the great Ordnance planted vpon them. Neuertheles, the Venetian Admirall in hope of good successe, and loth to let the fearfull enemy so to escape out of their hands, would fain haue persuaded the General with his whole fleet to haue entred the bay, and there in the harbor to haue oppressed the enemy: which he shewed to be no matter to do, for that the enemy was too weak in strength, and could not be from land relieued. In which doing, they should indeed ouerthrow but one fleet; but in the ouerthrowing of that one, cut in sunder all the sinews of the Turkish Empire by sea: and raising a tumult in the bay, and filling all with a generall feare, should vndoubtedly at the first onset put the enemy to flight: Which don, what should let, but that carrying about with them the terror of the victory, they should with their victorious fleet, take from the Turke all the Islands of the Ægeum? That truly and wisely it was said of *Themistocles*, That whosoeuer had the command of the sea, must needs also preuaile in the rest, and at length carry away the victory by land also. It was (as he said) the part of good chieftains, not to be wanting vnto themselues when occasion was offered: besides that, they were the same Turks, whom they had but the yeare before vanquished; and what had that one yere either taken from them, or giuen vnto the Turks? or what should they feare six pieces of Ordnance mounted vpon a hill, who if they should vndertake the battell, were not to fear the great store of Ordnance in 260 of the enemies gallies and galliots? I my self (said he) will be the guid and leader, in whatsoeuer shall seem most difficult and dangerous: and will in person my selfe be the first that shall enter the harbour, and aduenture the first danger. Great victories (he said) were not to be gained but with great aduentures; & that therfore the matter were to be hasted, before more aid should be sent vnto the Turks. Wherefore they should as resolute men attempt that, the Turks thought the Christians durst not to haue attempted; and with the same courage brake into the bay, wherewith they had but the yere before broken the strength of the same enemy; and by the power of God carry away another notable triumph of the vanquished Turks: who ouercome in a second battell at sea, must needs depart with all their maritime territories. With euill liking of the Spaniards was the Venetian Admirall heard: and *Don Iohn* the Generall, deeming both the time and place vnfit for the attempting of so great an exploit; rehearsed on the one side, the strength of the enemy, the disaduantage of the place, the difficulty of the battell, with the manifold and great calamities receiued by the ouerhasty & rash atempt of their enemies: That the enemies strength was not to be so much deemed by the eye, or by report, as by reason; and that many in seeking to increase their former glory, had in so doing ouerthrown the same: That the Christians in entring and aduenturing the harbor, should on the one side be beaten with the Artillery from the hil; and on theother, with the artillery out of the castle of Modon: and that it was not like that *Vluzales* should if need require, lack aid from land: who but the other day had sent great troups of horsmen to haue kept the Christians from watring: that a matter of so great importance was (by *Fuscarinus* his leaue) not rashly to be taken in hand, vpon an heat and hautinesse of stomack, but vpon graue and mature deliberation: for if they should in a place of so great disaduantage, hazard the fortune of a generall battell, it should seem that either he knew not that kind of fight and force of the enemy, or els would make the bay of Modon more famous by the ouerthrow of the Christians, than was the Curzulari by the slaughter of the Turks. Then what a shame would it be, if they which were about to oppres the enemies fleet, should themselues be ouerthrown, and that in their own deuice. He had rather (as he said) preserue his own fleet, than to take 600 of the enemies gallies, and to acount the same for a greater honor. Which he determined not, for that he would not haue any thing don; but that vnripe occasions should not be too much hastned, and as it were thrust headlong forward: wheras time would giue opportunity for the ouerthrow of the Turks fleet, so that they ran not blindly on headlong: & that in future time the Venetians would reioice that they had so moderated their desires. The Christians (he said) had sufficiently preuailed, if those things should fall out well, which were warily and aduisedly considered and resolued vpon.

Don Iohn refuseth to follow the counsell of the Admirall.

The

The matter thus on both sides debated, and nothing don, they returned with the fleet into the port of Nauarinum. This proceeding, as it diuersly moued the Spaniards and the Venetians, so brought it forth diuers speeches, euery man speaking in fauour of his own nation. The Spaniard openly vaunted, That he had most wisely resolued, for that how deer the counsell of the Venetian Admirall would haue cost if it had bin followed, the thing it self (as he said) shewed, by the extreme danger therof presented, not in the doubtfull opinion of men, but laid open before their eies. The Venetian on the other side more desirous of battell, the neerer they had seen the opportunity to haue preuailed vpon the enemy, the more impatiently they endured so assured a victory, to haue bin let slip out of their hands: and thereof spake accordingly.

The Christians lying at Nauarinum, consulted of many things what they were best to take in hand: and resoluing at last, by sea & land to besiege the castle of Modon, which kept the passage into the bay, and defended the Turkish fleet; they returned again thither, & landed 7000 of their best soldiers, to besiege the castle. And at the same time, appointed the galeasses with certain gallies to batter it also from the sea: which the more commodiously to do, they ioined two of their greatest gallies together side to side, which they made fast with masts and strong ropes, and so bourded them clean ouer, wheron as on a platform, they placed gabions al affront, filled with earth, and great Ordnance betwixt to haue battered the Castle. But when this Engine (in maner of a floating fort) should haue performed the seruice for which it was deuised, it proued vnseruiceable, after it had with much ado bin brought thither, being ready to sinke with the weight of the great Ordnance and other things wherwith it was ouercharged. For which cause, and for that they vnderstood a great number of horsemen to be come into the town, they gaue ouer the siege vainly begun, and put again with their fleet to sea. It fortuned at the same time, that a tall ship of Venice departing from Zacynthus, and comming alongst the coast of Peloponesus, with prouision for the fleet, was descried by the enemy; who thinking to do the Christians a great dishonor, if they could almost in the sight of their fleet surprise her, they sent out certain light gallies to haue taken her, *Vluzales* in the mean time with the rest of his fleet, lying in the very mouth of the bay, ready to come out if the Christian fleet should once stir to relieue her. Which the Christians perceiuing, and wel hoping that so the enemy would be drawn to battell, sent out *Columnius* with his gallies to rescue the ship; and others also which lying aloof, might get in betwixt the Turks gallies & the bay: *Don Iohn* and the Venetian Admirall lying ready to haue giuen battell, if *Vluzales* should haue come forth: but the Christians comming on with a small gale, the enemy being afraid, by shooting off of certain warning pieces within the bay, in time called back the gallies that were already gone out of the bay: who all forthwith came in, excepting *Mohomet* the nephew of *Barbarussa*, a most famous captain amongst the Turks, who as one of great courage, and desirous of honour, staid a little without the bay, with greater courage than discretion, expecting who should assaile him. Him the Marques S. *Crucis* set vpon, and had with him a great and terrible fight: but in the end the Marques preuailing, slew *Mahomet* with all his Turks, and with honor caried away the gally. So the dishonor which *Vluzales* would haue don the Christians, fell vpon himselfe, hauing in his own sight lost one of his best captains with his gally.

The Castle of Modon in vain besieged by the Christians.

Mahomet slain

The next day, because the yeare should not passe without somthing don, nor the hope of so great a preparation come to nothing, the Christians determined to besiege the Castle of Nauarinum (which was in antient time called Pylus) more famous for nothing, than for that it was the natiue place of old *Nestor*. The City of Nauarinum standeth vpon a rising ground, stretching somwhat into the sea; wherinto it hath a large prospect, and a faire large hauen, but subiect to the North wind. It is defended with a point of the main, running compasse into the sea, whereon standeth an old Castle. Some sent before to view the scituation of the place, brought word back, that the castle might in three days be won. The performance of which exploit, was committed to *Alexander Farnesius* Prince of Parma, whom the Venetians furnished with munition and victual. He landing with 2000 Italians, a thousand Spaniards, and 500 Germans, began with twelue great pieces to batter the castle. And albeit that the battery was planted so far off, as that it did the enemy no great harme; yet haply the enterprise had taken effect, if by taking the streight and troublesome passages through a rough and thick forrest, the City had bin kept from relief: but forasmuch as those passages were left free, the enemy

The Prince of Parma in vain besieged Nauarinum.

enemy cunningly opposed policy against force, for salying out of the city they gaue the Christians an hot skirmish. And in the mean time whilst the Christians were so busied, by a port toward the forrest on the other side of the City receiued in great number both of horse and foot. The report of this new come aid caused the Prince to raise his siege, and to go again aboord. And now rested all the hope of gaining the town in the strength of the fleet, and that not small, for that the Turks not relieued with victuals by land, were now by the confederats kept from them also by sea: for at that time the Turkes were troubled with two great mischiefs, the famin and the plague. For no prouision had there bin made, as in a thing neuer feared; and that little being spent that was in the Towne, they were inforced to seek for victuals farther off: which comming but sparingly, as in time of dearth, was oftentimes by the way intercepted by the souldiers which lay about in the country villages, wanting victuals no lesse than they in the city. And the more men the Beglerbeg of Greece brought down for defence of the sea towns, so much the more the wants of all things daily increased. So that no man doubted but that in short time all would be brought to extream penury. What a dearth the mortalitie had made, the want of men in gallies wel declared: for many of the gallies for lack of mariners and soldiers were sent away into Euboea, or left at Maluasia, or carried away to Constantinople. Those which staid in the bay of Modon were scarse an hundred gallies, and forty galliots, and they so slenderly manned, that the greatest gallies had not aboue a hundred and twenty men in them, and they so megre and faint, as that they could scarsly hold vp their weapons. The Christians vnderstanding of these things, were in good hope, that by continuing the siege, they should without danger gain a notable victory. For which cause *Fuscarinus* persuaded the Spaniards (of whose constancy he doubted) to hold it out as men of resolution. Shewing them, That in the euent of this action rested for them for euer to be feared or contemned of the Turks: who except they should be changed into fishes or into birds, could not (as he said) without a notable ouerthrow escape their hands out of the Bay. But vnto this his hope and counsel the euent was not correspondent: for the Spaniards, whether it were for the tediousnes of the siege, or for want of victuals, or for the approch of winter, or els moued with some other reasons, began to think of the matter diuersly: and at the first a report was raised, That the Christians giuing ouer the siege, would shortly return home; and the reason was, for that they wanted bisket, and had scarsly victuals left for fifteen daies, which was to be reserued for their long journy home. Besides that, the approch of Winter did call them from the action: and that hauing don what they might, they could neuer draw the enemy forth to battell. And therfore hauing sufficiently, and as far as was possible, already discharged their duties, they were now also to regard their safety, and to foresee, that their fleet, wherein the wellfare of them all was reposed, were not too far indangered. At the first these speeches were divulged by the common souldiers and mariners of small credit or reputation; but afterward by more, and they also men of better place and sort. Yea *Don Iohn* himselfe, whether it were to some other purpose, or that he so spake in good earnest, began to lay the fault vpon others, why he, so lately come from Messana, should in so short time want victuals and all things els necessary.

The weaknes of the Turks fleet.

The Venetians murmure against the Spaniards.

With these vnexpected reports, and so far different from the Confederation, the Venetian Admiral with the rest of the Venetian Commanders were exceedingly troubled, and grieued aboue measure: for it seemed not credible, that they which but a little before were come from the most fertile and plentifull cuuntry of Sicilia, in all ages the most fruitfull and abundant granary and store-house of Italy, both in peace and war, could so soon want victuals. Could eighteen tall ships, which ought by the capitulations of the league to haue come loded with bisket, victuals, and other warlike and necessary prouision, be come empty? or but to haue brought so much as might suffice but for a moneth only? If this were don without the knowledge of *Don Iohn*, where was then the care of a Generall? If he winked thereat, where was his zeal to the confederation, or to what purpose came he to Corcyra? Was it to auert the Christian fleet (hauing once or twice met with the enemy) from doing any good vpon him? Could it come into any mans head (besides that in so doing he was therin to extinguish the glory of a most certain victory, like to work the Turks confusion) by the infamy of a voluntary retraite to increase the glory and renown of his enemy, and to bring a perpetual ignominy & disgrace vnto the honour of the Christians? Verily the Spaniards therein not to shew themselues so willing

willing to haue the power of the Turks abated, as the strength of the Venetians not increased. These things *Fuscarinus* and the Venetians sometimes fretted at amongst themselues; and otherwhiles the Admirall himselfe expostulated the same with *Don Iohn* and *Columnius*, and in the presence of the greatest counsellors shewed, not only how profitable, but also how necessary perseuerance was in all martiall affairs: That it was an old and vsuall matter for men in besieging of their enemies, to suffer many difficulties: if they should, hauing performed nothing, return with the fleet, who would doubt but that both their labour and charge was again the next yeare to be renewed? And what could this delay be else, but a propagation of their further calamities? That therfore it much concerned the Christian Commonweale, although they had not all things in abundance, yet resolutely and with patience to endure the scarsity of victuals. If want of bisket were feared, the Generall might easily remedy that matter, by speedily sending for those ships which lay laded with victuals good store at Tarentum: which thing might in short time be performed. In the mean time he promised to supply the Spaniards wants with part of his own store: and that he had rather his men should liue with roots, than to let the enemies fleet coupt vp, so to escape his hands: That the desire to protect the honour of the Christians, would ouercome all difficulties. Besides that, the matter would be but short, if it were done at once, in one continued course; and would vndoubtedly be by them performed, if they gaue not ouer the thing they had so well begun, till they had accomplished it. They (as he said) might in good safety lie with their fleet in the ports of Nauarinum, Sapientia, and Capraria: wheras the enemy, lying shut vp in the bay of Modon, should haue but a bad and dangerous Winter harbor; and October being now begun, should in short time be in danger to perish with blustring storms and rage of the sea, familiar vnto that time of the yeare; or els inforced with the extremity of the weather, and with want, to aduenture into the open sea, and with their weak forces to ioin battell. What should therfore let, why they should not for 10 or for 15 daies continue the siege, as best beseemed the honor of themselues, the valour of their souldiers, and worthines of the Christian name? What a terrour it would be vnto the enemy, to see the Christians ready to endure all extremities and wants, to gaine the victory ouer the Turks? Again, what dishonour and discredit would be vnto themselues, if they should suffer the enemy (shut vp and not daring to fight) to escape: especially, when as they might sitting still, end the war? The Senat of Venice, he said, most rested vpon the valor and courage of *Don Iohn*, and therefore he requested him not to deceiue the great hope they had of him conceiued: for how much should he himselfe blemish his own honour, if when he had before relieued the afflicted state of the commonweale, he should now, when it was most of all to be holpen, forsake the same? Which should not be much vnlike, as if a man should with great labour purchase great store of pretious pearles, and vpon an humorous passion cast them all into the sea: That men generally held a great opinion of him the General, an honorable remembrance of his victory, and regard of his valour; all which, how much the more pregnant and honorable should they be, by the second vanquishing and subduing the most mighty monarch of the world: and that if the action well begun, should be effectually prosecuted by the goodnes of God, the direction of the Commanders, and the resolution of the souldiers, in short time the Christians should carry the victory from the Turks, and make him their general equal not only with the great chieftains of the present time, but euen with the most famous commanders of all former ages. Wherunto *Don Iohn* replied, That the action then in hand no lesse concerned the Spaniards than the Venetians: and that he had in his life desired nothing more, than to stand the Christian Commonweale in stead: That he pointed at the same mark with *Fuscarinus*, and in zeale to do good to the Christian commonweale, gaue place to no man; but indeed to perform it, was a thing much more difficult than to say it: lesser things (he said) were to be ouerpassed, to reserue themselues for the performance of greater: and therfore marvelled that *Fuscarinus* alone could not see things most manifest before his eies, who otherwise could with his piercing wit see through the deepest matters: could he think by any other means to abate the power of the Turk, than if they kept their fleet whole; that it was euer the maner of the greatest & worthiest commanders, rather to shun present dangers, than to increase their territories: that nothing was so wel purposed, which might not be of some wrongfully suspected: but his faithful meaning to be pure & without spot; and albeit that the opportunity serued not for him to shew it, yet was his desire & endeuor nothing lesse: and that *Fuscarinus*

The Venetian Admirall perswadeth the Spaniards in vain ease to returne from the enemy.

Don Iohn replieth vpon the Venetian Admirall.

rinus, should do well more intentiuely to consider, what the cause, the matter, and the time re- G
quired: That the maner of war at land and at sea were much different: and that although wars
of both sorts were to giue place to the most vnseasonable time of the yeare, vnfit for any kind
of war, yet might men at land, better endure the winter storms in their tents and cabbins, than
at sea in their gallies, where oftentimes will, skil, wisdome, nor valor help not: but that (except
it be so prouided and foreseen, that the seasonable time, of the yere, and commodious for sai-
ling, may be taken) al must together perish by shipwrack. What, would he haue them to striue
aboue their power with the winter storms, and famin, the greatest extremity of nature? Besides
that, he was verily persuaded, that the Turks, inioying the commodities of a good harbor, and
of a rich city, would there in safety winter, the country of Peloponesus relieuing them with al
necessaries: when as the Christians in the meane time, except they in time returned home, H
should lie exposed to the rage of the sea, standing as it were in a continuall watch, not laying
away their weapons in the depth of Winter and dead time of the yere, which in reason ought
to giue rest to all men. And that therefore euery man ought for the present to beare his own
grieuances, and not by the harms of his friends or confederats, to seek his owne auaile. And
that he, bearing himselfe vpon the inward integrity of his good will toward the Venetians,
would this say, howsoeuer *Fuscarinus* should vnderstand it, That if the Kings fleet should by
long staying, there perish, it would no lesse concern the Venetians, than the king himselfe: and
taking God to witnesse, would solemnly promise, Nothing to be vnto him more leiser or reli-
gious, than to be prest so soon as the time of yeare would giue leaue, and by his endeauour to
make al men know, that he had no lesse care of the Venetian state, than of the kings affairs, nei- I
ther desired any thing more, than to be accounted, & indeed to be a most constant vpholder of
that most Christian league; and that beyond al expectation, euen in the iudgement of the Ve-
netians themselues: but for the present they must pardon him, if he gaue place vnto the necef-
sity of the time: as for the offer of the communicating of their victuals, that would not be any
help, but the destruction of both the fleets; for so they should both sooner feele the want:
wherefore it were much better to preserue the fleet, which they might vse in the next yeares
wars, than wilfully to cast away the same by famine, and the rage of the sea. In briefe, what an
indignity should the Christians sustain, if they themselues should by the same meanes be o-
uerthrown, whereby they had thought to haue ouerthrown others.

The Spaniards about to return without the knowledge of the Venetians.

Now the Spaniards were so resolutely set down for their departure, that not only without K
the consent of the Venetians, but euen without their priuity, their departure was resolued on,
and secret command giuen to the masters of the gallies, with all the hast that might be, to de-
part thence to Messana. Which the Venetian Admiral vnderstanding, and therwith troubled
as with an vnexpected matter, came aboord the general, & greatly complained of his purpose
for so sudden a departure: requesting him a while to stay, vntil the two gallies made fast toge-
ther in the harbor of Nauarium (as is before said) with the Ordnance vpon them might be put
in good safety, and neither they, or any thing els left for a prey to the enemy. With much ado,
Fuscarinus persuaded him no stay that night, that those gallies might be brought out of the
harbor, and all things put in order for their departure. The rest of the night was spent in de-
bating of the matter too and fro: where *Don Iohn* would needs haue it conceiued into a pub- L
like instrument in writing, That the fleet by the generall consent of the three Admirals retur-
ned for lack of victuals: wherunto the Venetian Admirall hardly consented: But when the in-
strument should haue bin made and confirmed, *Don Iohn* better aduised by one of his Secreta-
ries, That the same would redound vnto the great dishonour both of the King and himselfe,
that the fleet comming out of the fruitfull country of Sicilia, should in a months space want
victuals, changed his mind for the writing, and only requested the Venetian Admirall to cre-
dit him and *Columnius*, in that they had said concerning the want of victuals: promising him,
that if vpon the way he should meet with the victuals that were sent for, he would forthwith
return & giue him aid, as the time and occurrents should require: but in the mean time to pro-
ceed by common consent, to do that which was most needfull. Hereupon they returned: and M
comming to Corcyra, they met the expected ship laded with victuals. Now is not *Fuscarinus*
vnmindfull of his duty, but comming to *Don Iohn*, put him in remembrance of his promise;
[illegible] That it was not vnlike, but that the enemy so soon as he vnderstood of their de-
[illegible] come out of the bay, and returne with his fleet towards Constantinople; and
being

A being but weake manned, and worse furnished of mariners, might easily be ouertaken vpon the way and ouerthrowne. But *Don Iohn* was not by any meanes to be thereunto persuaded; pretending, that he was by the King commanded forthwith to return. So the expectation of great matters to haue bin this yeare done, came to nought, but vanished into smoake: and nothing performed worth so long a discourse, more than to see with what difficulty great actions are managed, wherein the hands of many great ones are required; who jealous of their own honor, or enuying at others, corrupt with delaies the fairest opportunities, and by their crosse dealing, no lesse than the enemy, hinder the common good, whereat they would all fainest seeme to aime. From Corcyra *Don Iohn* departed to Messana, and *Columnius* vnto Rome. *Fuscarinus* with greater honour than successe returned to Venice, where he was with great joy receiued,
B both of the Senat and the citisens in generall: and so (no lesse famous for his patience and moderation towards the other confederats, than for his policy and valor) with the good liking of all men gaue vp his charge, in few yeares after to receiue a greater.

Amyda the exiled King of Tunes craueth aid of Don Iohn.

About this time, *Amida* King of Tunes (of whom much is before spoken in the life of *Solyman*) being but a little before driuen out of his kingdome by the Turks (who had of long by little and little ineroached vpon him) and as a priuat man liued in exile with his two sons at Guletta with *Franciscus Touares*, Gouernour thereof; hearing of the great ouerthrow of the Turks at Lepanto, and of the good successe of the Christians, sent Embassadours to *Don Iohn* Generall of the confederat princes, then lying in Sicilia, humbly requesting his aid for the re-
C uery of the kingdome; promising to defray the whole charges of the war, and forever to hold his kingdome of the King of Spaine, as his vassall and tributary. Which his request well considered of, and the matter thought of no small consequence for the safety of the Christian countries lying ouer against that part of Affricke, to haue so dangerous an enemy remoued; *Don Iohn* the yere following (in the beginning of October) by the commandement of the king 1573
of Spaine his brother, departing from Drepanum in Sicilia, with an hundred and fiue gallies and forty ships, arriued the next day about noone at Guletta, where the gallies of Malta came vnto him, and shortly after *Iohn Andreas Auria* the Admirall with nineteen more, and *Columnius* the Popes Admirall with foureteene moe, all well appointed. At his arriuall at Guletta, he vnderstood by *Amida* and the Gouernour, the whole estate both of the city and of the kingdome of Tunes: and that the Turks and Moores, terrified with so greet a fleet, were about to
D forsake the city. Wherefore hauing well viewed the place, he the next day after landed his forces about foure miles from the city, and sent two thousand fiue hundred footmen before the rest of the army to the city; who found it all desolate, the Turks and Moores being before for feare fled, some to Carauana, some to Biserta: who entring without resistance came to the castle, wherein they found two hundred Moores, who said they kept it for *Amida* their King; but yet would by no means suffer the Christians to enter. All which was forthwith made knowne to *Don Iohn*, who then because it was almost night, would not moove, but early the next morning set forward with his whole army; and entring the city, before abandoned by the inhabitants, and so comming to the castle, found nothing therein but great store of oyle, butter, and wooll.

E *Amida* the late King, by the commandement of *Don Iohn* all this while stayd at Guletta. But whilest *Don Iohn* was yet at Tunes, newes was brought vnto him the 13 of October, That the Turks garrison before fled out of Tunes, with diuers Moores, comming to Biserta, were there kept out by the citisens, and not suffered to enter: for which cause they began to burne and spoile the country thereabout. Whereupon the Generall sent *Touares* the Captain of Guletta thither with part of the army; who encountring with those Turks ouerthrew them, and had the city by the citisens peaceably deliuered vnto him.

The iust iudgement of God vpon Amida the late King of Tunes.

The kingdom of Tunes thus easily once again recouered from the Turks, *Don Iohn* thorowly informed of the faithlesse and cruell dealing of *Amida* the late king, and that in detestation of the Christians and their religion, he had already had intelligence with the Turks, and pro-
F cured the death of some of the Christians; gaue this definitiue sentence vpon him, being yet in the castle of Guletta: That forasmuch as he had of long time bin the author of great discord and endlesse troubles in that kingdom, and had most vnnaturally depriued *Muleasses* his father, first of his kingdome, and afterward of his sight; and in like manner tyrannized ouer his naturall brethren, the rightfull heires of that Kingdome, whereby the Turks had taken occa-
sion

sion both to inuade and possesse the same: he should therefore by the commandement of the king of Spaine be carried prisoner with his two sonnes into Sicilia, there to remaine for euer. Which heauy doome he taking most grieuously, and yet crying out for mercy, was forthwith thrust into a gally, and with his wife and children transported into Sicilia, there to liue in perpetuall exile: the just reward of his mercilesse and vnnaturall dealing with his father and brethren; God no doubt requiting him with the like measure he had before measured vnto them.

Mahomet, Amida his brother, made King of Tunes, and vassal to the King of Spaine.

After that (the King of Spaine so commanding) *Mahomet*, *Amida* his elder brother, and right heire of that kingdome, was appointed king in his place: who departing from Guletta to Tunes, was receiued as King, and there by solemne oath promised for euer to be the King of Spaine his vassall, and to do what soeuer he should command.

There was before departed out of Tunes forty thousand Moores, who now came and offered their supplication to *Don Iohn*, that they might again returne and liue with their new king: which their request being easily granted, they in great numbers euery day returned into the city. Shortly after, fifteene hundred Turks, with 3000 of those wilde people which some call Arabians, some Alarbes, sore troubled all the passages about the city: who were at last by the Christians ouerthrowne, and an hundred and fifty Christians whom they had taken prisoners, rescued. After that, *Don Iohn* by the aduice of his most expert and skilfull captaines, commanded a strong castle to be built in the middle way betwixt Guletta and Tunes: and for the performing therof left *Gabriel Serbellio* with two thousand Italians, and *Calazar* a Spaniard with other two thousand at Guletta. And so hauing performed that he came for, and disposed of all things as he thought best, returned againe into Sicilia.

A griefe of griefs it is, and sorrow almost vnconsolable, when worthy actions most happily begun, sort not to such happy end as was in reason hoped for. The greatest and most famous victory of all ages gained against the Turke, seemed to haue lightened a Christian Commonweale, and great hope there was, that the Christians falling into vnity amongst themselues, would by an happy exchange make the Turkish empire the seat of their wars, and to turn into the Turks dominions, the terrour, slaughter, and other calamities of war, which had so many yeres afflicted the Christian commonweale. But by how much the more the joy was amiddest such daily calamities and teares; so much greater was the sorrow so great an hope to be come to nought, and men to be so blinded with the darkenesse of enuy and disdaine, that they could not so much as think, with what dishonor and danger of the common state, they should shrink from so just, so honorable, and so needful a seruice, including in it selfe the generall good of all Christendome. When posterity shall consider what things might then haue bin don, and the deuises whereby the common causes were ouerthrowne; it will worthily blame and greatly lament so notable a victory and fit opportunity, sent as it were from heauen for the effecting of great matters, to haue bin let slip & passed ouer so lightly regarded. This made, that they who before had reposed all their hope in arms, had now no other confidence or hope of their welfare, but in concluding of peace. Truly the Venetians both spoke & thought honorably of king *Philip*, as of a most faithfull, just, deuout, and honorable prince: yet greatly blaming his officers and others of great authority about him, as men more regarding their owne priuate, than the good of the Christian commonweale. In these perplexities of the Venetians, king *Philip* promised them to set forth a greater and stronger fleet against the next yeare, and to be sooner in readinesse with all his forces and warlike prouision, and so to help them in all he might. Who for all that gaue small credit to those promises, for that with the like they had bin oftentimes before deceiued. And therefore as trusting most vnto their owne strength, they with all carefulnesse and expedition entertained moe soldiers; of whom some they put into their fleet, the rest they placed in their garrisons in Creet, in Dalmatia, and their frontier townes in Epirus. Neither were the Turks then idle, as the report went; yet were they thought to manage that war with greater fame than strength: for they had of purpose giuen it out, That they would the next Spring with diuers armies inuade the Venetian Territories, in Creet, in Dalmatia, in Epirus, yea, and in Italy it selfe; and with their innumerable multitude both of horse and foot so ouerwhelme the Venetians, that they should not be able possibly to hold out. This and more too they brauely vaunted of: but indeed *Pluzales* comming to Constantinople, had brought his fleet so shaken and so weake, as that it seemed not possible but in long time to

The Venetians weary of the delayes and crosse dealing of the Spaniards, resolue to sue vnto the Turkes for peace.

A. to be againe repaired, and furnished with soldiers and mariners; in stead of them that had bin lost, some in fight, but moe by the contagiousnesse of the infection. But how soeuer the matter stood, the Venetians carefull with the expectation of great matters, and in small hope of good successe, comparing their own strength with the strength of the enemy: yet were they no lesse discouraged with the delaies and crosse dealing of the confederats, than with all the prouision of the enemy. It stucke in their minds, how that the Spaniards at such time as Cyprus might haue bin defended, delaied their comming so long, that Nicosia being lost, it was time to returne: neither could they forget that lingering delay to haue bin the cause of the great mortality amongst their men dying in the fleet at Iadera: They remembred also, that the commodities, which of so notable a victory were most plentifully to haue bin reaped, were by the slen-
B der prosecuting of the same, so sparingly taken, that the former dangers still remained: And that *Don Iohn*, who ought by appointment to haue bin at Corcyra in the beginning of Summer, was scarcely come thither in the latter end of August: And that he in the third yeare of this war, at such time as their fleet was with great labor and charge again repaired, would not or listed not to aduenture to haue againe ouerthrowne the enemies fleet, but in the very action to haue alwaies trifled away the greatest part of Summer, before his Spaniards could set forward: and when he might safely haue come to Cerigo, to haue called backe *Fuscarinus* and the rest, then facing of the enemy, and euen ready to haue giuen him battell: It was then secretly suspected, the Spaniards to haue staied of purpose, and to haue dallied on the time, that the Venetians hauing spent their forces, might be the more exposed and subject to their injuries:
C It stucke fast not in their minds also, but euen almost in their eyes, what things had happened of former times in their confederations with that nation: they were grieued in the space of three yeres an hundred times, twenty hundred thousand duckats to haue bin to little or small purpose spent in that war: Besides that, they doubted lest the Flemings with their confederats should so intangle the king of Spaine in defending of his owne territories, as that he should not be at leisure to send any aid into the East: in which case, what hope or helpe were they to looke for? How should they then defend the rest of their Seiginory in the East: How should their empty coffers suffice to maintaine so great armies both by sea and land, as might withstand so puissant an enemy? Long were the discourses, and effectuall the persuasions, that the Venetians had amongst themselues, to induce one another, and all in generall, more circum-
D spect to consider, not only what had already passed, or was presently in hand; but also more warily to foresee what would be the course and what the euent of a matter so important: and betime to breake off the confederation, which they had alwaies found to haue stood them in small stead. In reuoluing of these things, only one remedy seemed most effectuall for the curing of their afflicted State: which was, by desisting from war, to conclude a peace with the Turke, how soeuer: which they were the rather in good hope to attaine, for that diuers speeches concerning the same had passed at Constantinople, and were from thence againe reported at Venice. All men thus inclining to peace, the Senat referred the proceeding therein vnto *M. Antonius Barbarus* their Embassador, (who all the time of these wars had lien in safe custody at Constantinople) willing him therein to vse the helpe of the French Embassador, who
E had alwaies beene a persuader of peace.

Selymus hauing got the Island of Cyprus and diuers other places from the Venetians, & yet well wearied with the harmes and losses he had himselfe receiued both by sea and land, was also desirous enough of peace. So that the French Embassador might, as it was thought, haue got a reasonable and indifferent peace, if he had but expected the opportunity of time: But he (whether moued with the common harmes, or some other secret causes to him best known) in making too much hast, & seeming too desirous of peace, much hurt the common cause of the Venetians, which he most desired to haue furthered. *Selymus* hauing found him, resolued with *Muhamet* the great Bassa, what he would haue done: who at such time as the same Embassador came vnto him about the matter, told him, That he had himselfe many times moued, yea & so
F far forth as he might, importuned his great lord and master for peace, but could neuer find him willing to heare thereof, vntill that now at length ouercome and wearied with the continuall sollicitation of such as might do most with him, he had yeelded thereunto. So the thing that *Selymus* himselfe vndoubtedly desired, that the crafty Bassa seemed him with most difficulty to grant, rather vpon the instance and contemplation of them that labored for the same, than for any

Selymus himself desirous of peace.

Muhamet Bassa dealeth cunningly with the French Embassador, soliciting the peace in the behalfe of the Venetians.

any desire he had thereunto of himselfe. For certaine daies at the first the French Embassador was most curteously heard, and the Bassa with faite & cunning speech promised, that the matter of pacification should easily & in short time be composed: and so at their first conference things passed rather in generall termes, than that any condition of peace were particularly agreed vpon: only this was on both parts consented vnto, That the Venetians should send their Embassador of purpose, for the full concluding and confirming of the desired peace. Which charge was by the Senat committed to *Iacobus Superantius*, in whose wisedome and valor they had reposed great hope and confidence. He was no sooner come to Constantinople, and the Turks deliuered of the feare of the Christian sword, by the dissolution of the confederation, but that all things were changed, & the Venetians glad to endure the proud looks of the Turks, their disdainfull ears, their despightfull speeches, their long and insolent attendance, with many other shamefull indignities: Yea, the Bassa was so shamelesse, as proudly to aske them, How they durst be so bold as to impugne the great Emperor *Selymus* his fleet at sea. Whereunto the Embassador answered, That the Venetians had alwaies honored the Majesty of the Turkish Emperors, neither had at any times taken vp armes against him, but in their own reasonable defence, when force was by force to be repulsed, a thing law full euen for the wild beast in the wild wilderness to do. At the first intreaty of the peace, the Bassa seemed to put the Venetian embassador in good hope, that the Venetians according to his request should enjoy their territories in Dalmatia in as ample manner as in former times, and bounded with the same bounds, wherof they had in these wars lost some part about Iadera. But when the matter should haue come to the shutting vp, the Turke began to shrinke from that he had before promised, refusing not only the restitution of the territory they had indeed by treason got, but by cautelous expositions of his meaning, framing the conclusion of the present peace vnto the forme of their former leagues, required, That as the Turks had now yeelded to them Maluasia, and Nauplus, so now they should redeliuer vnto them two other places of like worth and importance: As for not restoring the territory they had taken about Iadera, to colour their deceit, they pretended that they might not by their law restore vnto the Christians any town or place wherein were any church or temple dedicated or conuerted vnto the Mahometan religion, as was there: and further, That the same territory was already giuen by *Selymus* in reward vnto his souldiers, men of desert, from whom without great injury it might not be againe taken. Heroupon the French Embassador complained, That promises were not performed: and the Venetians so fretted, that they were euen about to haue returned as men shamefully deluded, without concluding of any thing. Yet when no better could be obtained (the Turks still standing vpon such hard termes) the Embassadors by the appointment of the Senate concluded a peace with the Turke; whereof these were the chiefe capitulations: first, That the Venetians should giue vnto *Selymus* three hundred thousand duckats, one hundred to be presently paied, and the other two hundred by equall portions in two yeres next following: then, That the merchants goods should be indifferently on both sides restored: and lastly, That such places of the Venetians as the Turke was already possessed of, should still remaine vnto the Turks; but that such towns or places as the Venetians had taken in the Turks dominion, should be again forthwith restored. For the first payment of the mony the Turke were earnest, thereby as by a fine for an offence committed, to make this league vnto him more honourable.

The Venetians send their Embassador of purpose to Constantinople to entreat a peace.

A peace concluded betweene Selymus & the Venetians.

1574 This peace at Constantinople concluded the eleuenth day of February in the yeare 1574, was by the decree of the Senat confirmed; and afterwards the 13 of Aprill following solemnly proclaimed at Venice, to the great wonder of the other Confederats. For the better satisfying of whom, the Popes Nuncio, with the Embassador of Spain, were sent for into the Senat house. And although there were many things that grieued the Venetians, yet did they forbeare all hard speeches, and of that their moderation receiued so much the more honor, as it is more difficulty for an angry man to ouercome himselfe, than others. The duke with calme and temperat speech, framed to the purpose, declared vnto them, That anger and hope, two euill counsellors, being set apart, he had concluded a peace with the Turke: not for that he was desirous of the Turks friendship, which what account it was to be made of, he right well knew; but for the loue he bare to the State, which was not onely with losse, but euen with death itselfe to be maintained. How he had been spoiled of the kingdome of Cyprus, he further declared: and that the Venetian state grew euery day weaker and weaker by the continuall wars and

The Venetians send their Embassador of purpose to Constantinople to entreat a peace.

and that therefore, before it were by losse vpon losse come to the vttermost of extremity, they not able to maintaine so heauy a war, were to take some better course for the preseruation of that which was yet left of their Seigniory: for that the safety of the Venetian State should at all times be a sure fortresse and defence of the Christian common-weale against all the furious attempts of the enemy, and vncertaine euents of time.

The fame of this sudden and vnexpected peace was for the just and common hatred of the Christians against the Turks, generally euil taken: and the Venetians for the concluding thereof hardly spoken of, as if they had betraied the whole Christian common-weale, or at least-wise their Confederates. For men were for the most part of opinion, that the Turks peace would be but feigned and deceitfull; and that hauing gained time to set things in order, according to his desire, he would for the naturall grudge he bare vnto the Christians, come to his old course, and as he had alwaies done, breake the league and take vp armes. Some said, That the Venetians forsaking of their friends and confederats, would in their owne deuises perish; yet so, as that their destruction would turne to the generall harme of all Christendome: and these men were of opinion, That in that case, and against that enemy, a dangerous warre was to be preferred before an vncertaine and dishonourable peace. Neuertheless the Venetians besides that they for the present eased themselues of many an heauy burthen, so haue they thereby enjoyed the fruits of a long and happy peace, and found the same vnto their State both wholesome and profitable vntill this day. It was thought by the sequel of matters, That *Selymus* was the more willing to haue peace with the Venetians, that hee might the better recouer the kingdom of Tunes and the strong castle of Guletta from the Spaniards: who with the knights of Malta now gaped more after Tripolis and the other port townes holden by the Turks vpon the coast of Barbary, than how to defend the Venetians their Confederats. Thus with the losse of Cuprus and some part of the Venetian territory in Dalmatia, ended the mortall and bloudy war betwixt *Selymus* and the Venetians. In the course whereof is well to be seene, what great matters the vnited forces of the Christian Princes were able to do against this most mighty enemy, if all discord and contention set apart, they would in the quarrell of the Christian Religion joyne with heart and hand against him, and fight the battell of Christ Iesus.

The peace by experience found profitable vnto the Venetians.

Selymus now at peace with them who before most troubled him; to keepe his men of war busied, shortly after conuerted his forces against *Iohn* Vayuod of Valachia, & so at length joyned all that Prouince to his Empire. This country of Valachia was in antient time called Dacia: it hath on the East the Euxine (now called the blacke sea) on the South the famous riuer Danubius, on the West Transyluania, and on the North Rassia. It is diuided into two parts, the one called Transalpina, & the other Moldauia (of the riuer Moldavus running thorow the middest thereof) but far passing the other both in greatnesse and abundance of pasture. That part called Transalpina, *Mahomet*, syrnamed the Great (which won Constantinople) made subject to the Turkish empire; but vpon Moldauia, the other part he only imposed a yerely tribute of two thousand duckats. After which time the Vayuods of that country, aided sometime by the Hungarians, and sometime by the Polonians, rise vp oftentimes against the Turks, and refused to do their Homage. It chanced, that *Bogdanus* Vayuod of that country, fauoring the Polonians, and joyning in league with them, liued much in Rassia, as purposing from thence also to haue taken his wife. Which *Selymus* suspecting, with a great power chased him into exile, and placed in his stead one *Iohn* (called of his countrymen *Iwan*, and of some *Iuonia*) the supposed son of *Stephanus* somtime Vayuod of that country: who with *Ieremias Czarnieuieczius* (a Moldauian, who afterward notably betraied him) hauing of long time liued amongst the Turks, to be the more gratious amongst them, renounced his faith, and being circumcised, turned Turke; and following the trade of merchandise, became amongst them a merchant of such fame, that he became very familiar and well acquainted with the great Bassa's of the Court, and at length with *Selymus* himselfe. He vnderstanding by his friends neere about the Turkish Emperor, of his purpose for the remouing of *Bogdanus*, corrupted with rewards the great Bassa's, to be mediators for him to *Selymus*, that commended by them, he might be preferred to be Vayuod of Moldauia: still increasing the suspition *Selymus* had conceiued of *Bogdanus*, and telling him, That he supported by the Polonians, was like enough in short time to reject his obedience to his Imperiall Majesty. *Selymus* at the instance of the Bassa's nominated this

Selymus chaseth Bogdanus out of Moldauia, and placeth Iohn Vayuod in his stead.

Iohn the Vayuod, who with a great power of the Turks horsemen entring into Moldania, easily possessed himselfe of the Country, *Bogdanus* being then absent in Russia, and as then suspecting no such matter: who yet afterwards attempted in vaine by the helpe of the Polonians to haue againe recouered his Country; but finding no possibility so to do, fled afterwards into Muscouia, where he long time after liued.

Iohn, the Vayuod falleth into suspition with Selymus and the Bassaes of the Court.

Iohn now quietly possessed of Moldania, for some few yeares held the same with the good liking of the Turke, paying him his wonted tribute: but afterwards repenting himselfe of his wicked reuolt from the Christian Faith, and now eftsoone againe embracing the same, and (ignorant of his owne fortune) persecuting with too much seuerity those which withstood his comming into the Country, especially such great men as tooke part with *Bogdanus*; and now after his returne vnto the Christian faith, not fauouring the Turks as he was wont, but crossing them in many matters, became suspicious both vnto *Selymus* and the Bassa's his old friends. Which the Vayuod of the lesser Valachia (commonly called Valachia Transalpina) vnderstanding, he became a suter vnto the great Bassa's of the Court for his brother *Peter*, and earnestly trauelled with them, that as *Iohn* supported by *Selymus*, had driuen *Bogdanus* out of Moldauia, so *Peter* his brother might in like manner by his helpe driue *Iohn* out also. In which his sute he spared for no cost, neither ceased by malitious suggestions to increase the suspition already conceiued of *Iohn* the Vayuod: who hauing rejected the Mahometan Religion, and againe embraced the Christian Faith, would (as he said) in short time, as had *Bogdanus*, joyne hands with the Polonians, and cast off his obedience towards the great Sultan, by whom he had beene so highly promoted. Besides that, this malitious man offered, That his brother *Peter* for such his preferment, should pay yerely vnto *Selymus* twice so much more as did *Iohn*; namely, an hundred and twenty thousand duckats by the name of a tribute.

The Bassa's before corrupted, and moued with the greatnesse of the Tribute, persuaded *Selymus*, by an Embassadour to send for *Iohn* the Vayuod, to come vnto him himselfe in person, and to command him to giue place to such a man as he should send thither in his stead; which if he should refuse to do, then to denounce vnto him open war. Hereunto *Selymus*, who had euen then much emptied his coffers with the losse of his fleet in the battell of Lepanto, and the chargeable wars against the Venetians, was easily induced: and to that purpose sent his Embassador to the Vayuod: who hauing audience the one and twentieth of February, at the same time that *Henry Valoys* (afterward the French King) was crowned at Cracouia, deliuered his message as followeth:

The commanding speech of the Turks Embassador to Iohn the Vayuod.

Selymus *the Great Emperor of the Turks sendeth me vnto thee,* Iohn, *Vayuod of Valachia, his Tributary; with this command, (whereunto his pleasure is, that thou shouldest without delay send him answer:) first, he chargeth thee to send him not such a tribute as he was wont, but twice so much more, to wit, an hundred and twenty thousand duckats. If thou shalt refuse so to do, there is another ready to giue it both for himselfe and his posterity. But* Selymus *mindefull of thy constancy, fidelity, and valour, will not be troublesome vnto thee in thy gouernment, if thou forthwith send the aforesaid tribute. Which if thou shalt refuse to do, then his will is that thou shouldest giue place to another, and thy selfe returne with me to Constantinople, there to answer the matter: otherwise, I am in his name to denounce all hostility and the calamities of war both vnto thee and thy country.*

This proud message of the Embassador strooke farther into the minde of the Vayuod than any would haue thought: yet dissembling his griefe, he commanded him to be brought to the Lodging appointed for him; telling him, That in a matter of so great importance, and so much concerning the whole State of his Country, he could not giue him so present answer as he required; but that vpon mature deliberation had with his Nobility and Counsell, he would in short time answer him accordingly. The Embassadour being gone to his Lodging, the Vayuod forthwith began deepely to consider of *Selymus* his demands; and that in the Turks Faith was no assurance, which he kept or brake with the Christian Princes as best fitted his owne turne: and besides that, That if he should grant to pay that so great and heauy a Tribute in so great pouerty of his Kingdome, sore wasted with ciuile war, *Selymus* would not be therewith long contented, so long as any man would giue him more, but happily would the next yeare exact a greater; and in the end such an one as he with all his subjects should not be

be able to pay; which it should not be safe for him at any time to refuse, so long as any man would giue it. Wherefore calling together the Nobility and States of his country, he brake with them in this sort:

The speech of the Vayuod vnto his Nobility and subjects.

If euen you were to consult and deliberate of a most important and difficult matter, this verily is that time: for Selymus *the Turkish Emperor, enflamed with insatiable auarice, and I know not by whose persuasion, not contented with his wonted tribute, exacteth of vs twice so much more. If you shall grant it, it shall not much concerne me, as not to be paied by me your Soueraigne, but by your selues and your posterity: if we deny it, forthwith he denounceth vnto vs fire and sword, with all the calamities of war. And in this barenesse of our Kingdome, almost spoiled by ciuile wars, how shall we be able to pay it him? wherefore declare your minds. Verily I foresee, that if you shall in this yeeld vnto* Selymus, *and grant him so great a tribute, he will not therewith long hold himselfe contented, but euery yeare extort a greater, vntill he haue altogether eaten vs vp. Wherefore it were better for vs (in mine opinion) to lose our liues together with our wiues and children, than to suffer so great an indignity: neither is it mine own estate that troubleth me; for why, it is you that are to pay it and not I. Wherefore if you list not to endure this so dishonourable and base a seruitude, let me forthwith so vnderstand from you: and I will for my part so prouide, as that I wil not only not pay vnto the barbarous tyrant the new and heauy tribute he demandeth, but not so much as any tribute at all; so that you be not wanting both to your selues and me. I know right well (beloued and fellows in armes) what I owe both to you and the common-weale, for whose good and welfare I am alwaies ready to lay downe my life.*

He had no sooner thus said, but that a secret sorrow and vnwonted silence had as it were oppressed the whole assembly. At length, as men awaked out of an heauy and dead sleepe, they murmured among themselues, that the Turkish Emperor should so without reason oppresse them, with doubling and redoubling of his tribute: and were generally of opinion, That the Vayuod had not so planly as truly spoken of the intollerablenesse thereof: and that therefore they had rather die, than to indure so great dishonor, joyned with so foule a slauery. And therupon offered vnto the Vayuod to serue vpon their own charge, and with him vpon the banke of Danubius to meet the proud enemy, and there in defence of their liues and liberty, to fight it out vnto the last man. The Vayuod in few words commending their fidelity, and taking of them an oath for the faithfull performance of that they had so resolutely promised, sent for the Turks Embassador, and gaue him this short answer:

The answere of the Vayuod vnto the Turkes Embassadour.

I, for the antient fidelity and allegiance which I owe vnto my Lord and dread Soueraigne, the mighty Emperor Selymus, *would willingly yeeld vnto him the tribute he requireth, were it not that I know the minds of my people to abhorre the same: wishing rather to endure all calamities, hap what soeuer hap may, than to yeeld vnto so dishonourable and shamefull slauery. Wherefore sithence I cannot by any meanes extort the same from my subjects, tell my Lord* Selymus, *That I most humbly request him, not to take the same in euill part, whose amity I wish to be vnto me, rather an ornament and refuge, than disgrace or hinderance. And that vpon that good hope I both asked, and for my singular fidelity obtained of him the Vayuodship of Moldauia: which my good hope I most heartily beseech him may not deceiue me.*

With this answer he dismissed the embassador vnrewarded, and with a safe conuoy brought him vnto the banke of Danubius: which his homely vsage of the Embassador, caused him not a little to be suspected, to be in mind changed from *Selymus*. The Embassadour sent away, the Vayuod not ignorant of the sudden inuasions of the Turks, forthwith began to raise his army: and at the same time, sent Embassadors vnto *Henry* King of Polonia his neerest neighbor, certifying him of the dangerous state of Moldauia, the surest bulwarke of the Polonian kingdom, which once ouerthrown, opened a faire and easie way for the common enemy into Polonia: and therefore requested him, that as the Kings of Polonia had of antient time, euen for the safety of their owne State, protected that country; so it would please him now in like manner in so dangerous a time, to giue him aid; or at leastwise to giue leaue vnto such of his subjects as were willing to serue for entertainment, to come vnto him, whom he would with all honour and bounty vse according to their place and quality. Whereunto the King answered

That

that foraſmuch as he and his predeceſſors the kings of Polonia, had for the ſpace of more than an hundred yeres bin in league with the Turkiſh kings and Emperors, he could not either ſend him aide, or yet giue leaue to any of his ſubjects to ſerue againſt the Turke, as he deſired. With this anſwer the Vayuod was much troubled, as there deceiued where he moſt hoped for reliefe: yet hearing of certain companies of the Polonian Coſſacks, which hauing long lien in hope of prey vpon the ſide of the great riuer Boryſthenes, were returning empty home, he by ſit meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, offered them great entertainment to ſerue him in his warres againſt the Turke; of which his offer, they (as men liuing for moſt part by ſeruice) gladly accepted; and ſo without the knowledge of the King went vnto him, to the number of twelue hundred, with their captains, men of great courage and valor, of whom *Suiercenius* was chieſe: who were by the Vayuod honorably entertained, and did him in theſe wars right worthy ſeruice. Theſe Coſſacks are light horſemen, lying moſt commonly vpon the borders of the Polonian kingdome towards the Tartars: an hardy and valiant kind of men, whoſe beſt liuing is the ſpoile they take from the enemy; and their beſt lands, their horſe and launce. For albeit that the Turks and Tartars are moſt commonly in league with the Polonians, and ſeeme neuer ſo deſirous of peace; yet do they oftentimes in great numbers, vpon the ſudden break into the countries of Podolia, and Raſſia, part of the Polonian kingdome, and there do great harme, if they be not in time repreſſed or cut off by the aforeſaid light horſemen, who for that purpoſe lie alwaies in wait for them, as doth the Hawke for the prey.

The Vayuod entertaineth the Polonian Coſſacks.

Selymus ſendeth his forces againſt the Vayuod.

Selymus vnderſtanding the anſwer of *Iohn* the Vayuod, was therewith exceedingly enraged, and the more by the bitter complaint of the Embaſſador, who angry with the Vayuod, that he was of him no better regarded nor rewarded, ſpared not to the vttermoſt of his power, to incenſe the angry Emperour againſt him, as if his honor had bin in the perſon of himſelfe contemned and violated. Wherfore without delay, he ſent thirty thouſand Turks, and two thouſand Hungarians vnto the Palatine of Valachia Tranſalpina, that joyning thoſe forces to his owne, he might take *Iohn* the Vayuod, and ſending him in bonds to Conſtantinople, to place *Peter* his brother, Vayuod in his place. The Palataine glad of this command, and hauing raiſed his owne power, together with the Turks and the Hungarians, ſwam ouer the riuer Moldavus, hauing in his army about an hundred and two thouſand fighting men: a power, not only ſufficient to haue driuen the Vayuod out of Moldauia, but alſo to haue ſhaken a right puiſſant king in his kingdome. The Palatine in the midſt of ſo great a ſtrength, little fearing, & leſſe regarding the ſudden comming of the Vayuod, ſuffred his men with their horſes to lie diſorderedly here and there, diſperſed in the large medows and paſtures all along the faire riuer ſide; ſo the better to refreſh themſelues, weary of their long trauel. In the mean time certain ſcouts came to the Vayuod then at dinner, certifying him, that the enemy with an huge army (the certain number whereof they could not well deſery) was come ouer the riuer: and now reſting themſelues, had turned off their horſes into the rich medows thereabout, in ſuch diſordered and careleſſe manner, as that they might with a ſmall power be eaſily ouerthrowne. The Vayuod glad of this newes, forthwith ſent before *Suiercenius* with his Coſſacks, and 5000 other light horſemen, more certainly to deſery what the enemy did, with the manner of his lying; and he himſelfe with the reſt of his army followed faire and ſoftly after. *Suiercenius* with great ſilence approching the enemies camp, ſuddenly light vpon the enemies ſcouts, in number about 500; who encloſed before they were aware, were taken euery man by the Coſſacks, and by them ſtreightly examined of the ſtate of their army and campe. Who for ſafegard of their liues now in their enemies power, frankly confeſſed, how that the Palatine lay ſecurely there by, reſting his army, not ſo much for the refreſhing thereof after his trauell, as with greater ſtrength to ſet vpon the Vayuod with his freſh ſouldiers: and that in the army were about ſeuenty thouſand Valachians, thirty thouſand Turks, and three thouſand Hungarians; who now diſperſed and ſleeping in ſecurity, might eaſily be ouerthrown. Of all theſe things *Suiercenius* aduertiſed the Vayuod; requeſting him with all poſſible ſpeed to haſten his comming, for the obtaining of a moſt notable and aſſured victory: he in the mean time lying cloſe with his men not far from the enemy. The Vayuod certified of all theſe things, came without delay, and forthwith commanded *Suiercenius* with his men to giue the onſet vpon the enemy: purpoſing himſelf with the reſt of his army on the other ſide, to charge the diſordred camp in three places.

The Palatine with the Turks ouerthrowne by the Vayuod.

ces. *Suiercenius* according as he had in charge, with a great and terrible outcry, ſuddenly ſet vpon the ſecure enemies: who diſmaid with the ſuddenneſſe of the vnexpected danger, ſtood as men aſtonied, not knowing which way to fly, or how to make reſiſtance. But whiles *Suiercenius* with his light horſemen thus on the one ſide filleth the camp with tumult, terrour, ſlaughter, and feare; behold, euen as a ſudden tempeſt, commeth the Vayuod, bearing all the diſordered campdown before him: neither had the enemies any meanes to fly, hauing put their horſes a great way off from them into the rich paſtures; but there taken vnarmed, were miſerably ſlain. In all the campwas lamentation and mourning, death raging in euery place with ſuch fury, that of ſo great an army as of late paſſed the riuer, few or none eſcaped, more than the Palatine with *Peter* his brother, who by great chance with much ado getting horſes, ſwam ouer the riuer, and ſo came to the caſtle of Brailouia in Valachia; all the reſt were ſlaine, and left to be of the beaſts of the field, and birds of the aire deuoured. It was a moſt horrible ſpectacle to ſee the ground couered with the bodies of the dead, al ſtained with gore bloud, and their weapons of all ſorts lying by them. In the campe were found great riches, all which the Vayuod gaue vnto his ſouldiers, and there ſtaied foure daies to refreſh his wearied men. After that, he with his victorious army entred into Valachia, the Palatines country, where he tooke many caſtles and townes, and put to the ſword all that came in his way, men, women, and children, without reſpect of age or ſex: and burnt all the country townes and villages before him as he went; ſo that all that part of the country of Valachia Tranſalpina, was couered with ſmoke and fire, to the terrour of the beholders. The aged fathers were in euery place drawne forth to ſlaughter, the young babes were cut in pieces, the matrons and virgins defiled, and afterwards ſlaine, and in brieſe all the cruelty that could be deuiſed, performed: in the bloudy execution whereof the Vayuod commended his men, perſuading them in like manner ſtill to proſecute the victory, and that the reſt of their labours were all but for prey and booty, for the enriching of themſelues. In this hauocke of all things, it was told him, That the Palatine with his brother *Peter*, the men whom he moſt ſought after, were in the caſtle of Brailouia not far off: whereupon he forthwith marched thither with his army. The city of Brailouia ſtandeth vpon the riuer Danubius, and had in it a caſtle of ſome good ſtrength, defended both by the nature of the place, and a ſtrong garriſon of the Turks, which *Selymus* had appointed for the keeping thereof, as the key of the country; not far from this city the Vayuod encamping his army, writ vnto the captaine of the caſtle, forthwith to deliuer vnto him the Palatine, with *Peter* his brother, his mortall enemies; who neuer wronged by him, had inuaded his country, and ſought after his life, and being ouerthrowne in battell, were fled vnto him: which if he ſhould refuſe to do, he threatned neuer to depart thence, vntill he had to his further harme, conſtrained him by force to yeeld them. Theſe letters he ſent by two Valachian captiues, to be deliuered vnto the captaine of the caſtle: whereunto he returned anſwer by foure Turks, two of the city, and two of his own ſeruants, by whom he alſo ſent ten great ſhot, and as many ſmall, with two Turkiſh arrowes, and this meſſage.

For that I know thee to be the ſeruant of my dread Soueraigne Selymus, *I regard thee: and will not deny the ſame men to be with me, whom thou ſo much requireſt. But foraſmuch as I vnderſtand, that thou of late haſt ſlaine a great number of the ſeruants of the great Emperour, who by his commandement were bringing* Peter *the brother of the Palatine into Moldauia: I therefore tell thee, that except thou betime raiſe thy ſiege, I will feed thee and thy followers, with ſuch diſhes as theſe; whereupon thou and thine army gorged to the full, ſhall all afterwards dangerouſly ſurfet, and caſt. Farewell.*

The blunt anſwer of the captaine to the Vayuod.

This rough anſwer ſo much moued the Vayuod, that he commanded hands to be laid vpon the aforeſaid foure meſſengers; and their noſes, lips, and eares, being cut off, both their feet to be with great nailes faſt nailed vnto a long piece of timber, and ſo with their hands hanging downward, to be ſet vp before the city, & ſo left for the captain and the citiſens to gaze vpon. Signifying withall to the captain that ſent them, that he himſelf with the other fugitiues his gueſts, ſhould in like manner be ſerued, if they fell into his hands. Immediatly after, he aſſaulted the city, and vſing the cheerfulneſſe of his ſoldiers, by plaine force tooke the ſame, the defendants being not able to hold them out. There was made great ſlaughter of the Turks, whereas

Barbarous cruelty.

The City of Brailouia taken by the Vayuod & raſed downe to the ground.

whereas no man was taken to mercy; the very babes were slaine, together with their mothers, G
and bloud ran like riuers into the Danubius. For the space of foure daies this bloudy execution indured: no place serued for refuge, euen the most secret and obscure places were searched and the poore creatures there found, drawn forth and slaine. The fury was so great, that no liuing thing, no not so much as the very dogs were spared. Much gold, siluer, plate, iewels, and other rich spoile was there found, all which became a prey vnto the greedy souldiers: for that city was of all others in those quarters the richest, as a place much frequented, and inioying long peace, as after such time the Turks were fully possessed of Graecia, not being troubled with any wars, vntill now, that it was by the Vayuod first ransackt, and afterwards rased downe to the ground, and nothing thereof left standing, more than the bare castle it selfe: which the Vayuod durst not aduenture vpon, for that it was well fortified, and furnished with so strong a H
garrison, as that it could not without his great losse be taken.

The Turkes againe ouerthrown by the Vayuod.

Whiles the Vayuod was thus busied in the spoile of Brailouia, news was brought vnto him of the comming of 15000 Turks to the reliefe of the castle: against whom he forthwith sent *Suierceuius* with his Cossackes, and other 8000 Moldauian horsmen, who suddenly comming vpon the Turks, disordered and fearing no such matter, slew almost 14000 of them, and chased the rest vnto the castle of Teina. Of this victory *Suierceuius* in all hast certified the Vayuod, and withall, that there was another great power of the Turks comming, which might easily be also ouerthrowne, if he leauing the siege of the castle of Brailouia, would without delay come and joyne his forces with his. He glad of that news, and well perceiuing how difficult and dangerous that siege would be vnto him, rise forthwith with his army, and went to *Suierceuius*, and I
afterwards vpon conference had with him, laid siege to Teina: which city taken without much labor, he put to sword all the people found therein, not leauing one aliue: and by the seruice of *Suierceuius* ouerthrew the Turks comming towards Brailouia.

Selymus in doubt to haue bin thrust out of Valachia by the Vayuod.

Selymus in the meane time much troubled with the proceeding of the Vayuod, and doubting to be quite thrust out of Valachia Transalpina (which he was like enough to haue been, had not the treason of *Czarnieuiche* hindered the matter) prepared new forces for that seruice; and after the manner of the Turks in time of their greatest distresse, appointed generall supplications and praiers to be made vnto his Prophet *Mahomet*, for the better successe of his wars; the vndoubted signe of his feare.

The Vayuod after so many victories against the Turks, purposing for a while to breake vp K
his great army, called vnto him his old friend *Ieremias Czarnieuiche*, vnto whom, as vnto the man he of all others most trusted, he had resolued to commit the charge, with part of his army, to keepe the Turks from passing againe ouer the riuer Danubius into his country: and in deliuering to him his charge, spake vnto him as following:

The kind speech of the Vayuod to Czarnieuiche

Sith Fortune hath hitherto answered our desires (worthy Czarnieuiche) *with most rare and perpetuall successe against the Turks, our most cruell enemies, we are thankefully to take the same, and to render most humble and hearty thanks vnto Almighty God, that it hath pleased him, the Author of all Victory, so to haue prospered our endeauours against these fierce and deuouring enemies. Now what remaineth for the present, but to disband mine army, wearied with labour and trauell, and to giue my souldiers leaue to* L
depart home to rest themselues, that so I may as occasion shall require againe vse their fresh forces for our better seruice: you in the meane time with thirteene thousand of my select souldiers, shall lie vpon the side of Danubius, to keep the Turks from passing the riuer. Haue good regard I pray you, vnto this your charge, which I vpon an especiall trust, grounded vpon your antient loue and fidelity, haue at this time imposed vpon you. And let me from time to time with all expedition vnderstand from you of euery motion of the enemy, that so we may in due time prouide for him accordingly.

And so in token of his greater fauour, taking his leaue of him with a kisse (as the manner of those people is) gaue leaue vnto the greatest part of his soldiers to depart home, yet with this charge, to be alwaies in readinesse whensoeuer they should be called vpon. M

Czarnieuiche hauing receiued his charge, & promising vnto the Vayuod the vttermost of his faithful deuoire, went towards Danubius, & there most carefully kept the passages with continuall watch and ward. It was not long but that great numbers of the Turks were come downe

to

A to the other side of the riuer, and moe were still comming, yet none of them was so hardy as to aduenture the great riuer; *Czarnieuiche* with his horsemen lying in the faces of them, ready to receiue them on the other side. Which the Bassa whom *Selymus* had sent with his army, perceiuing, sent certaine men pickt out for the purpose, to *Czarnieuiche*, to sound him, if he might by any means be drawn to come ouer, in secret to talke with him: and the more to moue him, beside his conduct for his safety, sent him by the same messengers thirty thousand Hungarian duckats for a present. With which so faire a bait *Czarnieuiche* allured, receiued the mony, & faithfully promised to come: and so shortly after, secretly passing ouer the riuer, had conference with *Peter* the Palatines brother, who then lay on the further side of Danubius, with a great power of the Turks. In this conference, *Peter* declared vnto him in how great danger B the Vayuod stood, and how highly *Selymus* was offended with him, That he his tributary and vassaile should worke the destruction of his so great armies: which his heauy displeasure he could no otherwise satisfie but with his head: and that therefore he should no longer rule in Moldauia, for that gouernment was by the great Emperor giuen vnto him. Wherefore (said he) if thou be wise, whilest it is yet in thy power, gaine the good will of *Selymus* by some good desert: for an easie matter it is to begin any war, but an hard matter to end the same. Forasmuch as it is not alwaies in the same mans power to begin wars, and at his pleasure to make an end. Euery foole may when he list enter into armes, but must lay the same downe when it pleaseth the conqueror. Now you haue a faire opportunity, and it is in your owne power to procure his friendship for euer, better standing with your affaires than war. And albeit you may hope well C of the power of the Vayuod, yet wisedome would not, that you should prefer vncertainties before things certaine: you haue now receiued 30000 duckats, the earnest of your further deserts; which shall hereafter haue also their due rewards in most full and bountifull measure. Wherefore if you will do your selfe good, and prouide both for your safety and preferment, confound not your own good fortune, with the broken and desperat state of the Vayuod, but suffer the Turks to passe as friends ouer the riuer of Danubius: for I am come (said he) with a great and puissant army from the mighty *Selymus*, to take vpon me the gouernment of Moldauia, and to send the Vayuod in bonds to Constantinople: and of me, being once Vayuod, what is it that for so great desert thou and thine may not aske and obtaine? Wherefore I pray thee conceale the comming of the Turks, and withdraw thy selfe from the riuer: so shall we pas- D sing ouer the riuer with our populous army, easily oppresse the Vayuod with all his power, and at once reuenge all the former injuries and disgraces done both vnto *Selymus* and vs.

Czarnieuiche hath secret conference with Peter the Palatines brother, who cunningly perswadeth him to giue the Turks passage.

With greedy men what will not the foule desire of gold worke? *Czarnieuiche* ouercome with the golden promises of *Peter*; and forgetfull of his faith before giuen vnto the Vayuod, yeelded vnto all he requested: and drawing his forces further off from the riuer, as if it had bin for his more safety, gaue the Turks free passage. There was then in the Turks army two hundred thousand men, well appointed, and furnished with great ordnance and all other things necessary both for the field and for siege, who by the sufferance of the false traitor passed quietly ouer the riuer. *Czarnieuiche* forthwith posting to the Vayuod, certified him, how that the Turks trusting to their multitude, had passed the riuer of Danubius, against whom he was not able (as E he said) to make head: and that therefore he should do well, without delay to go against them with such forces as he had then in readinesse; which joyned vnto his, might easily ouerthrow them. Glad was the Vayuod of this newes, and filled with the hope of good successe, demanded of him what strength the enemy might be of? They are (said he) not much aboue twelue thousand that be already come ouer, but are still comming more and more, and will before your comming thither be aboue fifteene thousand.

Czarnieuiche corrupted, giueth the Turks leaue quietly to passe ouer the riuer of Danubius.

The Vayuod lay then at the siege of the castle of Teina (hauing before taken the city) but hearing this news, raised his siege, and so in foure daies came and incamped within three miles of the enemy: and forthwith sent forth *Suierceuius* with his Cossackes, and *Ieremias* Generall of the horsemen, with six thousand horse, to take view of the enemies camp, and to vnderstand F what might be of their designes. These two captains marching together, chanced to fall vpon the Turks scouts, in number about six thousand horsemen, with whom they had a light skirmish; and in short time put them to flight. Of these scouts they tooke one, and him grieuously wounded, whom being examined of the strength of the enemy, and feeling himselfe wounded to death, told them dissemblingly, that the Turks were not in number many. But the Cossacks

doubting

doubting of the truth of that report, & probably conjecturing by so great a number of scouts, G
that the enemy was of far greater strength than was supposed or reported, quickly certified the
Vayuod thereof, wishing him in time to prouide for the safety of himselfe and his army, and
not too much to trust *Czarnieuiche*, whom they had a good while before suspected. But the
Vayuod nothing doubting of the faith of him whom he had a long time found most faithfull
in the time of his hardest distresse, and vsed as a most trusty companion in all his trauels, an-
swered nothing, but that he knew whom he trusted; and that it was not now time to stand in
doubt, or to be afraid; and that he would ere long come and take view of the enemies campe
himselfe: for that he was not come so far to fly, but to fight in defence of his country and sub-
jects, euen to the last gaspe. And so fortifying his campe neere vnto a lake that runneth out
of Danubius (for the more conuenient watering of his army) hee set forward with all his H
power against the enemy.

Neere vnto the enemies campe was an high hill, from whence the Vayuod had thought to
haue descried the number of them, with the manner of their lying: but cumming thither, he
could descry nothing but foure companies of scouts a far off, one company from another, who
also vpon the sight of the Moldauians withdrew themselues of purpose out of sight vnto the
army, which then lay in a low valley behind an hill, not to be discouered vntill a man were al-
most vpon it. The Vayuod suspecting the enemy to be at hand, diuided his horsemen, in num-
ber 30000, into 30 companies, and placing before euery company certain field pieces, so mar-
ched ready to giue battell. His footmen, in number many, a rude and homely kind of people,
but vnto him of all others most faithfull, and armed with such country weapons as they had, I
he placed by themselues. So marching on, he came to another hill, from whence he might not
far off easily descry the huge army of the enemy, and how he had been by the treason of *Czar-
nieuiche* deceiued: whereupon he presently sent for him, who sent him word backe again, That
he could not now come, the enemy being so nigh at hand, but that he should forthwith see
him in the field as forward as the forwardest against the enemy. *Czarnieuiche* had then vnder
his command 13000 of his most choice souldiers in the army: who vpon the signall of battell
on both sides giuing (for the Turks were now also ready) first according to his promise set for-
ward, as if it had bin to haue giuen the onset: but being come neere vnto the enemy, forthwith
(as he had before agreed) caused his enfigne to be let fall, and his men with their caps vpon the
points of their spears and swords, in token of their voluntary yeelding and submission, to bow K
downe their heads & bodies; whom the Turks with their spears and lances holden vp on high,
joyfully receiued as their friends, or rather as men taken to mercy. The rest of the army almost
discouraged with this so sudden a reuolt of so great a man, retired in haste to the Vayuod, cry-
ing out vnto him, That all was lost. But he nothing discouraged therwith (as a most resolute
man in the most sudden dangers) with comfortable words cheered them vp, willing them as
couragious men to follow him against the enemy, whom they in all things exceeded, except-
ing number, which alwaies gaue not the victory. The Turks perceiuing the Moldauians late-
ly reuolted vpon the joyning of the battell (as men in consciences wounded) to shrinke backe,
thrust them perforce into the head of their battell, making of them no more account, but to
blunt the enemies sword; and such as hung back, they themselues slew: vpon whom as false L
traitors the Vayuod caused his field pieces to be most furiously discharged; so that most part
of these treacherous men there slaine, some by the Turks, some by their owne friends, receiued
the just reward of their infidelity and treason, accompanied with perpetuall infamy. Ouer the
dead bodies of these traitors the Turks comming on, were at the first notably encountered by
the Moldauians; and after a most cruell fight, as if they had been discouraged began to retire,
but indeed of puporse to haue drawne the Christians before they were aware, within the dan-
ger of their great ordnance, and ambushes, which they had before aptly & couertly placed for
that purpose. Which *Suierceuius* well acquainted with the Turks finesse, perceiuing, with
much ado staid their further pursuit, and so auoided the danger prepared for them. The Turks
deceiued of their expectation, came on againe afresh, with no lesse fury than at the first: whom M
the Christian right valiantly receiued, and made with them a most cruell and mortall battell;
wherein many both of the Turks and Christians fell, and neuer rise againe. But what was so
smal a power against such a world of men? after long fight, the Moldauians oppressed with the
multitude of their enemies, began to giue ground: and seeing no other remedy, but either to fly

Czarnieuiche reuolteth vnto the Turks.

Traitors iustly rewarded.

The battel betwixt the Turks and the Moldauians.

The Moldauians ouerthrown

or

A or to die, betook themselues to flight, wherein most part of them were slaine, the furious ene-
mie still hardly pursuing them at the heeles: of the Cossacks were left only two hundred and
fifty. The horsemen (the chiefest strength of the Vayuod) thus by the treason of *Czarnieuiche*
ouerthrowne, the Vayuod with twenty thousand footmen, and such horsmen as had now after
the battell ioyned themselues vnto the footmen, retired into a towne not far off, which he but
a little before had rased; but was now glad in the ruines thereof to fortifie himselfe against
the sudden and furious assaults of the Turks: who the same night so beset the Vayuods camp
with such a multitude of men, that no man could goe in or out of the camp, or the vttermost
part of that hugy army be from any place descried.

The Vayuod hauing fortified himselfe within the ruines of an old town, is besieged by the Turks.

The next day (which was the 11 of Iune) the Turks shot diuers great shot into the Vayuods
B camp, but to smal purpose; for the Christians had (for so short a time) notably fortified them-
selues within the ruines of the old town. Which the Turks wel perceiuing, and withall con-
sidering how hard and dangerous a matter it would be to assault the Vayuod in his strength:
they sent messengers vnto him, to persuade him without delay to yeeld himselfe, & to repose
more trust in the mercy of the Turks, than in his own broken forces; especially in his so hard
distresse, being so beset, as that he could not possibly escape; and out of hope of all reliefe; and
therefore should by such voluntary yeelding, seeke for grace of his enemies, rather than by a
desperat obstinacy to cast himselfe into a most certain destruction, where no mercy was to be
expected. Wherevnto the Vayuod answered, That he was not ignorant into what danger he
was brought, rather by the treason of *Czarnieuiche* and his followers, than by the valour of the
C enemy; yet had left with him a strong power of most valiant and resolute men, who would in
his quarrell & defence of themselues, sell their liues very deare vnto the Turks: neuertheless,
that to auoid the further effusion of bloud, he could for his part be content to yeeld vnto his
hard fortune, so that the great Commanders of the Turks army would condiscend vnto such
reasonable conditions as he should propound, & for the performance thereof giue him their
faith, not once or twice, but 7 times by solemn oth to be taken. Of this his offer the Turks ac-
cepted: willing him to set down the conditions: which were, first, that the Polonian Cossacks
might in safety depart into their country, with their horses and armor: then, that they should
without any violence offered to his person, send him aliue & in good safety to the great Em-
peror *Selymus*, before him to answer his owne cause: as for the Moldauians, he said he needed
D not to couenant any thing, for that the iniury offered vnto them tended also to the hurt of the
Emperour himselfe, and of him whom he should appoint Vayuod, whose subiects they were.
These conditions (as reasonable) were well liked of the Turks, and so according to his desire,
confirmed seuen times by the solemne oath of euery Captaine and Commander in the army,
both for themselues and their followers. Vpon this agreement, the Vayuod brought al his ar-
my out of their trenches wherein they had lien strongly incamped, and there with heauy heart
tooke his last leaue of his soldiers, to the generall griefe of them all: amongst whom he diui-
ded such mony & jewels as he had, as a remembrance of his kindnesse. And there in the sight
of them al disarming himselfe, accompanied only with *Osmolius* a Polonian, went in maner of
a suppliant to the Turks camp, where he had full foure hours talk with the great commanders
E of the army, vntill that at last *Cupuchus Bassa* (either offended with his speech, or vnmindfull of
his faith before giuen) with his scimitar vpon the sudden struck him a great blow ouerthwart
the face, and another crosse the belly: whom so wounded, & as yet but halfe dead, the Ianiza-
ries took and cut off his head, which was forthwith set vp vpon a lance, for all men to behold.
His dead body they bound by the feet to two cammels, & so shamefully tore it in pieces: and
happy was he that could get any little piece therof, or imbrue his sword with the least drop of
his bloud. This was the lamentable & wofull end of *Iohn* the Vayuod of Moldauia, a right va-
liant and worthy man, shamefully murdered by the perfidious Turks; who had he been more
constant in the Christian faith, had not haply fallen into so great misery. Whose wofull fall
may serue as a most notable example of the vncertainty of these worldly things: for as no man
F for a time had of the Turks moe or more glorious victories, so in the end, and as it were in de-
monstration of mans fragility, no man perished more miserably. The Vayuod thus perfidi-
ously murthered, the Turks with like trechery forthwith set vpon the Moldauians, and slew
them down right as beasts appointed for the slaughter. Which the Cossacks beholding, and
hoping for no beter measure, thrust themselues into the thickest of their enemies, & there va-

The Vayuod shamefully and perfidiously murthered by the Turks.

liantly

liantly fighting were all slain, except some few of the better sort reserued for ransom, among whom was *Seiuercquius* & some other captains; who were afterwards for great sums redeemed, when as they could by no means be persuaded to forsake their religion and turn Turk. G

All Valachia and Moldavia subdued by the Turks.

After this victory and shamefull murther of the Vayuod, the Turkes ouer-ran all Moldavia, and put to the sword all the nobility of the country, with many of the country people. Of whom they also, as their maner is in countries new conquered, sent great numbers in colonies into the farthest part of the Turkish Empire: and for the more assured possession therof placed strong garrisons in euery Town and castle, as they thought it most conuenient. Thus all Valachia, both the higher and lower, fel into the Turks hands in the year 1574, and was by *Selymus* joined vnto the Turkish empire, none of the least things by him don: for beside the gaining of so great a country (the most assured bulwark of Polonia) he hath therby opened a fair and easie way for his successors, either to enter into Podolia or Rascia, parts of the Polonian kingdom, yea and into Polonia it self: which they wil vndoubtedly in time do, if God in mercy bridle not their immoderat desires, and with his mighty hand protect the dangerous state of that kingdom. H

Selymus at the same time not a little grieued with the losse of the kingdome of Tunes, and that *Don Iohn* had there done the year before; began forthwith to cast in his minde, how hee might again recouer the same, and withal thrust the Spaniards out of the strong castle of Guletta, which they had now almost forty yeares kept, euer since it was by *Charles* the fift taken from *Barbarussa* in the year 1535. For he wel saw it to be a matter of no small moment, vnto whom that strong fortresse (standing so commodiously in the frontiers of Africk) belonged. There was and stil is vpon that coast diuers of the Turks aduenturers, who liuing altogether vpon spoil, had to that place safe recourse as to a most assured refuge: and if no booty were to be met with therabout, then would they run out towards Malta, Sardinia, Sicilia, and other Islands therabouts; yea oftentimes into Italy and Spaine, and from thence carry away with them great booties both of men and cattel, and whatsoeuer thing els came in their way. For which cause many of the Turkes men of war resorted thither in hope of purchase. But after Guletta was possessed by the Spaniards, they were not only depriued of that so commodious an harbor, but many times intercepted euen by them of that place, and by the gallies of Malta: which two places serued as two most sure bulwarks against the Turks and Moors aduenturers, by whose means they many times came short home. For which cause the Turks, especially these pyrats (of whom the Turke makes great account, as not his least strength at sea) wonderfully desired to haue both those strong places gotten out of the Christians hands. In the castle of Guletta was continually a strong garrison of 1000 Spaniards, who kept them of Tunes in great subiection, and oftentimes cut short these pyrats and rouers, who much troubled those seas. Wherfore the Turkish emperor *Selymus* having made great preparation both for sea and land seruice, commanded *Sinan*, *Pial*, and *Vluzales*, his chief Bassa's, & men of great experience, with all speed to passe ouer with his fleet into Africke, to besiege Tunes and Guletta: who when they had put all things in readines according as they had in charge, set forward, and with 300 sail of gallies came before Guletta the 13 day of Iuly: whither also resorted vnto them other of the Turks men of war from Alexandria, Algiers, and other places, in such number, as that all that coast seemed to be couered with shipping. The Turkes at their first arriual laid siege vnto the water-tower, wherin were eight hundred soldiers wel prouided of all things needful for defence; who valiantly maintained the place, vntil such time as that most of them being by the often assaults of the enemy slain, the rest by the commandement of the Captain retyred to him into the castle. In taking of this tower, the Turkes lost 3000 of their men. I K L

Guletta besieged.

After that, they began to besiege the castle of Guletta, against which they cast vp diuers mounts, and from thence most terribly battered the castle: from whence the deadly shot was sent again amongst them not sparingly; so that in one day 200 great shot were reckoned to haue bin shot out of the castle among the thickest of the enemies. But after many furious assaults, too tedious to report, & much harm don on both sides, the Turks to their great aduantage took the Chanel of the lake of Tunes; and fearing lest some relieſe should be sent to the besieged, maintained their assault day and night without any intermission. Neuertheless certain Companies of Spaniards sent from the new Castle by *Serbellio*, got into Guletta: after which M

which, they in the besieged castle sallied out, and the twentieth of August repulsed the Turks with an exceeding great slaughter: but the Bassa's fully resolued vpon the winning of the place to gage their whole forces, and without ceasing still bringing on fresh soldiers, after they had all the day continued a most terrible assault, at length about two houres after Sun set, they took the castle the 23 day of August, when there was now scarcely two hundred soldiers left aliue to defend the same; who altogether with the other weak people in the castle were without mercy cut in pieces. What wealth the Turks found in this castle, is hard to say; but certain it is, that they had therein great store of victuals, armour, shot, and pouder, and foure hundred great pieces of Artillery.

Guletta taken by the Turks.

Guletta thus taken, the Turks forthwith laid siege to the new castle appointed by *Don Iohn* the yeare before, to haue bin built betwixt Guletta and Tunes, which was not yet altogether finished: wherein the two antient and valiant captains *Serbellio* and *Salazer* (left there of purpose for the building thereof by *Don Iohn*) lay with a garrison of foure thousand good souldiers. The Bassa's when they gaue the first summons to the castle, the foure & twentieth of August, required forthwith to haue it deliuered vnto them: to whom *Serbellio* stoutly answered, That he had promised the king his master, to giue him a better account of the place; & being now also very old, could not endure the Turks heauy yoke, but would therfore hold it out vnto the last man: which both he and *Salazar* truly performed, not omitting any thing that was by men to be done for defence of the place; & sallying out, somtime the one, and somtime the other, made great slaughter of the Turks, giuing them also repulse on repulse when they came to the assault. But the great Bassa's, little feeling, and lesse regarding the losse of men, so that thereby they might gaine the place, after many most terrible and desperat assaults, at length (namely the thirteenth day of September) when they had with all their force for the space of fiſe houres furiously assaulted the castle, and slaine most of the defendants, at last tooke it. *Serbellio* shot in with two bullets, and wishing rather to die than to fall into the hand of the enemie, thrust himselfe into the midst of the Turks, there to haue perished: but by the hasty comming in of *Piall Bassa* both he & *Salazer* were taken aliue, as for all the rest that followed them, they were put to the sword. The Bassa in his rage struck *Serbellio*, and the more to grieue him, caused his son to be cruelly murthered before his face. Neither was this victory by the Turks obtained without bloud, hauing in lesse than three months space that the siege endured, lost aboue thirty thousand men.

The new castle besieged.

The notable answer of Serbellio.

The new castle taken.

These strong holds (the greatest strength of that kingdom) thus taken, the Turks marched to Tunes, which they easily tooke, and afterwards ouerthrew the fortifications therof, because it should no more rebell. *Mahomet* the yong king, but the yere before placed in that kingdom by *Don Iohn*, was there taken, and in bonds set aboord to be carried with *Carrera* Captaine of Guletta, prisoners to Constantinople: and thus the kingdome of Tunes, with the strong castle of Guletta, fell again into the possession of the Turks, to the farther trouble of the Christian countries lying ouer against it. The proud Bassa's hauing (as they thought) best disposed of al things at Tunes & Guletta departed thence, and with their fleet of 400 saile, came the fourth of October, within sight of Malta. But vnderstanding that they of Malta were prouided for their comming, and remembring what dishonor their most magnificent emperor *Solyman* had not many yeres before there sustained (whereof diuers of them had been eye-witnesses) they turned thence, and sailed directly to Constantinople.

Tunes yeelded to the Turke.

Shortly after, this great Emperour *Selymus* spent with wine and women, vnto whom he had giuen his greatest strength, died the ninth of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1574; when he had liued one and fifty yeares, and thereof reigned eight, and lieth buried at Hadrianople. He was but of a meane stature, and of an heauy disposition, his face rather swollen, than fat, much resembling a drunkard. Of the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors he was of lest valour, and therfore least regarded, altogether giuen to sensualitie and pleasure: and so dying, left his empire vnto *Amurath* his eldest son, a man of more temperance, but not much greater courage; who neuertheless by his valiant Bassa's and men of war, did great matters, especially against the Persians, the mortall and daungerous enemies of the Turks, as shall be hereafter in this Historyy declared. F

Selymus dieth.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Selymus *the second,*	*Emperours of Germany*	*Maximilian the second,*	1565.	12
	Kings	*Of England* [*Queen Elizabeth,*	1558.	45
		Of France { *Charles the ninth,*	1560.	14
		Of Scotland { *Queen Mary,*	1543.	20
		James the sixth,	1567.	22
	Bishops of Rome	*Pius the V,*	1566.	6
		Iulius the XIII,	1572.	12

Non ego fortis eram: Quis tanto nomine dignus?
Ni fortem faciat mens generosa virum.
Me tumidum fortuna tumens evexit in altum,
Et par fortuna mens mea semper erat.
Sic quamvis tenero mihi nil nisi molle placeret:
Nominis augendi raptus amore fui.
Emisique meos ad fortia facta ministros:
Per quos sublatum est, nomen in astra meum.
Mustapha, Ferhates, Sinan, *& ter maximus* Osman;
Terrores orbis, succubuere mihi.
Armenios domui fortes, Medosque feroces;
Et mihi paruerat Regia Taurisij.
Sed mihi quid prodest tantorum parta labore
Gloria? Si subito maxima quæque ruunt?
Et nihil est tanti, quod non brevis auferet hora
Sic mea cum multis gloria victa iacet.

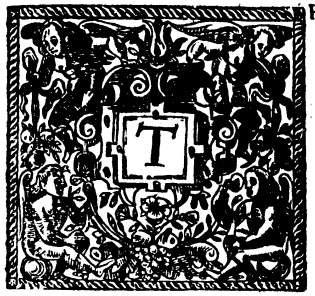
RIC. KNOLLEVS

In English thus:

The Worthies fame I challenge not:
for who deserues the same,
Except the noble Worthies mind
deserue the Worthies fame?
Proud Fortune set me vp aloft
in highest Honors grace;
And stil my hauty thoughts they were
equall vnto my place.
So that although nought pleas'd but that
best fitted my desire;
Yet to increase my fame, I stil
did more and more aspire.
And sent my mighty Worthies out,
to manage my great wars;
By whose known valor my proud name
is mounted to the stars.
Proud *Sinan*, *Ferrat*, *Mustapha*
(all men of high degree,
The terrors of the world so wide)
were Vassals vnto me.
Th'Armenians stout I vanquished,
and fil'd the Medes with fear:
And Regal Tauris stately towers
at my commandment were.
But what availes my glorie great,
got with such Worthies pain,
If in the twinkling of an eye
it come to nought again?
And nothing is of so great state,
Which time shal not cast down.
Euen so with many others moe,
must perish my renown.

Ric. Knolls.

THE LIFE OF *AMVRATH*, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, SIXTH EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS.



C THE death of the late Emperor *Selymus* was for feare of the insolent Ianizaries notably concealed by the great Bassa's, vntill such time as *Amurath* his eldest son, then in Asia, about 12 dayes after ariued at Constantinople, & there receiued into the Seraglio, tooke possession of the empire the 25 day of December, solemn among vs Christians for the natiuity of our Sauiour Christ Iesus. Hee was about thirty, or as some write 27 yeares old when he began to reign, of a manly stature, but pale and corpulent, wearing his beard thin and long: in his countenance appeared not the fierce nature of the *Othoman* Princes, beeing indeed himself of a peaceable disposition, a louer of justice, and in the manner of his superstition very zealous. The ryot

The description of Amurath.

D and exces grown amongst the Turkes by his fathers euill example, hee reformed by his owne temperance, and the seuere punishment of notorious drunkards. Yet is it reported, that hee would oftentimes drink plentifully of Wormwood wine. He was most subiect to the falling sicknes, and sore troubled with the stone; more spare handed than was for the greatnes of his state; and yeelding more to the counsel of his mother, his wife, & sister, than of his great Bassa's: which was of many imputed to him for simplicitie. At his first comming to Constantinople, to appease the murmuring of the Ianizaries (grieued to see themselues disappointed of spoiling the Christians & Iews, as they were wont to do in the vacancie of the Empire) he beside the vsual larges which the Turkish Emperours at their first entrance into the empire bestow vpon them, augmented also their daily wages, and granted them this priuiledge, That

He pacifies the Ianizaries & augments their priuiledges.

E their sons as soon as they were 20 years old, should be inrolled among the number of the yonger Ianizaries, and be partakers also of their immunities: wherby he won their fauors exceedingly. And immediatly to rid himself of all competitors, he after the vnnatural manner of the Turkish policy, caused his fiue brethren, *Mustapha*, *Solyman*, *Abdulla*, *Osman*, and *Tzihanger*, to be all strangled in his own presence. The mother of *Solyman* pierced through with the cruel death of her yong son, as a woman ouercome with sorrow, desperatly strook her self to the heart with a dagger, and so died. At which so tragical a sight it is reported that *Amurath* let fall some tears, as not delighted in such barbarous cruelty, but that the state and maner of his gouernment so required.

He strangled fiue of his brethren.

A desperate woman.

In the beginning of his reign he established diuers wholesome Lawes, altered the Coine, 1575.

F and bountifully relieued the poor. And albeit that he was of a mild and peaceable nature, yet because he would not seem to degenerate from the *Othoman* Princes his Progenitors, hee prosecured his fathers Wars, and by the Tartars called Præcopenses, in the moneth of October in the year 1575, entred into Rascia, part of the Polonian Kingdome, where hee burnt and destroied

Rascia inuaded by the Turks

Icon. Gor de Bell. Luorum.

destroied 200 noblemens houses, besides an infinit number of townes and villages, made very great slaughter of the poor country people, and caried away great numbers of cattell and prisoners bound in thongs made of raw hides. But whilst they were diuiding the spoil with *Peter* the new Vayuod of Valachia, who had before solemnly promised to giue the Tartars no passage that way, the Polonian Cossacks, who had lien waiting for their return vpon the riuer Boristhenes, brake into the Tartars country, and there requited them with like harm, bringing back with them a number of old Captiues, who little expected that their so sudden deliuerance.

The Polonians at this time were at variance among themselues about the election of their new King; *Henry Valoys* their late King being the last year (after the death of *Charles* his brother the French King) secretly stollen from them into France, to take vpon him that Kingdom. After whose departure some of the Polonian nobility made choice of *Maximilian* the Emperor: other some no lesse inclining to the choice of the great Duke of Muscouy; and some vnto others also. Wherof *Amurath* vnderstanding, and loth that either of those two great princes his ehemies should be inuested and strengthned with that so great a kingdom, and so neer vnto him; to hinder that their election, and to bring in another of lesse power, and so lesse dangerous vnto himself, euen in the beginning of his reigne wrot vnto the Polonians to that purpose, commending vnto them *Stephen Bator* Vayuod of Transylvania for their king, in maner following:

Amurath, god of the earth, Gouernor of the whole World, the Messenger of God, and faithfull seruant of the great Prophet; Vnto the most Honourable Nobility and Counsellors of the Kingdome of Polonia, Greeting.

Amurath's letters to the Nobility of Polonia.

IT is not vnto the world vnknown (most honourable and mighty Senators) our noble progenitours to haue of long time and for many years holden good friendship and religious Leagues with the Kingdom of Polonia. For which cause it hath seemed good and reasonable vnto vs, to put you in mind of this so antient a league and bond of friendship: for that we vnderstand your kingdom to be of late become destitute of a King, by the departure of the noble King Henry *your crowned King (discended of the roiall race of the French Kings) our friend: who for the small regard you had of him so great and worthy a Prince, and for your disloyalty, is departed out of your kingdom, without purpose of returning any more into Polonia. Wherupon, as it is reported vnto vs (but how truly we know not) you passing ouer your said crowned King* Henry, *are about to make choice of a new King, and especially of* Maximilian *the Emperour, or of the Duke of Muscouy; both men of running wits, and of vs greatly hated: for why, you may wel know they will be troublesome and grieuous not vnto euery one of you only, but euen vnto vs also. Wherfore beware that you be not deceiued, and take heed that your confederations and leagues canot long by their valor and prowesse be established; and wit hall consider well the great dangers and losses you may thereby fall into, wherof we haue thought good to giue you a tast; wherfore beware that heauier things befall not your state. We know there are right noble and wise men among st you, who know better than they how to rule and gouern: and if it please you not to make choice of any of your own nation, there is not far from you one* Stephen Bator *Prince of Transiluania, a man of great honor and valor, by whose labor and dexterity you may easily procure the peace and quiet of your kingdom. Wheras if ye shall do otherwise, we take to witnes your God, and his seruant our great Prophet, to destroy all your wealth & goods, which together with your selues your wiues and children, shall be giuen as a prey vnto our soldiers, with the chief men of your cities Graecouia and Leperus. Which for all that we say not as any thing at all doubting of your fidelity and constancy toward vs. As for the rest, which it pleased vs by word of mouth to haue told vnto you, wee haue giuen charge vnto this our embassador and counsellor, vnto whom our desire is that you giue ful credence.*

From Constantinople the last of September, in the yeare of our Prophet Mahomet 982, and first of our reign.

This the great Sultans commendations so much preuailed with the Polonians, that notwithstanding that *Maximilian* the Emperour was by the Archbishop of Gnesna and some others chosen King, yet was that his election by the greater part of the nobility reuoked, and both

both he and the great Duke of Muscouy being passed ouer, the noble princesse *Anne* (of the most honorable *Iagelionian* house) chosen Queen of Polonia; yet with this condition, that she should marry *Stephen* the Vayuod of Transyluania, to them by *Amurath* commended. Who afterward elected King, all the time of his life right worthily gouerned that noble kingdom, not only defending the same in such state as hee found it, but also notably extending the bounds therof, inlarging it with such territories as he by force of Armes got from his neighbors, especially the Muscouite. Of this election *Amurath* would oftentimes afterward boast and say, That he had giuen the Polonians their King. But of him, and of the league made by him with *Amurath*, more shall be said herafter.

Stephen the Vayuod chosen K. of Polonia.

The yeare following great troubles arose in Persia, whereby the flourishing state of that most mighty kingdom was sore shaken, and opportunitie giuen for the Turkish Emperor to inuade the same: which he laying hold vpon, entred into that bloudy war, which to the great quiet of the Christian commonweal, for long time after exercised the forces of those most puissant princes one vpon another. For the better vnderstanding wherof it shal not be amisse compendiously to set down the same troubles of the Persian kingdom, the very ground of the long and mortal war between those two most mighty Monarchs. 1576.

Old *Tamas* the Persian King, son to the noble *Hysmael*, who with glory had more than fifty years worthily gouerned that large kingdom, and mightily withstood the often inuasions of the Turkish Emperors, now spent with years, died the eleuenth of May in the year 1576, leauing behind him eleuen sons; namely *Mahamet* the eldest, of an infirmitie in his eies sirnamed *Codabanda*, a man of peaceable and quiet disposition, more delighted with the sweet pleasure of a contented life, than the careful honors of so great a kingdom. *Ismael* the second son, of a more fierce and troublesom nature, so much abhorring quietnes, that not regarding the league hardly concluded betwixt his aged father and the Turkish Emperor *Solyman* and *Selymus*, he would now and then without his fathers knowledge, vpon a youthful heat break out into the frontiers of the Turks Dominions, and there make great spoil. For which his doings, although he was both of his father and the people the more regarded, yet was he by his fathers commandement (who seemed to misslike of those his youthfull sports, tending to the breach of the League) restrainded of his liberty, and sent to the castle Cahaca, betwixt Tauris & Casbin, where he remained at the time of his fathers death. *Aidere* the third son, no lesse ambitious than was his brother *Ismahel*; although not altogether of like valour, who was kept by *Zalcan*, *Pury Mahamet*, and other his kinsfolk, all men of great power and authority. The other eight were *Mamut*, *Solyman*, *Mustapha*, *Emanguld*, *Alichan*, *Amet*, *Abrahim*, and *Ismahel* the yonger.

Ismael appointed by his Father to succeed him in the Persian kingdome.

The old King before his death had by his last wil and testament solemnly appointed *Ismael* his second son to succeed him in his kingdome, as of all his sons most fit to take vpon him so great a charge. Which thing *Mahamet* his elder brother seemed not much to dislike, contenting himself with such honors as his father had before bestowed vpon him.

Tamas thus dead, *Ismahel* was by the Sultans sent for to Cahaca, to take vpon his fathers kingdom at Casbin; when in the mean time there arose a great tumult in the City, yea euen in the Kings palace: for *Aidere* the third brother, who in the time of his fathers greatest sicknes had entred the chamber where he lay drawing toward his end, and in his sight most presumptuously set the royal Crown vpon his head, to the manifesting of his ambitious desires; for which hee was then worthily reprooued: Now after the death of his aged father, carried headlong with the same aspiring humour, and supported by *Zalchan* and other his mighty Fauorits, had so effectually dealt with the great lady *Periaconcona* his eldest sister, and the other Sultans counsellors of estate, put in trust to see the wil of the dead King put in execution, as that the succession could not be any longer kept from him and reserued for *Ismahel*, but by the help of some fine secret and deceit. This lady *Periaconcona* (elder than all the yong Princes the sons of *Tamas*, her brethren, a woman of great spirit and deep conceit) left in great trust by her father, seeing the proceedings of her brother *Aidere*, durst neither openly moue any thing to the Sultans, prejudicial to his designes; nor could she in her heart indure so great an injury to be don to her brother *Ismael*, appointed by her father to succeed him. Wherfore in this perplexity she cast in her wily head, how to satisfie her ambitious brother, how to saue *Ismahels* right being absent, the honor of her dead fathers wil & testament, and the safety of the kingdome,

Aidere aspires to the kingdom of Persia.

dome. For hauing thorowly debated the matter with the Sultans, she resolued that *Aidere* G
inuested in royall apparell, and settled in the great gallery, should attend the acclamation of the people, and be there openly enthronised as the very elected king. With which vaine shew the vnwise youth (blinded with ambition) suffered himselfe to be led: and being set in his majesty, verily persuaded himselfe, that he should now be honoured both of his friends and foes, as King. But vnto these his so hasty and prosperous designes, the successe that sprung from the subtilty of those Counsellors and his dissembling sister, were nothing conformable: for that she by their aduice tooke order for the gates of the palace to be presently locked, leauing at euery passage a sure gard, and only one wicket open, safely warded with a companie of most faithfull and valorous captaines and souldiers, wholly deuoted to *Tamas* and *Ismahel*: with streight charge, to suffer euery man to enter in, sauing only the knowne friends of *Aidere*. In H
this sort did she thinke to haue entertained the young man, vntill such time as *Ismahél* should arriue at Cahaca, and so put in execution what he thought best for the honour of himselfe, and the generall quiet of the kingdome.

Who joyeth now but *Aidere?* in conceit a King, replenished with vnwonted joyes, receiuing honor from all men sauing from his best friends. By means wherof perceiuing now the prohibition of them, and mooued also with the great stir of *Zalcan* his greatest fauorit (who discouering the deceit, and crying vpon king *Aidere*, threatned the lady, the Sultans, and the rest that waited vpon the feigned succession, indeed ordained but for the scorne and despight of the ambitious man) striken with great fear, and full of sorrow, he withdrew himself closely amongst certain women of the court, hoping so to find some way to escape with life. I

In the mean time so greatly increased the cries and threatnings of the friends and fauourits of *Aidere* (who now had all of them prepared themselues for some dangerous and pernitious attempt) that the counsellors, with consent of the Lady his sister, were inforced to take order, that to bereaue this tumultuous and seditious people of all their hope and courage, *Aidere* should be depriued of his life. Wherupon *Sahamal* the Georgian, vncle to *Aidere* by the mothers side, by the appointment of *Periaconcona* and the Sultans, after long search they at length found him hidden amongst the women; and without further delay taking him by the locke, strook his head from his shoulders, and in the place where *Zalcan* and the rest of his vnfortunat fauorits stood crying and threatning, amongst the thickest preise of the proud conspirators flung the had all bloudy, as it were yet breathing for heat; crying aloud vnto them; *Behold there your King, enioy him at your pleasure.* At which sudden and horrible spectacle euery man burned in rage & anger, neither for the present wanted there many a rash head that vainly threatned most cruel reuenge. But in the end, when they saw the neer succession of *Ismahel* inuitable, and the death of *Aidere* irreuocable, euery man betook himself to his own priuate affairs, and so at the last diuiding themselues one from another, departed from the palace, and scattered themselues, some one way, some another, euery man as he thought best for his owne safety.

Aider slain, and his head cast amongst his Fauorits.

Shortly after, *Ismael* the desired King arriued at Casbin, where he was of his sister and the Sultans joifully receiued as their lawful and vndoubted soueraign, and with great acclamation of the people saluted King: who as soon as he saw himself possessed of the royall seat, and L
his power now answerable to his desires, he after the maner of the Turkish policy most vnnaturally caused the heads of his eight yonger brethren to be striken off; and withall vsed such diligence, that not only all those which were neer vnto them in bloud and affinitie were bereaued of their liues, but also all the fauorits of his late brother *Aidere* were destroied in that publike slaughter: so that all the streets of Casbin were defiled with bloud, and all the city resounded with mourning and complaints. Which vnexpected cruelty, altogether vnworthy so worthy a thought king, so altred the minds of his subiects in general, that all their former hopes were now conuerted into new fears, and their ioy into mourning. But much greater and far more lamentable did the miseries grow as soon as it was giuen out, That he would change the religion of the Persians (who with great deuotion worship their foolish prophet *Aly*) into M
the superstition of the Turks, who with no lesse impiety obserue & maintain the wicked rites of *Ebubekir, Hamer, Osman*, and others, by them supposed to be the most true successors of their great Prophet *Mahomet*. For by meanes of this vncouth noueltie and vnexpected change, and by force of an edict concerning that matter, published by this new King, many of his

Ismahel saluted King.

He murdereth eight of his yonger brethren.

prophane

A prophane priests, many of the gouernors of his friendly and subiect cities (too much giuen to their former superstition) were driuen some into exile, some clapt vp in prison, some had their eies put out (amongst whom was the Calyph of Casbin) and not a few others in sundry sorts deprived of their liues. Yea many Ladies joined in bloud with *Ismael* himself, & diuers others of his kinsfolk (to whom neither sex, age, nor innocency could be a sufficient defence) indured sundry torments & strange calamities. So that in Persia was neuer felt greater troubles, or a more dangerous change.

In this so great innouation, and among these troubles, there went abroad withal a general rumor, not in the cities of Persia only, but in the regions of the Turks also, euen as far as Constantinople, That *Ismael* with a puissant army of such as fauored this new proclaimed vanitie,
B was determined in person himself to go to Babylon, now called Bagdat, there to receiue the crown of the empire at the hands of him whom he should find to be their great Calyphs successor, and in the chief place among their vnclean priests: as had *Solyman* himselfe the great Emperor of the Turks, and the Persian kings of antient times. In this world of troubles, when as the fear of further miseries daily increased, rather than any hope of antient quietnesse; he was when he least feared, by the help of the aforenamed Lady *Periaconcona* suddenly bereft of his life: but whether ouertaken in some of his own amorous practises, or poisoned by his said sister; or that she (as some probably conjecture) hauing secretly conspired with *Calil Chan, Emir Chan, Pyry Mahamet, Curchi Bassi* (being all at that time men of great account, and as it were presidents of the kingdom) who disguised in womens apparel, & brought in by her, strangled him at such time as he had withdrawn himself among his paramors, is vncertain. How soeuer it was, sufficeth it that he by the helpe of the said Lady *Periaconcona* was by vnnaturall
C death taken out of this world the four and twentieth day of Nouember, in the yeare of Grace 1577; to the exceeding joy of all those Nations, who by his death thought themselues now freed of many great and dangerous troubles: when he had reigned one year seuen months and six daies. 1577.

Ismael suddenly murdered by his sisters deuice.

Ismael thus taken out of the way, the lady began forthwith to persuade with the great Sultans, the ministers of *Ismaels* death, that as they had for the generall good of Persia contriued the death of the late king, so now that they would take vpon them the protection of that great kingdom, with the preseruation of the majesty and liberty therof, vntill such time as it were
D knowne who should worthily succeed in that Crowne, which now remained in their hands. There was at that time many of the greatest Princes and Gouernors of that kingdom assembled at Casbin, there gaping after such mutations of those troublesom times, as might best serue their priuate designes. *Emir Chan* burning in ambitious desires, was in hope by means of a match to be made with a sister of *Periaconcona* (who was already greatly inclining vnto him) to be exalted to the soueraignte of all Persia. *Mirize Salmas* the chiefe Sultan hoped on the other side to aduance into the estate, either *Mahamet Codabanda* the eldest brother of the dead king, or els *Hamze* the eldest son of the said *Mahamet*; and by bestowing vpon him his daughter in marriage (as afterwards he did) so to increase the glory of his house. Others there were that thought they should be able to draw *Abas Mirize* (the middlemost son of *Mahamet*) out
E of Heri, and to make him King. Neither wanted the infant *Tamas* his aspiring friends, whose Tutor waited likewise for some opportunitie to settle him in the kingdome, and so by means of his greatnesse to make himself greatest among his fellows. A number of others there were, that secretly waited vpon euery occasion that time should present for their preferment. Howbeit in this so great varietie of thoughts, the Sultans answered the Lady with one consent, and promised her in most liberall termes all the protection that their forces could affourd, or their weapons procure: and yet did euery one of them both in action and word, Clerke-like, dissemble their seuerall imaginations, whereunto their minds were as prone and ready, as their hearts were cunning closely to conceale them.

Amurath the Turkish Emperor now awakened, first at the death of the old renowned *Tamas*,
F and then at the rumor of the desire *Ismael* had to passe with an Army to Babylon; as also at the fresh report of the Turkish superstition newly published in Persia, and withall throughly instructed what harm this late King had done in Persia, what dissentions he had raised, and how hardly the prouinces of the Empire had endured those calamities; began forthwith to thinke, that hereby a faire occasion was offered vnto him to take vp Armes against the Persians,

Amurath intentiue to the affairs of Persia.

Persians, and matter sufficient suggested for him to put in execution the great desire he had of some new conquest. For it is an antient custome, which is growne as it were to be a law amongst the *Othoman* Kings, That they may not challenge their due honours in their life time, nor their proud monuments after their death, vnlesse they attempt some great and ambitious actions & enterprises, and perform some exploit conformable to their majesty. *Amurath* therefore bent vpon these great stirs in Persia, would not direct his mind any other way, or take any other war in hand, vntill he might first see what issue these maruellsous innouations in Persia would bring forth: which in the person of *Mahamet* the succeeding King, seemed to be more pregnant than euer before, and ministred vnto *Amurath* new occasions of victorious & strange hopes. For as soon as *Ismahel* was dead, the afore named *Mirize Salmas* (in dignity chief man among the Sultans, though in blood & nobility inferior to them all) after many letters dispatched to and fro, at last assured *Mahamet Codabanda*, how with al quietnes of mind, and security of person, he might come & possesse himselfe of the kingdom. He was also aduertised by the said *Salmas*, of the whole conspiracy plotted against his brother to bring him to his end, and likewise made acquainted, how the fraudulent lady, with the Sultans, had capitally consulted against himself: and how she, fauouring *Emir Chan*, and *Abas Mirize* of Heri her nephew & his son, more than became her, did little regard the due and rightful succession of him being the eldest brother. So *Mahamet* bearing himselfe vpon the faith and diligence of *Mirize Salmas*, and desiring withall to see his eldest son *Hamze Mirize* aduanced to some such soueraign dignity as he saw was due to the liuely hope euery man perceiued to be in him, in regard of his vertue and prudence for mannaging the common-wealth and matters of war (wherein also he shewed himself vnto his father jealous and suspitious, lest some other man should vsurp vpon him that honour and authority which so properly appertained vnto him) resolued in the end not to leaue the kingdome in the hands of priuate persons, nor the lightnes of an vnconstant woman of suspected modesty, and a rebellious conspiratour against her own bloud, wherwith she had without any pity or remorse of conscience, now twice defiled her selfe. And therfore he wrot back againe, That he was minded to take the rightfull succession vpon him, and that for the same purpose he was putting himself vpon his journey: with streight charge notwithstanding, That *Mirize Salmas* should before his entrance within the gates of Casbin, present him with the mischieuous head of *Periaconcona*, a woman (in respect of the scorne exercised against her brother *Aidere*, and of the treacherous death of her other brother *Ismahel*, and of the peruerse imaginations which she had conceiued to cause the succession to fall into other mens hands, & of the prodigall familiarity which she had with some of the Sultans) wel worthy of a thousand deaths. Secretly did *Mirize Salmas* put in execution what soeuer *Mahamet* had priuatly enioyned him, so that by his meanes he was presently and solemnly proclaimed king of Persia. And afterwards hauing gathered together many squadrons of men wholly deuoted to the bloud & name of *Mahamet*, the same *Mirize Salmas* met him on the way, carrying the head of that manlike Virago *Periaconcona* vpon the point of a lance, with her haire dispersed, and some other vncouth sights to the terror of the beholders. From which noueltie (one mischief as it were hudling vpon the neck of another) there sprung vp diuers inward hatreds, sundry tumultuous seditions, and much ciuill wars: this new king by the instigation of *Mirize Salmas*, seeking on one side to be reuenged on the Sultans for his brothers death, & they on the other side opposing themselues with all their power against him, the State of Persia began to fal into great inconueniences, and of these nouseles to reap new losses. *Sahamal* the Georgian fled into his mountain of Brus, fearing the wrath of his new lord. *Leuam Ogli* likewise another of the Lords of Georgia, vnderstanding of the flight of *Sahamal* his neighbour, estranged himselfe so far from his old loue and antient deuotion towards the Persian Kings, that he seemed now to desire some new imitation. The nations also that were neighbours to the Turks, and the people of Media Antropatia (now called Sirvan) disliked of this new king: and in the end it appeared, That Persia vnder this king, through many mutations, was in short time fallen into most notable misery, and the state thereof more weakened than it had of long time before.

Mahamet resolueth to take vpon him the Persian kingdome.

Mahamet proclaimed King of Persia.

The head of Periaconcona presented to Mahamet on a Launce.

Of all these things had *Amurath* from diuers places intelligence, but more particularly from *Vstreff* of Van (a city of Armenia the greater, scituate vpon the lake of Actamar) who sent him most perfect information of all the stirs in Persia; Discoursing vnto him of the death of *Ismahel*,

mahiel, the consultations of the Sultans, the trecheries & death of *Periaconcona*, the broils between the King and the Sultans, the nature of the new King (beeing diseased in his eies, little esteemed of his subjects, besotted in affection toward his sons) the facilitie to ouerrule the chief gouernors of the Georgians, and the people of Sirvan, euil affected toward the new king; and to be brief, whatsoeuer had in truth succeeded in Persia, and might inflame the minde of the ambitious Sultan, to conuert his forces against an enemy of small counsell and much confusion. Adding thereunto, That neuer was there greater opportunitie to ouercome that King, than now was offered: and therfore wished him, not in any case to let slip so fair an occasion, as the *Othoman* Kings had neuer before, for the obtaining of so certain and so glorious victories.

Amurath of long time wholly bent to mark the euent of the troubles in Persia, now stirred vp with these aduertisements from *Vstref*, setled himself more deep in his former conceits to proue his forces in subduing the Persian King, the antient enemy of the *Othoman* Emperors, and his only corriual and odious competitor in the East. But no one thing did more inflame him therunto, than to thinke, how he should haue to his enemy a King not acquainted with deeds of arms, doting vpon his children, and weakned with the dissention of his subjects: and on the other side entring into the consideration of his own forces, of the infinit number of his men both horse and foot, of the means he had to find mony; of his Attillery and engins of War, wherein he far surpassed the Persians; he did more and more resolue with himselfe to take the occasion that was now offered him to begin the war. For the compassing of which his purpose he was greatly fauored by the present state of Christendom, at that time beeing wholly in league and amity with him. So not finding any thing contrary to his designments, he resolued at length to confer with the chief Bassa's, which had the gouernment of his Empire, Whether it were better vpon this occasion to begin the prepensed war, or if they thought not this opportunity to be so fit, then to lay it aside, and to conuert his forces and counsel against the Commonwealth of Christendom. For such is the barbarous policy wherby this Empire is mannaged, that it is lawfull for them to break any League, be it by neuer so many promises or solemn oaths confirmed, whensoeuer any enterprise is to be attempted for the aduancing therof. So that although this war could not be moued either against the Persians or Christians, without breach of their promised faith; yet among the manifold consultations that passed among the great Bassa's, there was not any man found that made any account of that defect, but all with one accord without further respect, sought to set forward the ambitious desire of their proud Lord and master. At last after long consultation and large discourses, it was at length agreed vpon by the great Bassa's, *Mahomet*, *Sinan*, and *Mustapha*, That it would be better and lesse danger to attempt war against the Persians, than against the Christian Princes. *Mustapha* amongst the rest preferring the valour of the Latines, wherof he had made good trial especially at Famagusta, before the armies and forces of the Georgians and Persians. Wherby it is apparant to the world, that neither the zeal of their religion, nor any injury receiued from the Persian King, but only the ambitious desire of *Amurath* (to subdue a kingdome, both in his own conceit and other mens relations euil gouerned, by an effeminat and sottish King, and through ciuil dissention brought into great danger) was the first prouocation of making this war.

No assurance in the Turks Leagues.

Ambition the cause of the Persian war.

Vpon this resolution there arose new consultations touching the manner therof, and vpon what coast they should begin their journy for the more honourable successe therof. Which point *Amurath* greatly vrged; protesting before his chief Counsellors, That he would not enter into that war, except he were in great hope to bear away the victory. Some thought it most conuenient to send the Army to Babylon, and from thence to Syras, formerly called Persepolis, the chief city of the country of Persia. Others there were that gaue aduice, that the army should be sent directly to Tauris, there to erect strong fortresses, and to take possession of all the country round about it. And there wanted not some (as it is reported) that thought it better to send two seuerall armies for both the forenamed places; and so by bringing the enemy into a streit, to inforce him to yeeld to whatsoeuer should be of him required. But *Amurath* durst not repose such confidence in his forces, as to think that with his battells diuided and so weakned, he should be able to conquer that enemy, who had alwaies most valiantly

fought against the monstrous and puissant Armies of his Ancestors. And therefore firmely G
resolued with himselfe to send one only army, and so with his vnited forces to seek the ouer-
throw of the Enemy. And so preferring the strong hope he had conceiued to conquer the
country of Sirvan, and the chief cities of Media the great, before the difficulty of making war
vpon the coast of Scyras, reposing also great hope in the notable help that was promised him
by the Tartars called Præcopenses, he confirmed the great Bassa's his counsellors in the same
opinion: and withall discouered vnto them a matter, which to all of them, but especially to
Sinan seemed most strange; namely, That he was determined, not to goe himselfe in person
with his Army, but to send one of his worthiest Captains in his stead. The causes why he so
did, were many; but especially, for that he was troubled with the falling sicknes, and feared
greatly (and that not without good cause) lest his son *Mahomet*, being much fauoured of the H
people, might peraduenture in his absence be vntimely aduanced to the Empire. Beside the
dangers which he suspected at the hands of the Christian Potentates. And withal persuaded
it to be vnto himself a great honour, to perform those things by his seruants, which had for-
merly in those countries bin vnfortunatly attempted by his most noble predecessors in their
own persons.

Whilst they were thus consulting about the expedition, and the great Bassa's, *Sinan*, *Musta-*
pha, aud others, made means to be sent as the soueraign ministers of their Lords designement,
he dispatched away sundry posts and light horsmen, with order to the Bassa's and Gouernors
of Van, Babylon, and Erzirum, in the frontiers of his Dominions, That they should by often
inrodes spoil the Towns and Castles of the Persians, and by all means to do them what harme I
they could. Which they were not slack to put in execution, and especially *Vstref* (or rather
Husreue) Bassa of Van, who with often incursions did much mischief, as wel in the countries
that were tributary, as subiect to the Persian King. A forcible preparatiue for greater troubles
to ensue.

The war begun in Persia.

Now in this great preparation for the Persian war (which for many years after notably ex-
ercised the greatest part of the Turks forces, to the great quiet of the Christian Common-
wealth) *Stephen Bator* the late Vayuod of Transylvania, but now by the commaundement of
Amurath become King of Polonia, in the beginning of his reign, by his Embassador the great
Lord *Iohn* of Syenna, entred into a strong league and confederation with the great Turkish
Sultan *Amurath* at Constantinople. Which for that it sheweth in what termes that famous K
kingdom then and yet standeth with the Turks great Empire, and withall containeth matter
well worth the Christian consideration; it shall not be impertinent to our purpose (omitting
the great and glorious stile of that barbarous Monarch, seruing to no other end but to shew
the greatnes of his power) plainly to set it down, as it was on his part at the same time by him
confirmed.

The League betwixt the most puissant and mighty Princes, L

Sultan *Amurath* the Turkish Emperor, and *Stephen* King of Polonia: Agreed vpon and concluded at Constantinople, in the yeare of our Sauior Christ Iesu, 1577, and of the Prophet *Mahomet* 985.

The league between Amurath and King Stephen.

I *Sultan* Amurath, *the son of* Selym Chan, *the son of* Solyman Chan, *the son of* Selym Chan, *the son of* Bajazet Chan, *the son of the great Emperour* Mahomet Chan, *&c. Prince of this present times, the only Monarch of this age, of power able to confound the power of the whole world, the shadow of Diuine clemencie and grace. Great Emperor of many Kingdoms, Countries, Prouinces, Cities* M
and Towns, Lord of Mecha, that is to say, of the house of the glory of God, of the resplendant city of Medina, and of the most blessed city of Ierusalem: Prince of the most fruitfull country of Egypt, Aden, Zenan, Aden, and many other such like: In most louing maner declare, That the most glorious and renowned

A Stephen *King of Polonia, great Duke of Lithuania, Rassia, Prussia, Massovia, Samogitia, Kiovia, Livonia, and many other countries moe, Prince of the couragious followers of* Iesus, *Gouernor of all the affairs of the people and family of the Nazarits, the welcommest Cloud of rain, and most sweet Fountaine of glory and vertue; eternall Lord and heir of the felicity and honor of the aforesaid noble Kingdome of Polonia; vnto whom all the distressed repair for refuge, wishing a most happy succes and blessed end to all his actions: offering vnto vs many religious vowes and eternall praises worthy our perpetuall loue and most holy League, and with great deuotion performing these and other like honors, as for the dispatch of his letters to our most glorious Court, for the new confirming of the most sacred league and confederation with vs, sending the honorable Lord* Iohn *of Syenna (his most faithfull Counsellor) his Embassadour to our Court; declaring his loue and integrity, and purging himself of all the suspition of hostility, hath re-*
B *quested the League and confederation to be renued. At whose instance we haue giuen these our Letters, confirming the said League of peace and confederation. Wherin we command, That none of our Counsellors, Beglerbegs, Sanzacks, Generals of our Armies, Captains, or seruants, shall do, or on my behalf presume to do any hurt vnto the Kingdom, Countries, Cities, Castles, Towns, Islands, or whatsoeuer els to the Kingdom of Polonia belonging. And in like maner, That none of the Nobility, Generals, Captaines, or others whosoeuer belonging to the king of Polonia, shall dare to do any harm vnto my Kingdoms, Cities, Castles, or Towns confining vpon the Kingdom of Polonia. In brief, my will is, That he being a mortal enemy vnto myne enemies, and a fast friend vnto my friends, shal do no injury or harm vnto any my subiects or things whatsoeuer vnto my jurisdiction belonging. So in like maner commanding also, That no hurt by any means or for any occasion, be don by our people, vnto the subiects, or whatsoeuer els vnto the iurisdiction of the*
C *King of Polonia appertaining.*

The creatures, Embassadors, Messengers, and men of whatsoeuer condition els, shall on both sides freely without let or trouble come and go without any harm receiuing, either in their persons or goods.

It shall be lawfull also for the King of Polonia's subiects to seek throughout our Empire, for any the Polonian captiues taken before the time of this league; and the same so found (if they haue not receiued the Turkish religion, but still remain Christians) to redeem without the contradiction of any man.

And that whatsoeuer shall be taken and caried away after the confirmation of this League, shall be all again freely and without any thing paying, deliuered and restored.

That the Merchants on both parts might freely traffique with all kind of merchandise in the black and white sea, as also vpon the Main, and so paying their vsuall and lawfull custom, to be in nothing wronged
D *or molested.*

If any of the Polonian Merchants shall die in our dominion, the goods of him so dead shall not be embeselled, but kept in safety vntill his brethren or other his friends shall come with the King of Polonia his letters: vpon the shewing whereof, hauing also our Letters mandatory, the goods shall be forthwith restored vnto the dead mans heirs. In which sort also my Merchants shall be dealt withall, if any of them shall chance to die in the kingdom of Polonia.

If any wrong be don within the limits of myne Empire, vnto any belonging to the kingdom of Polonia, after the date of these letters confirming the League; the doer of the wrong shall by my commandement be sought out, and being found out shal be punished & the wrong don, without any delay or contradiction be forthwith recompenced. And the like justice to be also on the behalf of the King of Polonia administred.

E *If any debtor shall depart out of myne Empire into the Polonian territory, whersoeuer he shall chance to be found by his Creditor, he shall be brought to the Iudge of that place to be examined, and whatsoeuer it shall be proued him of right to owe, the Iudge of that place shall according to the equity of the cause make the Creditor to be satisfied.*

But if the debtor canot himself personally be found, no other man shall by reason of another mans debt be taken, detained, or molested: neither shall the innocent be troubled for the guilty, in either or both our Kingdoms.

In brief, vpon whatsoeuer conditions and capitulations the league of peace and confederation was in the time of my father, or grandfather of famous memory, made with the kings of Polonia, vpon the same conditions and capitulations be it now made also.

F *Whatsoeuer hurt hath hitherto bin don to either part, by reason of the disagreement of the gouernours and captains, shall all be on both parts neglected and forgotten.*

Also after the time of these letters, confirming the league and confederation, Wherias the King of Polonia shall in time pay a certain sum of mony vsed to be paid vnto the Tartars; the Tartar Chan *& his son*

Mirzeliby their Princes shall restore the same again, and not to dare to suffer his Armies by any meanes G
to hurt the Polonian territories. So that on the part of the Tartars and their armies no harm shall be don
to the kingdom of Polonia: neither on the part of the Polonians to the territories of the Tartars. And if
any harm shall by the Tartars be don in the King of Polonia's territories, it shall by my commandement be
again restored. And so likewise on the part of the Palatine of Moldavia, or the inhabitants of the kingdom
of Moldavia, no harm shall be don vnto the countries subiect vnto the King of Polonia: but if any be done,
and certainly known, to be by my commandement again recompenced.

On the part also of the King of Polonia and his subiects, whatsoeuer harm shall be don vnto the territory or subiects of the Moldavian Palatine, or Tartars, the harm so don to be recompenced, and the doers therof punished.

Also, That all such fugitiues as hauing done any notorious felonies or villanies in Moldavia, and are H
fled into Polonia, shall at my request, or at the request of the Palatine of Moldavia, be restored, and in no case denied.

That all the Polonian Captains within my dominions, yet professing the Christian religion, may by the King of Polonia's subiects be redeemed, not paying any more for them than their Lords and masters paid: euery such master of the slaue taking his oath, that he cost him so much. But such captiues as haue receiued the Turkish faith, to be forthwith set at liberty: and so the Turks slaues in the kingdom of Polonia to be likewise manumised.

That our Embassadors on both sides (so long as we are in league and amity) may freely come and go, and not be staid in any place; and being willing to meet together, may at their pleasure so do. And being entred into the confines of either part, to be forthwith by some good and faithfull guid appointed vnto them I
conducted vnto the places they are to go vnto. And this to be on both sides kept.

No man to dare to hurt or stay any merchant, hauing paid his thirtieth part or lawful custom.

If any of our subiects shall haue any suit with any of the king of Polonia's subiects, the Iudges shal without delay be bound to administer justice. All theeues and robbers shall be diligently sought out, and being found, to be seuerely punished: and the goods taken away, without impeachment to be restored to the right owners, their heirs, or to the King.

The Sanzacks of Silistria and Bolograue, the Customers and Water-Bailifes, shall not suffer any man but Merchants and such as are sent in our seruice, to passe ouer the riuer Nyester; who passing ouer, if they shall bring with them any slaue or bondman out of Polonia, he shall be sent back again. The shepheards, if they wil transport their sheep into the iurisdiction of the King of Polonia, shall not so do without leaue of K
the Polonian gouernors, before whom they shall also number their Sheep: of whom if any shall be lost, the Gouernors shall cause them to be sought for, and to be restored vnto the Shepheards, as also to pay for their hay.

The Zauzij, Ianizaries, or Posts, shall not dare in any time of peace or war to take any horses from the Polonian merchants, or other the Kings subiects comming into our kingdom.

The Palatines of Moldavia, in what soeuer condition they haue bin toward the former Kings of Polonia, they shall now also stil so be hereafter. The thirtieths and customs of both parts shall continue in their old maner, and not be increased. The Polonian kings subiects and merchants, as wel Armenians as of any other nation, whensoeuer they shall enter into Moldavia or any other part of our Empire, shall not trauel by vncertain aud vnknown, but by the common or high waies: wherin if they shall suffer any losse or harm, L
either in their goods or persons, the doers of such wrongs shal be sought for, and seuerely punished. Which merchants shall be suffered without any molestation quietly to come and go, hauing paid their thirtieths: and no merchant to be troubled for anothers debt.

If any of the Polonian Kings merchants or subiects be willing for ready mony to redeem and cary away any slaues taken out of the Polonian kingdom, and yet professing the Christian religion, the Iudges shal in no case withstand them, neither presume to take them from them, or again to redeem them. But if any such slaues haue receiued the Turkish Religion, they shall not be again demanded by the King of Polonia.

Such slaues as haue not receiued the Turkish religion, if after a certain space they shall be set at liberty by their Masters, and in the letters testimoniall of their liberty, it shall be declared that they haue receiued the Turkish religion; yet shall they not by the Iudges be therfore detained.

In the city of Burusa, the Polonian merchants hauing paid their vsuall thirtieths, shall not be further M
pressed with any other vnusuall paiment.

My will is also, That the territories at this present in the possession of the King of Polonia, or hereafter to

A to be by him taken from the Muscouite, or any other the Christian Princes, to be comprised within this League, and so to be royally by him possessed.

And for the confirmation of the articles and conditions in these our letters of confederation contained, I swear by the power of the most mighty God, and of his most holy Prophet, and by the most clean and pure spirits of all the Prophets, That for all the daies of my life, and so long as nothing shall on the behalf of the King of Polonia be don contrary to the peace and league, nothing shal also on my part be don contrary to the same. Witnesse the Almighty, the vpright judge and discerner of mens actions.

From Constantinople, the year of the holy Prophet Mahomet 985, the 14 of the moneth Czie-masse Eumel. And of Christ 1577.

B This league betwixt these two mighty princes *Amurath* and king *Stephen* thus concluded, and after the death of *Stephen*, by *Sigismund* the third renued; as it was to the Polonian Kingdom for the time commodious, so did it as it were with an Adamantine band so tie that most famous kingdom, as that in the hardest distresses of the Christian commonweal, and most indeed concerning it self, it afforded no more help than did the members farther of, which (I rue to say it) was none at all. As in the insuing wars betwixt the Christian Emperor and the Turkish Sultans plainly appeared: wherin had it in due time giuen but such reasonable aid as it might wel haue spared, much no doubt might haue bin done for the repressing of the common Enemy, and the recouery of the greatest part of Hungary: but thus bound, stood as a dead member, seruing to no other vse more than to the more speedy destruction of it selfe,
C together with the rest of the sick body. For what assurance it had in that long, but euil assured peace, was wel seen, in that in the great consultation of this great sultan *Amurath* with his Bassa's after the Persian war, for the inuading of Christendom; the Polonians for al this legue so solemnly confirmed, were nothing the more regarded, but laid in the same ballance with the rest, and preserued only by the Prouidence that all gouerneth; which leading the Turke against the Christian Emperour their neighbour, gaue them that peace they were otherwise hardly to haue looked for. Vnto whom for all that (hauing to his endlesse praise maintained a long and most chargeable war) they lent little or no help, yet lying themselues still in the Lions mouth, and like enough to be the next (without Gods great goodnes) of him intended to be deuoured.

D But leauing these the heauy conceits of a melancholy mind, and ominous forebodings of that I wish not; to return again toward Persia, *Amuraths* greatest care. Among many the ambitious competitors for the mannaging of these Turkish so great designes, was the great Bassa *Mustapha* (euen he who in the reign of the late Emperor *Selymus* conquered Cyprus, carrying thence together with his victory, perpetual infamy for his faithles and cruel dealing with *Bragadine* the worthy and renowned gouernor of Famagusta) appointed General of the Turks army into Persia; and authority giuen him to prouide whatsoeuer he should think needfull for so great a war. And commandment giuen vnto the Bassa's and other Commanders of the greatest part of the Turkish Empire Eastward, that they should themselues with their soldiers of all sorts, bound by their perpetual annuities to go to the War, in the beginning of the
E Spring this year 1578, repaire to Erzirum, a City of Cappadocia bordering vpon Armenia, 1578.
there to attend the commaund of their new General. Who hauing his dispatch from Constantinople, & for fashion sake conducted by most of the court ouer the streit to Scutari, and from thence passing through the countries of Amasia & Siuas, in the very beginning of summer arriued at Erzirum, and there stayd vntill such time as his people, victuals, Artillery, and other his necessary prouision was come thither. From whence he departed for Sirvan, hauing first taken a diligent suruey of his whole Army, mustring the souldiers of euery Nation by themselues: namely of the Mesopotamians twelue thousand, of the Assyrians and Babylonians fourteen thousand, of the Syrians two thousand, of them of the lesser Asia (now comprehended vnder the name of Natolia) ten thousand, of the Iewes and Philistims one thousand,
F and of the Cilicians four thousand. After whom followed the soldiers of Greeia, the glory and hope of all the camp, valiant men, to the number of ten thousand; and after them the familiar and faithful gard of the General, ten thousand Ianizaries of Constantinople, with harquebuses vpon their shoulders, and scimiters by their sides: of the City also of Erzirum and the jurisdiction therof, appeared four thousand, vnder the ensigne of *Beyran Bassa* their general.

Mustapha chosen Generall of the Turkish army

Mustapha musters his Army at Erzirum.

All

All these were stipendaries vnto the Turkish Emperor; vnto whom other voluntary aduentu-
rers joined themselues, in number not inferior to the rest, but better furnished, and of greater G
courage. So that in this general suruey of the Army were found about 110000 men, most
part horsmen: yet was there not any stirred out of Arabia, Egypt, Africa, Hungary, or other
places alongst the sea coasts; neither were the prouinces from whence these souldiers were
drawn, left destitute or vnfurnished of their ordinary garisons. Besides this multitude of men
Mustapha brought with him 500 smal pieces of Artillery, with many loads of mony for his
soldiers pay, with further order for the taking vp of more at Aleppo and other places, if his
occasions should so require. He caused also great quantitie of corn to be transported by the
great sea called in antient time Pontus Euxinus, to Trapezond, so to be conueyed to Erzirum
being but four days journy distant thence. To be short, hauing taken order for all things he H
thought necessary for the war, he in seemly array departed from Erzirum, and in eight days a-
riued at the ruins of Chars, and in the fruitful country therabout rested himself. But he was
there surprised with such a violent tempest of wind and rain, that it rent in sunder his Tents,
and did great harm; by means wherof many fell sick, and were therby constrained to forsake
the Army.

Hauing staid three daies at Chars, the bounder of the Turkish and Persian Empire, he de-
parted thence with his army, and that euening lodged vnder the mountains of Chielder, sup-
posed to be part of the hils Periardo; where hearing the Persians to be in Arms, he thought it
best for the security of his Army, so to pitch his tents, as that he might wel discouer the com-
ming of the Enemy, and not to be assaulted at vnawares. And therfore planting himselfe in I
the plain, he gaue order that *Beyran* Bassa of Erzirum should take possession of a certaine hill
on the right hand; and *Dervis* the Bassa of Caramit should keepe another hill that stood on
the left hand: and with them *Osman Bassa*, *Mahamet Bassa*, *Mustassade Bassa*, aduenturers, with
many others as wel stipendary as voluntary men, should likewise pitch their tents vpon the
same hils, in such sort, as that they making as it were two wings to the Camp, might discouer
the comming of euery man, and yet he himself being shadowed with the two hils, might lye
vnperceiued of any.

Mustapha cunningly incamps at Chielder.

Mahamet the new king of Persia, as yet scarsly setled in his kingdom, stirred vp by the same
of these motions, resolued in himself to stand vpon the defence of his state, and for a time to
dissemble the conceiued hatred which he bare to some of the Sultans of Persia, & Princes of K
Georgia, and to make some apparant shew that he was reconciled to them; for that without
them he could not promise vnto himself any form of an army, or defence: wherin (notwithstan-
ding all the troubled state of his kingdom) he wrought so cunningly, that almost all the great
men of account took vpon them the protection of his state and kingdom. And so *Tocomac* a
Sultan, the Chan and gouernor of Reivan, a famous man, wel known to the Turks, and of great
reputation among the Persians, was chosen General of this expedition; with charge, that ga-
thering together the greatest number of men he could, out of Atropatia, Media the greater,
and other places neer vnto the Turks, he should by all means possible stop their passage into
Georgia and Media Atropatia. And therupon precepts were sent out into all parts of the
kingdom, That all the Chans, Sultans, and soldiers whatsoeuer, should come ready prest to at- L
tend vpon their new General. Many obedient to the kings proclamation, came; but many
there were that would not stir a foot, for their obstinacie in the broiles begun, and for the sus-
pition they had of vnlooked for mischiefs. At whose disobedience the king much grieued:
but now there was no remedy, but to make the best of the matter, and for the safety of his ho-
nor to make the best resistance they could. So with those few who for the loue of their prince
and country were met together in those parts, being not aboue 20000, *Tocomac* was dispatche
about his busines, if haply he might with these smal forces oppresse the enemy in some streit
and troublesome passage, where the great multitude should rather serue to confound them-
selues, than to help one another. These 20000 were all horsmen, armed with scimiter & bow,
with some harquebusiers among, and furnished with very fine and wel tempered armour, but M
aboue all, couragious they were and resolute, and wel the more, for the valour and prowesse of
their General. So prouided of all things necessary, they set forward, and keeping the way of
Tauris and Genge, they came to the turning of Chars, where they were aduertised that the
Enemies army was already passed.

Tocomac General of the Persians.

They

A They were now come within a days journy of Chielder, when they sent quick and faithful
scouts to bring them certain newes of the condition and number of the Turks Army. Who
came thither at the very time that *Mustapha* was incamping his army between the two hills,
wherupon the two Bassa's *Beyran* and *Dervis* with their people had already pitcht their tents.
These scouts discouering the Turkish host aloft, persuaded themselues that there was no
other battel than those they saw vpon the hils: Wherof with all speed they returned news to
Tocomac, who at ease had followed these his scouts afar off. *Tocomac* thus mis-informed by his
scouts of the number of his enemies, held on his way boldly, with purpose to assault them; and
hauing discouered their tents vpon the hils, was throughly confirmed in the opinion hee had
before conceiued of the number of his enemies, and the scouts relation, and with so much the
B more confidence set forward to assail them. But *Beyran* and *Dervis*, who quickly from the hils
perceiued the Persians comming in the plain, although they knew them to be men of great
courage, yet reposing an assured confidence in their Generals battell, with all speed mounted
vpon their horses and ran to meet them. So in the aforesaid plains vnder Chielder, within
one hour after noon was ioyned a most bloudy battel, wherin at last were slain 7 of the Turks
Sanzacks, with a great number of soldiers, without any apparant losse amongst the Persians,
who fighting close together in a great heat, and al bebloudied, vrged their happy and fortunat
victory.

But *Mustapha*, who perceiued all that had passed, and staid waiting til the fight was at the
hotest, and the medly at the thickest, that so the flight of the enemies might breed the grea-
C ter disorder, and now seeing that his people could no longer indure the fury of the Enemies
rage (euen as if it had lightned and thundred, and as though the earth had shaken) with such
cries and acclamations as the Turkes vse in their assaults, for the more terror of the enemies;
exciting his army, ran as it were headlong vpon his aduersaries, and so renued a most terrible
battel. The Persians wonderful courage induring this vnexpected and dreadful assault with
incredible signs of valor, in that little time of day light that was left (for the night began now
to approch) continued their manifold slaughters, and at last being fauored by the darknes of
the night, withdrew themselues with as little losse as possibly they could. Neither durst *Mu-*
stapha any longer pursue them, but was glad by night to return to his camp. Of the successe of
this battel the Persians certified their King; as also of the greatnes of the Turkish Army with
D their further purpose for anoying therof. And by the Turks also were presented to *Mustapha*
(who had already sent news by posts to *Amurath*) 5000 heads, that by their color, countenance
and beards bewraied themselues to be Persians, and 3000 Persians aliue. Of this victory *Mu-*
stapha greatly rejoiced, and to make it seem the greater (seeking by all means to conceale his
own losses, and to raise a greater terror by the fame therof amongst his enemies) caused the
heads of the 3000 that were brought before him aliue, to be presently cut from their shuol-
ders, and gaue order that of those heads there should be framed a bulwark in those fields,
for a most horrible and vncoth spectacle.

The Persians defeated.

A bulwarke made of the heads of the slain Persians.

The same day that *Mustapha* applied himself about this barbarous and cruel worke, there
came vnto him certain messengers from *Manucchiar*, the yonger son of the Georgian Widow
E *Dedesinit* (a great prince in that country) who told him, That with his good fauour and leaue,
Manucchiar their Lord and master was comming to salute him, and to offer himself vnto him
as his obedient and deuoted seruant. At which news *Mustapha* redoubling his joy, gaue com-
mandment, That all the Bassa's and captains in the Army, with all solemn pomp, with Trum-
pets, Drums, peals of ordnance, with al other signes of munificall and ioyfull entertainment,
should go forth to meet the said *Manucchiar*, and to accompany him to his presence. Which
they did accordingly, and so incountring him with all signes of honor, conducted him to the
great pauilion of *Mustapha*, who there caused him again to be saluted with like triumph. *Ma-*
nucchiar dismounted from his horse, and against his wil beholding the strange & vncoth pile
of heads all pale and filthy to behold, and indeed imagining what the matter meant; yet not-
F withstanding before all other things, hauing don his due reuerence to the great Bassa, and ac-
cording to his degree placed himself next to his side, after he had presented him with such
gifts as his country yeelded, he gaue him to vnderstand, That for the honour & estimation he
bare to the Turkish valor, he was alwaies deuoted to the house of the *Othomans*; and as he had
ostentimes desired to spend his goods and life in their seruice, so at this present time, moued

Manucchiers speech to Mustapha.

by

by his antient desire, allured by the strange fame of his wonderful and victorious Army, and G
stirred vp by a particular fantasie, to learn the painfull and hard precepts of the art Militarie
vnder such a General, commander of other commanders, he offered him all deuotion, and ser-
uice, more than euer he had don to any hertofore, and himself hauing nothing in the World
dearer to him, consecrated his own life to his commandements; desiring that the same might
be imployd in the conflicts of war vnder his banners, among warriers and soldiers of fame and
renown: and therfore besought him to accept of him in the name of *Amurath*, whose obedient
vassal he vowed himself to remain for euer.

Graciously did *Mustapha* receiue all this discourse from *Manucchiar*, and hauing shewed
him again the pile of heads, together with his battels, armor, and prouision of war, told him,
That as all those forces were the gift of God, who euer fauored the righteous counsels of the H
Othoman Emperors, in such sort that they lord it ouer all the world, euen to the astonishment
of them that liue in the world at this day; so had he for his particular chosen the better part,
in comming now to yeeld himself, & to submit his obedience vnto his Lord, although it had
bin better if he had don it before. And as concerning the desire he had to be his companion
and fellow in these warlike affairs, he did very friendly accept of his comming, and promised
him all good entertainment and assured safety. And so in exchange of the presents which he
brought him, he apparelled him in cloth of gold, honoured him with a batel-axe, and targuet
wrought with gold and ammel, and neuer permitted him to go from his pauilion without a
train of his slaues following him.

A terrible rain and tempest.

This Georgian Prince thus solemnly entertained, the General gaue order thorow the camp, I
That they should the next morning remoue from those mountains: and now euery man was
putting himself in readines, when as there rise a most terrible tempest of wind and rain, mixt
with thunder and lightning, which continued with such violence for the space of four dayes
together, as if the heauens had bin dissolued into waters. Wherby it came to passe, that out
of the dead carkasses and heads before mentioned issued a most horrible stink: so that therby,
and by the foulnes of the weather, with other annoiances alwaies attending vpon so great a
camp, the whole army was exceedingly troubled, and diuers diseases arose among the Turks.
But at last the weather breaking vp, *Mustapha* rise with his camp and set forwards toward Te-
flis: and being not able by reason of the foulnes of the way to passe any farther, that day stayd
in the plains where the lake Chielder Giol standeth, and there refreshed his sick and wearied K
soldiers. Remouing thence, the next day about noon he came to the Castle of Archicheleçh,
somtime a castle of the Georgians, but taken from them by *Solyman* in his wars against *Tamas*,
and euer since holden by the Turks. Here *Mustapha* surueyed his Army, and by diligent ac-

Mustapha surveying his Army, lacks forty thousand men.

count taken, found himself to want 40000 of his soldiers, wherof some were slain in the bat-
tel, some were dead of sicknes, and many weary of so long and perillous a journy, were secret-
ly stoln out of the camp, and returned to take their rest at home. From thence the Army re-
moued, and lodged that night neer the marish called of the Turks Peruana Giol, or Lake of
slaues; and the next day came to Triala, where at this day are to be seen the ruins of a great Ci-
ty and of many churches, wherof some are yet repaired and maintained by deuout Christians
the reliques of those happy and religious forces, that with so great and faithful zeal past the L
the seas and mountains through those barbarous nations into the Holy land, men worthy of
eternal praise. The next day the Turks ascended the high and craggy mountaine that stands
vpon Teflis; from the top wherof descending the day following, they seised vpon a Castle of
the Georgians, called of the Turks Giurgi Chala. Departing thence, and lodging in certain
plains, the next day they came neer the riuer that runs by Teflis. But in these 4 dayes march
from Archichelec, where *Mustapha* took view of his army, many of the Turks, who in seeking
victuals for themselues and their horses had stragled from the army, were cut off by the Geor-
gian captains, who with a number of their own country soldiers secretly followed the Turks
army, and wel acquainted with all the waies of the country, lay in ambush vpon such places as
the victualers were to passe through, and so suddenly setting vpon them spoiled them at once M
both of life and goods.

Mustapha comming to Teflis found that castle empty; for that *Daut Chan* lord therof, hea-
ring of the comming of the Turks, forsook the same and betook himself to the fields, prui-
ding better for himself in so doing, than by staying in the castle, to haue bin there taken pri-
soner.

A soner. This castle for the conuenient scituation thereof *Mustapha* caused to be repaired and
fortified, and planted therin an hundred pieces of artillery, and appointed *Mahamet Bassa* Ge-
nerall Gouernor of that place, with a garrison of six thousand souldiers, which done, he depar-
ted for Siruan. At which very time those of Soria, which had brought a thousand loads of rent
corn to the camp from Aleppo, being themselues in number a thousand persons, with 500 o-
thers of Omps (in antient time called Hus, the city of the patient *Iob*) and other places of So-
ria, men neither of duty bound, nor of themselues willing to follow the camp, returned home-
wards towards their owne country: but vpon the way they were set vpon by *Alessandro*, *Giusuf*,
and *Dauid* (three of the Georgian lords) and all slain except some few, who by the swiftnes of
their horses escaped with *Nassardin* their Captain.

Alessandro sends Embassadors to Mustapha.

B Now after that *Mustapha* had passed the discent of the steep mountaines of Teflis, the next
day he incamped in certaine low plains; where the Embassadours of *Alessandro* syrnamed the
Great, sonne of *Leuent*, a Georgian Prince, came vnto him and told him, That their Lord was
ready, if it so pleased him, to come vnto him to do him reuerence, and by word of mouth to
promise him that deuotion he had alwaies in mind born to the *Othoman* Emperours. With
a glad heart and cheerfull countenance did *Mustapha* receiue these Embassadors: and present-
ly sent them back, to will their Lord to come, and to tell him, That his friendship should be
vnto him most deer and acceptable. And after their departure, tooke order with all the Com-
manders of his army, to receiue him with all the signs of ioy that might be; which at his com-
ming was accordingly by them performed. Who after he had presented to the Generall the
C rich gifts he had brought with him, he offered his obedience to the Bassa with most liuely
specches he could possibly deuise, calling *Amurath* his Lord: seeming to take it in euill part,
that he passed not through his territory, where he should (as he said) haue had plenty of all
things for the relief of his army; yet hoping that in his return from Siruan he would take it in
his way; wheras he should find him most ready to bestow all that he had in the seruice of his
lord: telling him moreouer, That although he could not for many vrgent respects go with him
into Siruan, yet he would alwaies accompany him in mind, and continually pray to the Cre-
ator of all things, for his prosperity & most happy successe. Courteously did *Mustapha* receiue

Alessandro courteously entertained by Mustapha.

both his presents and submission, and in exchange therof bestowed vpon him certain gifts af-
ter the Turkish manner, and in magnificall terms gaue him answer; promising him in his re-
D turn to passe through his country: and so dismissed the Persian Duke with like honour where-
with he was entertained at his comming.

Mustapha holding on his journy towards Siruan, through moorish and troublesome wayes;
in twelue dayes after he departed from Teflis, came into the confines of Siruan, neere to the
riuer Canac, and there rested on this side the riuer one day. At which time they of the city of
Sechi, bordring vpon the Siruanians and Georgians, foure days journy from Sumachia, came
to offer themselues to *Mustapha*, as subiects to the Turks. Of whose submission the Generall
gratiously accepted, promising to them his assured protection.

The Turks army afflicted with hunger.

The Turks army ouerwearied with the continuall trauell of twelue days march, but yet far
more afflicted with hunger, not finding in those parts so much as one wilde beast to assuage
E their greedy desire of meat, sought by all means, euery man for himself, to get somthing, espe-
cially when they vnderstood their General would passe the riuer into a Country vnto them all
vnknown, where they were altogether vncertain what to find for their relieſe. So whilst they
were inquiring among themselues, who was able to conduct them to some such place as where
they might supply their wants, behold, certain Persians were taken, who being streitly exami-
ned on that point, after much resistance at last told them, that not far off, after they had passed
certain marishes, where Canac dischargeth it self into Araxis, they should finde many fields
ful of rice and corn in the blade, and a little farther certain fat herds of cattel, sufficient to re-
lieue the whole army. Of this news was the General certified: who although he greatly doub-
ted the subtilty of his enemies, yet to gratifie his soldiers, and to make them more willing to
F follow him into Sirvan, he licensed euery man that had a desire, to go and prouide himself vi-
ctuals, and so suffered all that would, to go freely. Wherupon there went of themselues, and
were sent by their Captaines about ten thousand seruile persons, with Camels, Horses, and
Mules, to fetch away this prouision of Corn and Cattell. But the euent answered not vnto
their desires. For *Tocomac* with the other Persian Captaines, and the rest of the soldiers that
were

were escaped from the ouerthrow giuen them in the plains of Chielder, hauing gathered together the remainder of the army, and recouered such places as they thought safe and friendly for them, carefully attended the marching and passing of the Turkish army. And being certainly informed by them of Reiuan and Georgia, what way they kept, and that of necessity they must ariue at the banks of Canac, they began to deuise how they might in some measure be reuenged of their former losse, and impeach their enemies entrance into Siruan. But wanting rather strength than courage to assail the whole army, they thought it best to stay in ambush in some fit place, vntil some part of the Turkish army (allured with the prey of the corn and cattel) should for the relief of their common necessities discend into those fields. And the rather to draw them on, sent out diuers men, who as if they had gon about their own busines, and by chance at vnawares had lighted vpon the Turks camp, reuealed vnto them, as a great secret, what a good prey was hard by them. And so withdrawing themselues out of sight, priuily awaited the comming of the Turks: when as within the space of three days it so fell out, that the aforesaid ten thousand forragers arriued at the wished place; where they had no sooner begun to charge themselues with the prey, but they were surprised by the Persians and all slain, sauing a few, who by hasty flight saued themselues. The noise of this hot skirmish being heard into the Turkish hoast, caused *Mustapha* to imagine that the matter was fallen out euen as indeed it was; and therfore rising with his whole army, hasted with all possible speed to haue succored the poor people, who were now all slain. And albeit he came not in so good time as to yeeld them reliefe, yet came he very fitly to reuenge their death vpon the Persians, staying too long to load themselues with the spoile of their enemies.

Ten thousand of the Turks forragers slain.

The place from whence the Turks were to haue had the aforesaid booty, was almost in manner of an Island, inclosed with the riuers of Araxis and Canac: wherinto *Mustapha* entred with his whole power, *Deruis Bassa* leading the one wing, as did *Beyram Bassa* the other, and he himself comming on in the middle with the main battell. The Persians seeing *Mustapha* with all his forces hasting toward them, and withall remembring the late ouerthrow by them receiued in the plains of Chielder; began to bethink themselues how much better it had bin for them to haue contented themselues with the late slaughter of the forragers, and with speed to haue gone out of that streit, than by staying longer, to be inclosed with the multitude of their enemies, as that they could now no way escape without most manifest perill. In this perplexity discoursing among themselues, whether it were better to fly, or with so great disaduantage to ioin battell, and so rather to die honourably, than to liue with reproach: at last they resolued to reserue themselues to the further seruice of their Prince & country, deeming it rather a point of wisdome than of dishonour, not to aduenture vnto most desperat and assured death, so many worthy men as might in future time stand their country in good stead; yet did they not see how by flight wel to escape, for that they were in such sort strain'd within the riuers, as that there was no ground left for them to escape by, than that which contrary to their expectation was by the Turks already possessed. In these difficulties euery man began to betake himselfe to his own priuat conceit and fortune. *Tocomac* with *Emir Chan* and other the great commanders of the army, were the first that turned their backs, and by the help of their couragious horses got ouer the riuer of Canac: whose example moued many others to attempt the like, though not with like fortune; for that their horses being not of such courage, and out of breath, lay many of them drowned in the riuer. Wherwith others being amased, as perceiuing ineuitable death in flying, present before their eies, and reposing all their hope euen in dispaire, ran as it were headlong in a rage and fury vpon their enemies, and in fighting shewed vnspeakable valour: but what was one against an hundred? for there they were also all slaine, though worthy of immortall fame. Thus was the Persian army quite discomfited in this demie Island, being first stained with the bloud of the enemy, and afterward with the slaughter of the neighbor and proper inhabitant: and so became the perpetuall sepulchre of a most couragious and warlike people. The Turks in this last conflict lost not aboue 3000 men, beside the slaughter of the 10000 forragers: although *Tocomac* to make his losse to seem the more tollerable, made a report to the King of a great slaughter made. The Persian Captains full of sorrow for this vnexpected ouerthrow, with the licence of their Generall departed euery man to his seuerall gouernment: as *Emanguli Chan* to Gengi, *Serap Chan* to Nassiuan, *Tocomac* himselfe to Reiuan, and all the rest to other Cities, to the gouernment whereof they were before

The Persians fly and in flying are many of them drowned in Canac.

fore by the King appointed, and so remained expecting his further pleasure from Casbin.

Mustapha was now come to the riuer of Canac, which he was to passe ouer into Sirvan. And therfore made streit proclamation through his whole army, That euery man should be in readines against the next day to passe the riuer. At which proclamation all his people suddenly arose in a tumult, and with injurious terms euen to his face reproued his folly and inhumanity, propounding vtter danger vnto himself, and an vniuersal confusion vnto the whole Army: and therfore prayd him to surcease from proceeding any further, vnles he were minded to cast them all away. But his resolute mind was not by their threats or intreaties to be remoued, neither gaue he them other answer than this, *That so had* Amurath *commanded; and that if all the rest should shew themselues vnwilling to obey their Soueraigne, he himself would not nor could not, but would be the first man to attempt and perform that which they all so abhorred and reproued. Valiant souldiers* (he said) *were discouered and known not in idlenesse and ease, but in pains taking, and difficult enterprises; who neuer ought to be afraid to change this momentary life for euerlasting honour, or to shunne death, if the seruice of their Prince so required: And for myne own part* (said he) *I most earnestly request you; that after I haue attempted the passage of the riuer, if any thing happen vnto me otherwise than wel, yet carry my dead body to the other side of the riuer; to the end that if I cannot whilst I yet liue execute the command of my Soueraign, I may yet at least perform the same when I am but a speechles and liueles Carcas: forasmuch as the desire of my Lord is not in any sort to be frustrated, for making too great account of myne own life.*

A resolute speech of Mustapha.

Diuers and sundry murmurings and wisperings followed vpon this speech of the General: who notwithstanding the next morning did first of all wade ouer the deep and swift Riuer himself; after whom presently followed the Bassa's with all their slaues: by whose example the rest also were induced at last to do the like, & so continued vntil the darknes of the night interrupted their passage; by which occasion more than halfe the Army could not then get ouer. In this passage, being with great tumult and disorder attempted, about 8000 persons, caried away with the violence of the riuer, were miserably drowned, with the great outcry of all the hoft. The like hapned also to many mules, camels, and sumpter horses; Vpon whose backs diuers persons being mounted, in hope to haue passed dry ouer the riuer, were likewise headlong onerwhelmed therin. With great complaints and blasphemous cursings was the whole night spent, by them that were yet on this side the riuer, whose fears were not a little increased by the example of their vnfortunat fellowes before drowned. And like enough it was, some pestilent sedition to haue insued thereupon, had there not a shallow foord by great chance bin discouered, which gaue safe passage to those that were left. For in that passage the people made in following *Mustapha*, the grauel in the bottom of the riuer being raised & remoued by the heauy hoofs of the cattel, was driuen down the riuer to a place where by great good hap there was also a foord; and there gathered together in a heap, had in such sort raised the depth of the chanel, that it made as it were a shelf for their commodious passage; so that the remnant of the Army, cariages, and artillery passing ouer the same, there was not so much as one man that perished. So hauing with much difficulty at length got ouer the riuer of Canac, they refreshed themselues that day and the next, and there staid vntill the whole Army was mustred and again put in order. Remouing thence, the day following they incamped in certain barren champains where was neither corn nor cattel; neither could they perceiue or learn, that in those quarters were any Villages at all. By means whereof the hunger of their beasts increasing, they were inforced to giue their horses and mules leaues and stalks of very dry and withered reeds, and such other like things of little or no sustenance at all: & the men themselues were fain to satisfie their hunger with those vtmost reliques which they were fain to pick out of such poor victuals as now by corruption were become lothsom to mans nature: and that which was worse, they saw no end of these miseries they were so entred into. Notwithstanding there was now no looking back, but needs on they must, and follow the fortune of their leaders; among whom *Mustapha* before all the rest set forward on his intended journy. He had not long marched, but there was discouered good store of sundry plants, and shortly after, a very large plain Countrey all greene and flourishing, and garnished with many Trees. By the only sight whereof euery man was refreshed with the hope of reliefe, and with more than ordinary pace hasted, vntill they were entred into those Champaignes, which abounded with all kind of Corne and fruits that could be of an hungry man desired. In this place did

8000 Turks drowned.

Famin in the Turks hoft.

The Turks Army refreshed.

did euery man satisfie his appetite, and forgot in part the forepassed calamities. Thorow this fruitful and pleasant country *Mustapha* leading his Army, at last arriued at Eres, the chief city in that coast of Sirvan as you trauel from Georgia.

This city of Eres was forsaken of a number of her inhabitants, so soon as it was known that the Turks were come to Canac; who all followed their great gouernor *Samir Chan*, who with *Ares Chan* gouernor of Sumachia, and other the gouernors of Sechi and other places of Sirvan, forsook the cities, and altogether withdrew themselues into the mountains, as places of more surety, attending the euent of these so great motions. So that as the Turks entred the city without disturbance, so were they with the prey they found therin nothing inriched: for in this common danger euery man had caried away with him the best things he had. Here *Mustapha* staid with his army 22 days, during which time he erected a fortres in the said City, whereupon he placed 200 smal pieces of artillery, and for the keeping therof appointed *Caitas Bassa* with an garison of 5000 soldiers. In the mean time also he commanded *Osman Bassa* (one of the voluntary captains) with 10000 men to possesse Sumachia, somtime the metropolitical city of that prouince, with the title of Visier and gouernor general of Sirvan. Giuing him further in charge, That in any case he should cleer the passage to Derbent, and giue present aduertisements to the Tartarians, of his arriual there; whom he supposed by that time to bee come into those quarters, for that they had before so faithfully promised vnto *Amurath*. *Osman* comming to Sumachia, presently seised vpon the City, and was friendly entertained by those that remained there: whom he likewise curteously intreated, without doing or suffring any outrage to be don vpon them. Of which his curteous vsage they of Derbent vnderstanding, sent presently to offer their city to him; beseeching him to receiue it into his protection, and to defend them from the Persians: vnder whom although they had long liued in subjection, yet differed they from them in the ceremonies of their Mahometan superstition, wherein they better agreed with the Turks.

Mustapha returnes out of Sirvan.

Mustapha hauing thus brought the country of Sirvan into the Turkish subjection, and finished his fortresse at Eres, and put all things in such order as hee thought best; importuned by the Ianizaries and the people of Grecia and somwhat inforced by the season of the yeare, which was now far spent, departed from Eres, and turned his course homeward towards the country of *Alexander* syrnamed the Great, as he had promised in his late passage to Sirvan. And hauing trauelled a long iourney, he sent before him certain Enginiers and pioners to make a bridge ouer Canac, so without danger to passe ouer his Army. Hauing passed the Riuer, he gaue notice to *Sahamal* (one of the Lords of Georgia) of his arriuall: who presently came and yeelded himself as Vassal to the Turkes; and being entertained of the Bassa with great pomp, and rewarded after the Turkish manner, took his leaue, and so returned into his mountain of Brus.

Mustapha setting again forward, and trauelling by night, because he would not lose the opportunity of the fair weather, by the error of his guids lost his way, and so fell into rough and difficult passages, wherby he was inforced to wait and stay for day light; which arising, did manifest vnto them, that they were now entred into the countries of his friend *Alexander*: and therfore he gaue forthwith proclamation thorow all the army, That no man should vpon pain of death be so hardy to molest or disquiet any of the subiects of *Alexander*, but to haue good respect vnto them, and to intreat them with al curtesie. The day following he stil trauelled on in the same country; when there arriued from Zaghen certain Embassadors of *Alexanders* with great abundance of cattel, corn, fruits, and other relief sent for a present to the General; with a solemn excuse that he came not himself, because the infirmity of his body would not suffer him. Wherwith *Mustapha* rested satisfied; and leauing the city Zaghen on the right hand, caused the messengers of *Alexander* to guid him the way to Teflis: which they so directly did, that within the space of three daies they conducted him thither with his army, without the feeling any annoiance whatsoeuer. From whence they returned, being wel rewarded for their pains by the Generall *Mustapha*. Who now comming to Teflis, found the garison he had left there for the keeping therof, so hardly pinched with famin, that they were glad to eat cats, dogs, sheep-skins, & such like vnusual food: for neither durst they for fear of the Enemy go out of the castle to prouide for themselues; neither if they had so don had it any thing auailed, such was the carefulnes of the enemy in keeping of his things. But now by the coming

Mustapha relieues his distressed garison at Teflis.

ming of the Generall they were relieued with meat, mony, and plenty of all things. Hauing staied there two daies, he put himself againe vpon his way, and with fire and sword destroied whatsoeuer came in his way in the Champains subject to the said city: only the sepulchres of *Simons* progenitors (lord of that country) were left vntouched by the Turks fury. The next day they trauelled ouer rough and ragged mountains, full of a thousand difficulties, which were the more encreased by wonderfull great snowes that were fallen: by reason whereof, many soldiers, horses, camels, and mules perished. In which distresse the army continued two daies; during which time the souldiers were fallen into such a disorder, that forgetting the feare of the enemies country wherein they were, euery man without regard tooke vp his seuerall lodging apart, some here, some there, where they might find either some thick bush or some small cottage, or some quiet valley to shelter themselues in from the wind, the snow, and the storms. Of which disorder certaine Georgian Lords vnderstanding by the scouts which from time to time waited vpon the Turks army, joyned themselues together, and in the night secretly approched vnto it, expecting the opportunity of performing some notable exploit: and hauing obserued, That *Hosaine Bey* had withdrawne himself with his regiment from the rest of the army vnder certaine mountains, to defend himself from the storme and wind; they tooke the occasion presented, and so assaling him, slew his slaues and all his squadrons; took a great booty of many loads of mony and apparell; led away with them all his horses, and whatsoeuer els they could find, and scarce gaue him leisure to saue himself, by flying into the tents of *Beyran Bassa*. The next morning the Turks remoued, and in the euening came to a castle called Chiurchala, where they staied a whole day to make prouision of victuall: which was attempted by sending abroad many of their slaues into the fields, conducted by them of the castle, who were all miserably cut in pieces by the Georgians. From this place the Turks army departed in great hunger, ouer diuers rough places of the Georgians, where they were oftentimes faine to rest themselues: and at last came to the confines of *Dedasmit*, of her called the widowes countrey. In the entrance whereof, they must needs passe thorow a narrow streit, betweene certaine mountaines, where the riuer Araxis windeth it selfe with a thousand turnings in the low valleys: a dangerous place, and so narrow, that no more but one man alone could at once passe through it. Betweene this streit and a very thicke and hilly wood, they lodged vpon the banke of the said riuer, and from thence they remoued the next morning, and trauelled ouer very steep mountains and rough forrests, ouer yce and snow more harder than marble, and ouer other hanging rocks, in such miserable sort, that many camels, mules, and horses, tumbling downe headlong into the riuer, there miserably perished. Through these ruinous crags and diuers other miseries, they marched all the next day, and after that another day also, as miserable to the army as the former: and so at last being sore afflicted with hunger, spoiled of the enemy, tormented with the hard season of the yeare, and situation of the place, they arriued in the territories that lay vnder Altuncala, or Golden Castle, the princely widowes palace, where they had all manner of relieso, for all the miseries they had endured since their departure from Chiurchala, by the space of six daies (which if he had bin a faire common trauelled way, might haue bein performed in one only daies iourney).

The misery of the Turks army in passing the streits of Georgia.

The widow, with *Alexander* her eldest sonne, came downe from the castle, and went vnto the pauilion of *Mustapha*, offering him diuers Presents, and promising vnto him all faithfull obedience. Whom *Mustapha* courteously received, declaring vnto her, what honourable entertainment he had giuen to *Manuchim* her younger son there present, who had bin with him in all the expedition into Sirvan. And for the present, dissembling the priuy displeasure he bare against *Alexander* (whom he thought to haue bin one of them that assisted the Sorians in their returne from the campe) he embraced him courteously, and praied her to be content to leaue him also there with him: giuing her further to vnderstand, that he would send both her sonnes to Constantinople to *Amurath*, with letters of credence for their yeelded obedience, for their fauour shewed to his army, in giuing it so secure passage, and so many helpes: and lastly, that for their good deserts, they might be of the said great Sultan both honorably entertained and rewarded. The aged Lady, although her minde was hereuitball sore troubled, yet outwardly in her countenance shewed her selfe pleased; and seemed courteously to yeeld, what she was of necessity constrained to graut: not well for that he was already possessed of one of her sons, but also for that both her selfe and her whole state were now in his power; and as it were at his

The Georgian widow submitteth her selfe, with her sonne Alexander to Mustapha.

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deuotion. And therefore leauing both her sonnes behind her, she returned her selfe heauy to her castle.

Mustapha commeth to Erzirum, & dischargeth his army.

In this place *Mustapha* hauing refreshed his army two daies, departed thence toward Chars, and after many daies trauell at lost arriued at Erzirum, to the great rejoycing of the whole army, which was there presently discharged by the Generall, without any mustering at all, and leaue giuen for euery man to returne into his country.

Mustapha magnifieth his own exploits to Amurath.

Mustapha setling himselfe in Erzirum, dispatched posts with letters of plentifull aduertisements to his great lord and master, of all things that had passed: not forgetting to magnifie his own exploits aboue measure. He certified him of the battels he had had with the Persians, the obedience he had receiued of the Georgians and Siruanians, the mutiny of his owne souldiers, the fortresse he had built at Eres, the garrisons left in that city with *Caitas Bassa*, and in Sumachia with *Osman Bassa*: and in briefe, whatsoeuer else had passed, and whatsoeuer he had taken from the enemy. Neither did he faile to propound vnto *Amurath*, what he thought conuenient to be attempted the next yeare, for the strengthening of those places he had already conquered, and for preparing the way for new enterprises. And principally he put him in mind of a fortification to be made at Chars, a place very fit for any passage into Georgia or Armenia, by scituation fruitfull and commodious both for men and cattell. And withall he sent vnto him the widowes two sons, *Alexander* and *Manucchiar*, the Georgian Princes; certifying him of their submission, and that hee had receiued in their countrey all good entertainement and friendly welcome: and withall declaring his opinion, That *Manucchiar* was the meeter man for gouernment than his brother *Alexander*, and the readier to do him seruice. Greatly did *Amurath* commend the valor and diligence of *Mustapha*, and highly pleased himselfe with this conceit, That of these beginnings might grow mighty conquests, to the enlargement of his Empire, and that by this meanes he should be able to surpasse the glory of his predecessors. And the more his ambitious thoughts were occupied about these wars, the lesse he troubled himselfe with thinking how to annoy Europe with his forces.

It was not long after the departure of *Mustapha* from Eres, but that the Tartarians hauing left the fens of Moetis, and the vnmountable shores of the Blacke sea, and hauing passed ouer the rockes vpon Cholchis, and surueyed the frozen crags of the mountaine Caucasus, were now arriued vpon the confines of Siruan, and there attended the commandment of the Turks. These Tartarians being of them that are called Praecopenses, to the number of thirty thousand, conducted by their lord and captain *Abdilcherai*, a yong man of great valor and fame, and of a comely personage, were come according to the faithfull promise of *Tartar Chan*, with full resolution to attempt whatsoeuer should be commanded them in the name of *Amurath*. Now *Osman Bassa* vnderstanding of their approch, according to the charge before giuen him by *Mustapha* the Generall, enuited them to enter into Siruan, and by encreasing of the Turkish forces, to further these beginnings of *Amurathis* glory, and these his conquests (or more truly to say, these magnificall & famous termes of victory.) All which was most diligently put in execution by *Abdilcherai*: who hauing entred the yron gates where Derbent standeth (which by the Turks at this day is called *Demir Capi*, and signifyeth the gates of yron) and so from thence passing into the country of Siruan, there staied, and thereof gaue aduertisement to *Osman*, as was by him appointed. *Ares Chan* late Gouernor of Sumachia, who for feare of the great army of the Turks, had abandoned the city, the chiefe place of his charge, and betaken himself to the safegard of the mountains, hearing of the departure of the Turkish Generall, resolued with the other Gouernours of Eres and Sechi (who following his example, had in like manner fled) now to returne againe to their forsaken country, and to make proofe if he could by any meanes take reuenge of the injury done vnto him by the Turks. So passing vnder Sumachia, & hauing put to the sword certaine of *Osmans* straglingvictuallers that were gone out of the city, he encamped with all his people a little from Sumachia, and by good fortune surprised certaine messengers sent from *Abdilcherai* the Tartar, to certifie *Osman Bassa* of his arriuall, and to know his pleasure what he should put in execution. These Tartarians brought before *Ares*, after much torture disclosed the letters they carried: which the Persian captaine read, and considering the great number of the Tartarians that were come (for the letters made mention of thirty thousand) he resolued not to stay any longer in those quarters, but presently raised his campe, and retired towards Canac, meaning from thence to certifie the king of those nouelties, and

A vpon the banks of the said riuer to attend the kings answer. The Tartarian captaine comming to Sumachia, was appointed by the Bassa to passe ouer the riuer Canac, into Genge, the country of *Emanguli Chan*, with the spoile thereof to enrich himselfe, and by all meanes to make his arriuall to the Persians most terrible. With this charge the Barbarian departed, thirsting now for nothing more than for the bloud and spoile of the enemy: and with posting journies came to Canac, where *Ares Chan* was yet incamped whom he vpon the sudden most furiously assaulted, and like a deuouring flame discomfited all the hoast. And taking him aliue, sent him to Sumachia to *Osman*, who forthwith caused him to be hanged by the necke out of a lodging in the same statehouse where he had not long before sat as Gouernour. The Tartarian after that, swimming ouer the riuer, and coursing a little aboue Genge, found *Emanguli Chan* with his

Ares Chan hanged at Sumachia.

B wife, and all his family, and a great part of the nobility of Genge in a vally hunting the wilde boore; and assailing him, put him to flight, took from him his wife, al the ladies, & many slaues, and slew many of the rest that were come thither to see the sport: and after that rode on to Genge, which he tooke, and yeelded it wholly to the fury and lust of his barbarous souldiers, who left no maner of inhumane cruelty vnattempted, in satisfying their immoderat and barbarous affections. And so being loded with the spoiles, and weary with the slaughter of their enemies, they returned merrily toward Siruan: & passing again ouer Canac, came to the higher side of Eres into certain low champaigns, enuironed about with hils, & there hauing pitched their tents, without any feare setled themselues to sleepe and to rest their wearied bodies.

Emanguli Chan taken, & Genge sacked by the Tartarians.

In the meane time, and long before these actions, were newes come to the Persian court of C all the Turks proceedings: whereupon the Persian king hauing gathered new forces, had dispatched *Emir Hamze Mirize* his eldest sonne with 12000 souldiers to passe into Siruan, to see what hurt the enemy had done, and to attempt the reuenge of the forepassed injuries; but aboue al things to punish the vallany of them of Sechi, and the other cities of Siruan, that not induced with any necessity, had so voluntarily yeelded themselues to follow the obedience and religion of the Turks. The Persian Prince departing from Casbin, accompanied with his mother *Begum*, who would needs follow her beloued son, was on his way towards Siruan, vnder the guiding and gouernment of *Mirize Salmas*, chiefe of the Sultans; and had now left behind them the countries of Ardouill and Caracach, when he was certified by the aduertisements come from *Ares Chan*, of the arriual of *Abdilcherai*, with his great number of Tartarians, D and was thereby at the first strucken into a great quandary, and almost out of comfort: yet prickt forward with an honourable desire of glory and reuenge, hee prosecuted his intended enterprise of Siruan, and hastening his journey, came to Eres long before the king his father thought he could haue so done. This his notable celerity serued him to great purpose, for that *Caitas Bassa* was boldly gone out of the fortresse, and went spoiling the country, carrying away with him whatsoeuer he met withall, and committing such insolencies as hungry soldiers beyond all honesty vse to do in strange and fruitfull countries. But when he was in the midst of these spoiles, and least feared the enemy, he was suddenly assailed by the Prince, and hauing no means to escape his fury in this extremity, after a fierce and bloudy battell (wherin the Turks although in number few, yet shewed many effects of valor) he was there slaine with all his soldiers, leauing the fortresse, the spoiles, and the country committed to his custody, free to the E pleasure of the victor: which the Persian Prince hauing once againe gotten into his possession, tooke away the two hundred pieces of artillery that were left in the fort by *Mustapha*, and presently sent them to Casbin to his father.

Eres recouered by the Persians.

The Prince encouraged with so happy a beginning, leauing his mother at Eres, followed on his journey toward Sulachia, but by the way descending the hile, he discouered where the Tartarians lay incamped. Whereupon he stood in great doubt, whether to aduenture vpon so mighty an enemy, or to content himselfe with the victory he had already gotten, and so to returne into Persia: to return he thought too great a shame, and chose rather to aduenture himselfe so most manifest perill. And therefore descending the hill, and drawing nigh the enemy, F he perceiued that the army was all laid downe to rest, and that their horses were some couched, some standing, but all vnsadled: whereupon without any stay, setting spurs to his horse, he pricked forward with all his hoast, and most terribly assaulted the Tartarians, now buried in their spoiles and sleep; and hauing slaine their first and second watch, although with some losse, among the tumultuary souldiers he made an vniuersall confusion and slaughter, putting

some to flight, killing others, and taking diuers of them captiues. Among whom was their G
Generall *Abdilcherai*, who was taken aliue and sent to the King.

Sumachia besieged by the Persian Prince.

After these victories, the Persian prince recouered Sumachia, and compassed the citie round about, wherein the Turkish Bassa *Osman* sat as Gouernour, to the reproach of Persia; and there encamping himselfe, sent word to *Osman*, That if he would yeeld himselfe, he would let him depart with life and goods; otherwise if he would obstinately hold it out, and not yeeld the City, which he so vnjustly possessed, he should be constrained to surrender it by force, and his life withall. *Osman* who as then knew nothing of the Tartarians ouerthrow, but still hoped of their returne, thought it best to entertaine the Prince with faire words vntill their comming, and therefore gaue him courteous answer, That he was very ready to yeeld vp the city; but withall intreated him, that he would stay but for three daies, and grant him time to put all things in H
readinesse, that so he might freely depart, as it had pleased him in curtesie to offer. The Prince glad of such an answer, supposing it to haue proceeded of a sincere meaning, expected of the Turke the performance therof. But *Osman* meaning nothing lesse, than to commit himselfe to the faith of his enemy, and seeing that the Tartarians whom he looked for, appeared not, be resolued to saue himselfe by secret flight; doubting, as he had good reason, that if he should longer stay, to be betraied by the inhabitants of the city themselues: and therefore somewhat before the assigned term of the three daies appointed for the surrendring of the city, he by the help of a dark night, and the couert of the high and rough crags, with great silence withdrew himselfe out of Sumachia, carrying away with him all his substance, and so in safety arriued at

Sumachia yeelded vnto the Prince.

Derbent. The next morning the inhabitants of Sumachia opened the gates of the city to the I
Prince: who seeing their infidelity, first by giuing of entertainment to *Osman*, and now by helping him to escape, without giuing him any knowledge therof, did put in execution the effect of his wrath & indignation, which euen at Casbin he had conceiued in his mind against them, and with great cruelty did punish the miserable and vnfortunate citizens, laying their houses euen with the ground, rasing both the old and new walls of that city, of late so desired a receit for the Turks. But when he was to depart thence, he stood in doubt, Whether to go on to Derbent, or to returne to Persia: the strength of that city, the approch of Winter, and the long journy he was to take homeward, persuaded him to lay aside the enterprise for Derbent: whereupon he resolued to returne to Casbin; yet first to make his returne by them of Eres and Sechi, and vpon them as vpon rebels to inflict well deserued punishment. So making his present K
repaire thither, spared neither sex nor age, nor any condition of persons, but vpon them all poured forth his furious indignation, without exception. Which done, he with his aforesaid mother *Begum*, and his army, though somewhat diminished, yet victorious and triumphant, returned to Casbin.

Abdilcherai beloued of the Persian queene.

Young *Abdilcherai* the Tartarian was kept safe in the Kings palace at Casbin, but with such easie imprisonment as was agreeable to his calling: which was day by day so inlarged, as that he seemed not to liue as a prisoner, but rather as a companion of those of the court, & as it were in apparant liberty. By which occasion hauing insinuated himselfe into the loue of *Begum* the kings wife, he spent his time in courting her, and she again in entertaining of him in all secret and couert manner. Yet these their mutual affections and interchangeable fauors passed not so L
secretly, but that in the court and all ouer the city it was a rife report, That the shamelesse lady, prodigall of her honor, had participated both her bed and her selfe with the Tartarian prisoner. Howbeit neither the King nor the Prince knew any thing of it. But the King perceiuing the yong gentleman to be generally commended, valiant, courteous, and of a comely feature, and withall nobly borne (for he gaue it out that he was the brother of *Tatar Cham*) persuaded himselfe, that it would stand with the great good of his state, of a captiue to make him his sonne in law, by giuing him his daughter in mariage: wherby he was in good hope there might grow such an amity and vnion between the Tartarian Præcopensis and himselfe, and that they would from thenceforth not only refuse to fauor *Amurath* in those wars, but also become enemies M
to him, and in the fauor of Persia turne their arms and affections against him. Which his deep and considerate purpose so displeased the Sultans of Casbin, that they sought by all meanes they could possibly deuise to auert the king from that so strange a policy: but all in vaine, for the king being fully resolued, and now vpon the point to make a conclusion of the marriage: the Sultans entering into the palace with their followers, and finding there the vnfortunate

Tartarian,

A Tartarian, ran him through the body, and cutting off his priuy members, flapped them vpon his mouth after a most barbarous and filthy manner. It is reported that the Queene was then also murdered by them: certaine it is, that the poore lady after that day neuer saw the light of the Sun: but whether it was put in execution by the appointment of the king her husband, or that the Sultans did it for the publike interest, is not certainely knowne. Vpon these murders sprung vp many troubles, and much ciuil dissention, threatning the vtter confusion of the Persian kingdome, to the singular benefit of *Amurath*. All which tumultuous disorders the King by bridling his own affections, and the motions of his son *Emir Hamze Mirize*, wel appeased, procuring at last a perfect vnity, as then most necessary for the defence of his kingdome.

Abdilcherai slaine in the court. The Persian Queene made away.

Osman Bassa being in Derbent (the only place of refuge now left for the Turks in Siruan) ceased not with all carefulnesse to deuise what he possibly could, for the assuring of that country
B (of late won, and now againe almost lost) vnder the gouernment of *Amurath*. For the better establishing whereof, together with his owne safety, he thought it good to enter into friendship with old *Sahamal* the Georgian, lord of the mountaine of Brus. With this man did *Osman* practise many tokens of good will; and he again interchangeably towards *Osman*: whereupon there arose great friendship betweene them, at leastwise in outward appearance: whereunto in short time there was added a strait knot of alliance: for that *Osman* tooke to wife a daughter of the said *Sahamals*, the greatest signe of his sincere loue towards him. Neuertheless shortly after *Osman* vpon some reasonable conjectures began to suspect (as indeed the truth was) that *Sahamal* for all the faire shew of friendship he made towards him, might for all that receiue some
C secret order from the Persian king, to betray him, and to free the city from the Turks, and so to reduce all that prouince vnto the antient deuotion: in which jealous suspition he was fully confirmed by the speeches of his wife, the daughter of *Samahal*, who rauished with the honor, valor, and riches of her husband, could not conceale any thing that she knew deuised against him, but frankly told him, That her father being secretly reconciled to the Persian king, held friendship with him, and that letters went between them of great matters, and particularly of the affaires of Siruan. Hereupon the Bassa persuaded himselfe, that all the friendship of *Sahamal* was but deep dissimulation, and the marriage of his daughter nothing but a meane to procure his death. Neuertheles, he made shew vnto his wife, as if he had made no such reckoning of it as indeed he did, but kept it in store to his owne safety, and the destruction of *Samahal*;
D whom for all that he still entertained with all honor and kindnesse due vnto a most louing father in law. But to preuent the malicious purpose of *Samahal*, hauing inuited him according to the custome of a certain solemne feast, he acquainted certain companies of his most trusty and valiant souldiers with his determination, enjoyning them, that as soone as *Sahamal* was entred into his court, euen in the very dismounting from his horse they should all fall vpon him, cut off his head, and put all his retinue to the sword. Which his cruell command was by them accordingly at *Sahamals* comming put in execution, he in lighting from his horse being slaine, and al his followers murdred, when forthwith was sent forth by *Osman* 2000 horsmen to spoile and sacke all the country of the said Georgian Lord, to the great maruell and astonishment both of far and neere. The Persian king hearing of these news, tooke the matter grieuously, as

Sahamal slaine by Osman.

E foreseeing that the recouery of that country and prouince of Siruan would proue a matter of great difficulty, and fearing greatly that it would still remaine (as indeed it doth) in the possession of the Turks. This was the end of the Turks attempts against the Persian in Siruan this yeare 1578, wherein they lost aboue seuenty thousand men, deuoured partly with the sword, and partly with famine and the other miseries of war. And so Winter comming on very sharply, euery man withdrew himselfe from the field, wholly attending the keeping of that they had already gotten, vntill the comming on of the next Spring.

Amurath aduertised by letters from *Mustapha*, of all that had hapned in the late expedition against the Persians, vpon these prosperous successes (which the Bassa had for the aduancing of his own credit described to be far greater than indeed they were) began to cast many deuises in
F his head, touching such matters as were to be attempted the next yere. And first he thought it necessary to send his forces again into Sriuan, to recouer such places as were first conquered by *Mustapha*, but afterward againe subdued by the Persian; so to establish his gouernment in that country. But vpon better consideration, he ceased further to think of that matter, for the great hope he had conceiued of the aid that was promised him by *Tatar Cham*, who had faithfully

The consultations of Amurath

assured

assured both him and *Osman*, that he would ouerrun that prouince anew, and do great matters in furtherance of the Turks designes: all which for all that fell out to be but windy words: yet in respect of this hope he laied Siruan aside, and committed the defence thereof to the false promises of the Tartarian, and the valour of *Osman*. And placing his ambitious desires with more haughty thoughts, he began to deuise with himselfe, for sending his army directly to Tauris, there to erect a fortresse; which being strongly fortified and furnished with a garrison of most valiant soldiers, should neuer be again subdued by all the power of Persia; and by this meanes to keep in subjection all those great countries betweene Tauris and Erzirum. Which his conceit being of great weight and importance, was much increased by the persuasion of others, very inward with him; euery man being almost of opinion, That it was an easie matter for so great an hoast in few daies to performe that seruice, and to pierce, not only into Tauris, but further to passe whithersoeuer he would easily desire. Yet after he had more deeply considered of an enterprise of so great importance, and with more indifferent judgement compared his own forces with his enemies, he began to find many difficulties and dangers, which in the heat of his ambitious desires he at the first saw not: for beside the length and tediousnesse of the journy, he doubted that in sending his army for Tauris, it might be on the one side assailed by the Georgians (of whose obedience he had as yet no great assurance) & on the other side by the Persians, and so brought into great danger; which he was alwaies to feare, whensoeuer he should haue occasion to send new supplies vnto the fortresse by him intended at Tauris. Whereupon laying aside all his former conceits, as too eager and perilous, he resolutely concluded with himselfe, first to make sure his own borders, and afterwards by little and little to enter into the enemies country, still fortifying in couuenient places as he went; and so surely, although but slowly, to triumph ouer his enemies, rather than by thrusting his army headlong vpon vncertainties, into places strongly fenced both by nature and the power of most mighty enemies, to be inforced with shame to abandon the enterprises so hastily begun.

Mustapha careful to put in execution Amurath his command.

Of this his resolution he aduertised *Mustapha* by writing; giuing him in charge, against the next Spring to prouide all such things as should be necessary for the building of certain forts vpon the way that leadeth from Erzirum into Georgia: that hauing made those waies safe, and brought the people vnder his obedience, he might afterwards attempt greater matters. Whereupon *Mustapha* presently directed forth precepts to the cities of Aleppo, of Damasco, Caraemit, & other places of Syria and Mesopotamia, for the taking vp of cunning workmen, of pioners, and such like, to the number of 20000: and likewise wrote to all the countries, out of which he had raised his army the last yeare, That all their soldiers, (yea, and in greater number also) should be in readinesse against the next Spring, to returne to the wars. The rumour whereof he caused euen to be spread as farre as Ægypt. He commanded also the taxes and tenths of those countries to be collected, and further, vsed the chambers of Aleppo, and other places, for such masses of mony as he thought necessary for these purposes.

In this while the two Georgian brethren, *Alexander* and *Manucchiar*, sent (as we haue before said) by *Mustapha* to *Amurath* at Constantinople, in doubtful hope expecting the end for which they were both sent vnto the court, were both examined, and exhorted to embrace the Mahometan religion: whereunto *Manucchiar* easily yeelded. Whereas on the other side *Alexander* his elder brother could by no allurements or means be induced to consent to so infamous and damnable a change of his religion, although he knew he should therefore be depriued of his state: but protesting his obedience at all times to *Amurath*, and his loue to his brother; requested only, that he might but as a priuat man go and liue in his countrey, there to be buried amongst his ancestors. Which his request the Turkish Emperor referred to the discretion of *Manucchiar*, to do therin as he saw good: who consented thereunto. Hereupon *Manucchiar* was circumcised, and the name of *Mustaffa* giuen him, with the title of the Bassa and Gouernour of Altunchala, and of all his mothers and brothers countries: and being thus created a Turke, had his brother *Alexander* a Christian, committed vnto him, and so both returned into their owne countries.

Manucchiar turneth Turke.

Alexander constant in his Religion.

Now in the Persian court at Casbin, were many consultations had for the repressing of the inuasions of the Turks. And among others carefull of those matters, *Emanguli Chan* Gouernor of Genge, doubting to lose his honourable gouernment, by reason of the late sacke of his city, and spoile of his country by the Tartarian; by those plots that were dayly in contriuing for the

Emanguli Chan saueth vpon him the defence of Siruan.

the sending of men into Siruan to impeach the designments of *Osman Bassa*, & if it were possible, to driue him out of Derbent; took occasion to offer to the King, vpon pain of his head to defend Siruan, and not to suffer *Osman* the Turk to attempt any new fortifications, or further conquests in that Prouince. Of which his offer the king accepted, and therupon the gouernment of Genge, & guarding of the country of Siruan against the forces of *Osman*, was frankly committed vnto him: And commandement giuen to the Gouernours of Tauris, Reiuan, and Nassiuan, and to diuers other Captaines that were neerest, to be ready at all times with their power to assist *Emanguli Chan*, if it should fortune either the Tartarians or Turks, with any great power to enter into Siruan: which order so taken, was thought sufficient for the security of that Prouince.

But how to protect the Georgian Countrey, was thought to be a matter of greater importance, euery man being almost of opinion, That some great power of the Turks should bee sent thither, for the more assurance of the conquest therof already begun, and for the succour of the fortresse at Teflis, which must needs otherwise fal againe into the hands of the Georgians. This matter so troubled the Persian king, as that he seemed to haue bent his whole counsels and thoughts therupon: when *Simon* a Georgian a famous captain (somtime prisoner with *Ismahel* the late King, at Cahaca, and by the familiaritie he had with him, seduced from the Christian faith; for defence whereof he had in the time of King *Tamas*, chosen to liue depriued of his liberty and state) thinking it now a fit time to obtaine at the Kings hands such help as he had long desired, for the recouery of his dominion vsurped by *Dauid*, otherwise called *Dant Chan*, his yonger brother (who for the obtaining thereof of King *Tamas*, had voluntarily renounced his Christian religion) offered now vnto the King his faithfull seruice, for the defence of that part of the Georgian Country wherein Teflis stood (being in right, part of his own inheritance) against the Turks: reprouing by way of disgrace, his younger brother of cowardise, and promising the performance of great matters in himselfe, both for the defence of that euill defended country, and further annoying of the enemy. With great content did the Persian King consent to the request of *Simon*, and named him *Chan* of all that Kingdom which he possessed before whilest he was a Christian: and sent with him *Aliculi Chan* into Georgia, with fiue thousand horsemen, and certaine pieces of artillery taken at Eres, when *Caseta Bassa* was slaine. *Simon* afterwards comming to Georgia, was joyfully receiued of his countrymen, and there pressed about three thousand soldiers of his owne and of his neighbours; excusing himselfe that he was become a Persian, not because he preferred the Mahometane superstition before the Christian Religion; but only so to be deliuered from his long imprisonment, and by that meanes to maintaine his estate. And in this order were the affaires of Georgia assured and strengthned in the best manner that might then be.

Simon with Aliculi Chan sent for the defence of Georgia.

Now began the Spring to approch, and euery man prepared himselfe to the discontinued 1579
trauels of the wars begun: and now were met together at Erzirum, out of all the wonted prouinces, all the Turks forces; with all things necessary for the intended war. With this army, in all things equall with the first, *Mustapha* set forward, and in twelue daies came to Chars, not perceiuing in his soldiers any signe of discontentment at all. And forasmuch as here they were to stay, and to fortifie both with wals and ditches that ruinated City, and that with as great speed as was possible; there was no remedy, but that beside the pioners and enginiers that were brought for that purpose, many of the Spaoglani, yea, and of the Ianizaries also, must be set to worke. Whereupon they all suddenly in a tumult, began with bitter protestations to tell the General, That their stipends wherwith it pleased the Sultan to fauor them, were not bestowed vpon them to imploy their forces and vertues in such seruile works; but onely with their swords and other weapons, to exercise that force and hardinesse for which they were esteemed worthy of that honour. Whereunto the Generall answered in most haughty termes, and not yeelding one jot to their inciuility, but vsing all meanes of authority and terrour, brought them to worke so much as he desired. So that within the space of 23 dayes the towers and wall were erected, the ditches digged, the artillery orderly planted vpon the walls, and the water brought round about it. Many inconueniences hapned in the army while they were busie in this worke; and namely vpon the 25 day of August, when they had almost euen finished the whole building, the souldiers endured a most sudden cold by reason of the snow that then fell in great abundance.

The meeting together of the Turks army at Erzirum.

Chars fortified in 23 daies space.

Snowes at Chars in August.

Chars

Chars thus fortified, the Generall resolued to send succors into Georgia to Teflis; without which it was most certaine that the fortresse would be yeelded to the Georgians: but in what sort to relieue it he remained doubtfull. To send part of his army with some valiant captaine seemed dangerous, and to go himselfe with all his forces, would sound (as he thought) to his discredit with his great Lord and Master; whom he had already made beleeue, that he had subdued the Georgians, and brought all that prouince to his obedience and deuotion. In this ambiguity, the desire he had to preserue his credit with *Amurath* preuailed: and so he made choice of *Hassan Bassa* son to *Mahomet* principall Visier of the Court, a gallant gentleman, and of great valour, to whom he deliuered betweene eighteene and twenty thousand soldiers; joyning vnto him one *Resuan* Captaine of certaine aduenturers that voluntarily offered themselues to follow the forces of *Hassan*; assigning vnto him likewise forty thousand duckats, and many loads of rice, meale, and barley, with other things necessary both for diet and war, and so sent him away for Teflis.

Hassan Bassa sent with twenty thousand to the succoring of Teflis.

Hassan with this charge set forward, fully resolued to put these succours into Teflis, or to lose all: and at length came to the famous streit of Tomanis, where the ouergrowne woods on the one side, and the deep vallies & craggy rocks on the other, would astonish a right constant beholder. When vpon the sudden, the Persians & the Georgians, vnder the conduct of *Aliculi Chan* and *Simon*, at vnawares set vpon the Turks, and joyned battell with them. For these two valiant captains remaining for the most part in the borders of Teflis and Tomanis with 8000 soldiers, waiting for some opportunity to annoy either of them of the fort of Teflis, or else such as should come to their succors; vnderstanding by their espials, of the comming of *Hassan* with this aid, had scattered themselues all alongst the said streight, in hope there to assaile the Turks, and holpen by the aduantage of the place, to driue them headlong into the deep valley, and at once to bereaue them both of their goods and life. But *Hassan* carefull of nothing more than how to auoid that danger, chose rather to make his journey through the thicke woods, and so as he might to escape the ambush that the enemy might lay for him vpon that streight passage. And so entring with his army into the wood, which he was to haue left vpon his left hand, to discouer what might be plotted against him, he was hardly charged by the enemy, and constrained to fight with a thousand windings and turnings in & out, thorow a thousand crooked paths and doubtful cranks, in a most confused medly, with great slaughter of his men: who not accustomed to this kind of fight, nor acquainted with the scituation of the place, were in the skirmish driuen so far, that downe they fell, and being not able to recouer themselues, were presently slaine. And thus with much ado he at length passed the streit of Tomanis. *Hassan* deeming himselfe much disgraced, by suffering his enemies, in number so far inferior, to haue don him so much harme, and so to haue escaped his hands; and further, considering that in such places sleights & stratagems more auaile than open forces; burning with desire of reuenge would needs stay neere vnto those streits, as if it had beene to refresh his wearied army, but indeed to try if the Persians would aduenture againe to trouble him, or no: and appointed *Resuan Bassa* with certain bands of the soldiers of Græce, and of his own aduenturers, to lie in ambush within the couert of the streight, attentiue to euery stir of the enemy. Two daies the Turks army lay thus diuided, and were now resolued the third day to remoue thence towards Teflis: when as the Persian captaines *Aliculi Chan* and *Simon*, vainely imagining that this stay of the Turks was for feare of the Persians, foolishly returned and gaue a fresh onset vpon the flanke of *Hassans* squadrons. Who forthwith raised all his souldiers, and giuing a signe to *Resuan*, with all speed compassed in his enemies, and streightening them on both sides, tooke some of them aliue, cut in pieces othersome, and put all the rest to flight. Among others that were taken aliue, was *Aliculi Chan* the Persian Captaine, who ouer rashly charging vpon the face of *Hassan*, fell into his hand. The next day following (being the eleuenth day after *Hassans* departure from Chars) he joyfully arriued at Teflis, where he found among the poore besieged Turks many miseries; whereof some were already dead, and some yet sicke: for they were so plagued with famine, that they not onely deuoured their horses, but euen the very skinnes of the same horses, of sheepe, and of dogs, and in such most miserable wants had passed the time: whom *Hassan* at his arriuall comforted with gifts and good words; exhorting them to persist constant in the seruice of their King, whose honour (as he said) was neuer more than there to be respected. And for as much as the souldiers of the Fort did with one voice request *Hassan* to appoint

The Persians assaile the Turks, and make of them a great slaughter.

The Persians ouerthrown, and Aliculi Chan taken.

The misery of the Turks in garison at Teflis.

appoint them a new Gouernor, because they did all mislike *Mahomet Bassa*; who the last yeare was left by the General in that fort; *Hassan* remoued the said *Mahomet*, and put *Amou Bassa* in his place: and so after he had filled vp the places of the dead souldiers with a new supply, and set all things in order, he tooke his leaue, recommending the charge and custody of that fort to their trust and valor. *Hassan* returning from Teflis, and being without any trouble come to the streit of Tomanis, was aduertised by his scouts, That it was strongly possessed by the enemy, and so shut vp with artillery, as that it was not to be passed through: for *Simon* thinking (as indeed it fell out) that *Hassan* would returne that way, had so belaied that streit; as that the Turks could not without most assured losse passe the same: which thing much troubled the Bassa, and filled his head with many conceits, how he might make his journy some other way, and decline the danger prepared for him. Thus perplexed, and altogether doubtfull what to do, or which way to turne himselfe, *Aliculi Chan* the Persian (who to purchase his liberty could haue beene content to haue done any thing) offered *Hassan* to shew him a short and safe cut, whereby he might without danger passe with his army out of that troublesome country; yet couenanting before, that he should promise him to set him at liberty for his so good seruice. Which his request the Bassa did not sticke in large maner to promise, although he afterwards to his great dishonor performed not the same. So bending his journy on the right hand, he was guided by *Aliculi* through strange and vncouth waies, out of those woods and dangers, not meeting so much as with any one of his enemies. But when the Persian Duke well hoping for his liberty, put the Turke in minde of his promise; he with deep and feigned sighs protested, That he was right sorry that he could not performe what he had promised to do for him, forasmuch as it lay not in his power to set any man at liberty, that was taken in battell by the soldiers of his great lord and souereigne: yet gaue him his faith, that so far as his intreaties and fauors with the Generall *Mustapha* could preuaile, he would vse all the most earnest means he could, to procure his liberty and returne to his own country.

Simon the Georgian perceiuing that the Turks were remoued, imagined forthwith, that they had taken this new way: but being afterward certified by his faithfull spies, that it was so indeed, he ran all headlong, & as it were desperat, to meet with this so happy an army. And al inflamed with rage for this great fortune of the Turks, he fel vpon the taile of the Turkish hoste which with vnmeasurable fury he wholly destroied, leading away with him all the people, all the horses, and all the treasure of *Mahomet Bassa* which he brought from Teflis, and all the treasure of *Hassan Bassa* likewise. As for *Aliculi Chan*, whom *Simon* most greedily sought for, he was sent away in the front of the army, so that he was not to be rescued. *Hassan* holding on his way, came to Chars in the space of eight daies after his departure from Teflis, and there presented vnto *Mustapha* the Generall, the Persian captaine *Aliculi*, recounting vnto him the danger he had indured, and what soeuer els had hapned in that expedition. *Aliculi* the vnfortunate Persian was by the commandement of *Mustapha* carried to Erzirum, and there in the castle committed to prison. Not long after, *Mustapha* returned himselfe also to the said city of Erzirum, with his army sore weakned and discontented, which was there presently by him discharged.

Simon destroies the remnant of Hassans Army, & takes from him his treasure.

Mustapha returneth to Erzirum, & there dischargeth his Army.

About the same time that these things were in doing, *Amurath* to make a safer and more easie passage for his forces into Georgia, sent *Vluzales* his Admiral with a great fleet into the Euxine sea to Mengrelia, called in antient time Cholchis; who entering the famous riuer of Phasis (now Fassa) there fortified, and laid such a beginning, that it is now one of the Turks proud Beglerbegships, although those fortifications shortly after the departure of the Admiral, were for the present againe by the Mengrelians demolished. And this was the end of the stirres of this yeare 1579.

Of all these successes *Mustapha* afterwards sent aduertisements to the court to *Amurath*, recounting vnto him the fortifying of Chars, the deserts of *Hassan*, as well for the succouring of Teflis, as for the taking of *Aliculi* the Persian. And because the said general had the yere before persuaded *Amurath*, That the country of Georgia and the people thereof were brought vnder his obedience, to the end that he should not maruell at so many losses and so many battels, and therby doubt of some false informations, he declared vnto him, that al these troubles were not raised by the natural and homebred Georgians, but by two certain captains *Aliculi* and *Simon* sent out of Persia, who had made all these stirs: of which one of them now remained with him in prison, for him to determine of at his pleasure. With great delight did the Turkish Empe-

rour

Hassan Bassa for his good seruice rewarded by Amurath.

rouered all that *Mustapha* had written, and by two of the Gentlemen sent to *Hassan* G
barticaue all gilt and fur, called a Sonner, a sangiat of gold and pearle, and a rich garment of
cloath of gold, in reward of his good seruice, for which he greatly commended him, with
all gaue order, That *Mustapha* should be kept more he was in the castle of Erzirum, in diligent
and safe custody.

The seuerities of the Turke much troubled the Persian King in his court at Cashin, con-
dering, that now they had both throughly acquainted themselues with all the passages into
Georgia (in the difficulty and roughnesse whereof consisted the chiefe defence of that pro-
uince) as also that diuers of the Georgian Princes were more than inclining vnto the Turkes
seruice; so that he could not but justly feare, that his enemies would in time begin to pierce
into the noble cities of Media the greater, yea, and peraduenture euen vnto Tauris before any H
of the rest. Which his care of forcine inuasion was doubled with domesticall feares; *Mirize*
Salman his chiefe Visier, and vpon whom he most rested, still filling his head with a jealous su-
spition, That *Abas Mirize* his son (made gouernor of Heri by *Tamas* his grandfather) was about
in these troubles with the Turks to proclaime himselfe king of Persia, to the great ignominy
of his father, and prejudice of *Emir Hamze* his eldest brother, the worthy and vndoubted heire
of that kingdome. This *Mirize Salman* (according to his longing desire) had married a daugh-
ter of his to the said *Emir Hamze*, with the consent of the king his father; but yet not content
with that honour, ceased not continually with ambitious deuises, to seeke out meanes how to
bring to passe, that the Persian estate might wholly remaine to his son in law, vndiuided and
entire from the participation of his brethren; & therefore little regarding the perils that might I
happen from the Turke, and blinded with the desire of his owne greatnesse, he went about to
ruine the King (being a man very credulous and inconsiderat) against *Abas Mirize*; either to
take him and commit him to prison, or at least to bereaue him of all authority and command.

And the better to persuade the king thereunto, he discouered vnto him how little *Abas Mirize* his sonne had respected him in diuers occasions; and that in these late wars he had not so
much as sent forth one man against the Turks, but had forbidden such as were of his jurisdi-
ction of Heri, to come to Cashin, at such time as they were summoned both by letters and
commandement, to haue passed with *Emir Hamze* into Sinan; by reason whereof not one of
them would stir a foot, answering, That they were enjoyned so to do by *Abas Mirize* their lord;
who had not only caused himselfe to be called king of Heri, but had given it out, that he meant K
to claime the succession in the whole kingdome. These complaints much preuailed with the
king, both in respect of the loue he bare to *Emir Hamze* his eldest son, and also of the credit he
gaue to the Visier; especially being accompanied with the crafty packing of the said Visier;
who as he was very cunning in such practises of himselfe, so did he make them much more ef-
fectuall with the effeminate king, by the meanes of diuers great Ladies, and other deuises that
were to him very familiar and vsuall. Insomuch that the King carried away with light beleefe,
did continually bethinke himself how to find opportunity to represse the boldnesse of his di-
obedient son: not forgetting for all that, to make such preparation against the Turks, as should
be sufficient to stay their passage to Tauris, if they had any purpose so to do. But leaving the
Persian King to his troubled cogitations for a while, let vs againe returne vnto the Turks Ge- L
nerall, the great Bassa *Mustapha*.

Mustapha discharged of his Generalship, & called home to Constantinople.

He now lying at Erzirum, after many troubles abroad, was surprised and almost ouerwhel-
med with vnexpected quarrels at home, many grieuous complaints being made of him to *Amurath*, whereby he was induced afterwards to take from him his Generalship, and to call him to
the Court to giue account of his actions. Which seemed not to be done without cause, he hai-
uing before raised a great discontentment in the minde of *Amurath*, by sending such a strong
power to the succors of Teflis: whereby he conjectured, that the affaires of Georgia were not
in such security as *Mustapha* had already informed him they were, and also generally offended
the minds of the soldiers of his army, who all in an vprore, accused him of improuidence and
prodigality, for that now this second yeere he had with so much ado gathered together such a M
number of soldiers, to the trouble of the whole empire, and infinit charge of their lord, and yet
performed nothing worthy the glory of *Amurath*, or answerable to so great a charge. Which
complaints although they were of some moment, yet would the Turkish emperor for the great
fauours he bare vnto him his antient Tutor, neuer haue construed them so hardly against him,

as

A as for the same to haue been induced to haue depriued him of his place, if the inueterate enuy of *Sinan Bassa* had not ministred strength and force to these hard accusations, and set (as it were) an edge vpon *Amurath* to do what he afterwards did.

A comparison betwixt Sinan Bassa and Mustapha, two ancient enemies both to themselues and the Christian commonweale.

But forasmuch as the course of time, and processe of the present history, bringeth now forth these two mighty champions of the Turks together (the enuious competitors the one of the others honors, who liuing many yeares together, haue left the wofull remembrance of their greatnesse and valor vnto the World, but especially vnto the afflicted state of Christendome, the large wounds by them made, as it were yet bleeding) stay with me a while, and without griefe, if thou canst, behold the liuely counterfeits of two so great enemies (who both liued within these few yeares, and the later of them died but the other day) as they are by the skil-
B full hand of the cunning workeman most perfectly described, and thus to be seene.

MVSTAPHA.

Quid Cyprus iactas? Quid Medos mente subactos?
Quid fusus Persas? Quidque sata Persis?
Dum te perfidia damnat Bragadinus *ipso*
Theupulus *indigna morte perumptus erit.*

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

What dost thou boast of Cyprus won? or of the Medes ostentatious?
What of the Persians put to flight? or of thy deeds so lauish?
Whilest *Bragadinus* thee condemnes of extreme perfidie,
And *Theupulus* to thy disgrace, a shamefull death did die.

SINAN.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

Proud *Sinan* cease to vaunt too much of thy great trophies woon,
Or with stretched lookes for to exault the deeds by thee erst done:
For why? the Transylvanian Prince will take revenge of thee,
And swelling in thy greatest pride enforce thee for to dee.

R. Knolls.

This *Sinan* was a most valiant souldier to *Mustapha*, but withal thinking himself his match. For if *Mustapha* had [illegible] Tripolis, Guletta, with the kingdome of Tunes in Affricke, and if *Mustapha* [illegible] great courage, and reuerend for his yeares, *Sinan* would be his equall [illegible] yea, and dil not disdaine to thinke

A think himself the better too, for that in the enterprise of Giamen in Arabia he performed such an exploit as *Mustapha* neuer durst, not yet knew how to put in execution, so carying away the glory of that famous conquest: for which euer after there was between them a continuall heart-burning, one of them enuying at the others glory, and both in word and deed (as occasions fel out) in all things opposing themselues one against another. At last happens this opportunity for *Sinan*; who taking the occasion of many complainers against *Mustapha*, caused a great number of them to frame their supplications to *Amurath*, which he for his part did in most malignant maner inforce and exaggerate against his old aduersary; accusing him, That this second year he had most manifestly shewed himselfe to haue gon vnto the Wars not as a worthy General desirous of noble and honourable enterprises, but as a man that would make

Sinan accuseth Mustapha to Amurath.

B merchandise of bloud, and of his soldiers payes, imploying the most liberal prouision of corn and money not as the rewards of well-deseruing men, not to the erecting of such fabrickes as were needful, and might haue bin built therwithal, but onely to his own proper gain, so to inrich himself with his peoples losses, to the great shame of his Lord, and consuming of the publique treasure: adding herunto, That if the things don by *Mustapha* were well searched, it would be found that he had neglected many good opportunities, attempted many things in vain, and not don any good either to the Emperor or his soldiers, but only to himself. Whom rather than they would follow again as their General, al his people in an vprore shewed themselues ready and willing to aduenture themselues to any other far greater labour that by their Lord and Soueraign should be commanded them.

C These and such like complaints, with the hard opinion already conceiued against him by *Amurath*, were the occasion why he resolued to put him from his place. Besides that, he supposed it a thing dangerous to his state, to suffer one and the self same General any long time to command ouer so great armies; deeming it not so much for his honor, stil to imploy one man, as to shew that he had varietie and choice of subiects worthy of so great a charge. Wherfore being desirous to find out the truth of that was reported vnto him concerning *Mustapha*, hee sent the chief of his gentlemen porters with fifteen others, to bring him to the court, with his Chancellor and Treasurer, to shew the accounts of such monies as he had receiued, & to giue vp an account of their whole office. Vnto this messenger had *Amurath* deliuered three diuers letters, which he should warily shew as occasion seruede: one of them was so written, of purpose

Io. Leuncl. in suppl. Annal. Turc. p. 79.

D that *Mustapha* in the receiuing therof might by the same messengers be strangled: in the second was the Emperours warrant for the doing of that was to them commanded: and in the third was contained, That *Mustapha* should forthwith send his Chauncellor and Treasurer to the court by these messengers. *Mustapha* in the mean time by diuers means, but especially by the guilt of his own conscience, venting the emperors displeasure toward him, and suspecting (as the truth was) his life to be by those messengers sought after; at such time as the Captain porter came to his camp, found many delaies to put him off, and would not in any case be spoken withall. But when the messenger would endure no longer delay, he was at length admitted to his presence, hauing a circle appointed for him, out of which he and his companions might not stir, or approch neerer vnto him, the Bassa's gard standing in arms round about him.

E The messenger perceiuing the Bassa's warines, wilily pluckt forth the third letters, touching the sending of his Chancellor and Treasurer to the court. Then began the crafty old Bassa to find many excuses to haue delaied the matter; but being hardly prest by the messenger, and seeing no other remedy, he with much difficulty deliuered them both; couenanting first with the messenger, to haue their liues spared. Who comming to Constantinople, were forthwith clapt fast in the tower called Iadicula, as there to haue bin seuerely examined of al the Bassa's doings. But *Mustapha* after long delay comming at length to Constantinople the 9 of Aprill the Spring following, and vsing the mighty and potent mediation of diuers great Ladies and other his gracious friends in court, preuailed so much in that corrupt gouernment, as that hee was again at length receiued into *Amuraths* fauour, without any further proceeding against

Mustapha reconciled to Amurath.

F him, his Chancellor or Treasurer; who by his means were afterwards also inlarged & set at liberty: yet was he neuer after admitted to those honors which he persuaded himself were of right due vnto him, for his good and faithful seruice of long time don to the *Othoman* Emperours.

In this time that *Mustapha* was General at Erzirum, *Muhamet* the Visier Bassa was treacherously

cherously slaine at Constantinople, after whom shortly after died also *Achmet Bassa*, who succeeded in his place: so that the soueraigne dignity, in honour next vnto the Turkish Emperour, was by rightfull succession due to *Mustapha* the next Bassa; but that he was not thought worthy of it by him that might, and of right ought, to haue gratified him therewith, as shall be a little hereafter declared, when we haue briefly set downe the sudden and strange death of the said *Muhamet* the Visier, worthy in all Histories to be registred, as a mirrour for all such as administer iustice in so great place, to look vpon.

The strange death of the great Visier Bassa Muhamet.

This Bassa, a man of as great fame as euer was any that had gouernment in the *Othoman* empire, in the time that he all commanded, had for some light causes depriued a certain souldier of Constantinople, of his yearely pension, which with many labours and dangers he had gotten to maintaine himselfe; which pension, the Bassa bestowed vpon another souldier, so that the other poore soule remained in misery, altogether vnprouided for. Vnto which miserable estate seeing himselfe now brought, and not guilty to himself of any fault worthy so great punishment, he determined with himself to reuenge the iniury with the bloud of that great Bassa, and to bereaue him of life, that had bereft him of liuing: which because he could not by any fit means put in execution (by reason of the guard of slaues that keep the person of the Visier, so that no man can come neere him that holdeth that high place) except he could by some means acquaint himself in the Visiers house, and so insinuat himself into his acquaintance, he resolued to take vpon him the rude habit of those religious which the Turks call Deruislars, and after their manner to present himselfe euery morning before the Visier to aske his almes: and so he did, counterfeiting withall a certain kind of folly and lightnes of mind, as do those Deruislars, to make the people beleeue, that they contemne all worldly things, as men rauished only with heauenly cogitations; which yet was by some that knew him, thought to haue hapned in him, through the griefe he had conceiued for the losse of his stipend. *Muhamet* not only the first time, but also at all other times that this counterfeit hipocrit came before him, caused him to be comforted with his almes, and as it were with a kind of priuat stipend, enioined him euery morning to come to him into the Diuano, and there together with others appointed for the same purpose, to say his deuout prayers, and in singing praises to their wicked Prophet, to intreat God for his saluation: for it is a custome of all the noblemen, that at ordinary hours of prayers, all their priests assemble themselues in the Diuano, which is made ready for them, and there all together the Infidell wretches do with their vnclean mouths mumble vp their superstitious praiers, or rather most abhominable blasphemics. By this means did this dissembling companion so insinuat himself into the Visiers acquaintance, that the counterfet foole went in and out of the Diuano at his pleasure, no man gainsaying either his going in or comming out, but daily sat in the presence of the Visier, & so hauing said his payers, and taken his almes, with al reuerence quietly departed. At last when the crafty hypocrit thought that the time was come wherin he might most fitly execute his purpose, hauing vtterly resolued with himselfe to die, so that he might satisfie the desire he had of reuenge, so long couertly fostred in his heart; hauing conueied a very sharp dagger secretly into one of his sleeues, he went according to his custome, to require his almes, with an assured resolution (when hee had said his praiers, and reached out his hands to receiue his woonted almes) speedily to charge vpon the Visier, and with the dagger to strike him to the heart. According to the accustomed manner was the counterfeit hypocrit (for who would euer haue suspected so long and so traiterous a designment) admitted into the Diuano, where *Muhamet* the Visier sat in his house, to giue publick audience, and after the vsual maner, before any of the sutors that attended for answers and dispatch of their busines suspected any such deceit, he was admitted neer to the Visier, and sitting right against him, according to his old wont poured out those vain deuotions which those hypocritical Barbarians vse to mumble vp in their praiers: which being finished, whilst the Visier simply reacheth vnto him his wonted almes, the traiterous villaine in receiuing it, suddenly drew out his dagger, and once or twice stabbed it into the Visiers breast, out of which so deadly wounds gushed our his bloud and life together. Wherupon the standers by astonied with the strangenesse of the act, ran in, but lo, the old hoary Visier lay all foiled in his own bloud, deadly pale, and breathing forth his last gasp. The mischieuous murderer they presently laid hands vpon, & bound him fast: but the rumor of the strange fact did by & by fly to the Emperors ears: who suspecting that some of the other great Bassa's desiring to mount into

into that high dignity, had prouoked the traitor to do this detestable act, would needs vnderstand of the traiterous murderer, what occasion had moued him so trecherously to kill his Visier. Who resolutely answered him, That he did it to deliuer the city of Constantinople from the tyranny of him, by whom he was vndeseruedly depriued of his pension. But when he could get no other answer of him, he deliuered him into the hands of the slaues of the dead Visier, who with most exquisit torments put him to death.

Muhamet thus dead, after him succeeded *Achmetes* the next Bassa, who (as is before said) shortly after died also, so that it was now *Mustapha* his course to succeed in that chief room, for that he was the third in the order of the Bassa's. But when he had vsed al the means that he possibly could, to haue obtained that so honorable a place by order due vnto him; yet could he not find so much grace in the sight of *Amurath* his great Lord, as to haue it granted him vnder seale, although in effect he made him sit as Visier, and all matters of state were brought vnto him as chief Vizier; but in his stead the seale was sent to *Sinan Bassa*, who was now made Generall for the Persian wars. Which disgrace not a little discontented *Mustapha*, fearing lest some other strange accident should in short time light vpon him.

After that *Mustapha* was thus displaced from his Generalship, *Amurath* nominated *Sinan Bassa* to be Generall in his stead for this expedition against the Persians, and for the preseruation of Chars and Teflis; giuing him soueraign authority to command, and to set in order all such preparations as he should think necessary for such enterprises as he should thinke good to attempt in his first yeare: who although by reason of his great fauour, he grew haughty and glorious, yet did he not foreslow to discourse throughly with himselfe vpon all his designements: and namely, beside the succouring of Teflis, he determined to build a fort at Tomanis, to assure the passage thither from Chars; and withall to attempt all the means he could to induce the Persian king to send Embassadours for peace, with such conditions as should be acceptable to *Amurath*. With these and such like discourses did he busie himselfe whilst he was yet making preparation to set forwards toward Erzirum. 1580

Sinan Bassa chosen General for the Persian warre.

Of all these changes and alterations was the Persian King aduertised, as also that this new Turkish General *Sinan* was careful, how this long war might by some means be appeased, and a good peace concluded. Vpon which occasion, & by the persuasion of *Leuent Ogli* the Georgian, and of *Mirize Salmas* the Visier, he was induced to send embassadors to Constantinople, to demand peace of *Amurath*. Vpon which resolution he dispatched *Maxut Chan* (of some called *Maxudes*) his Embassadour, with direction that he should go to *Sinan*, and of him to receiue guids to conduct him to Constantinople with letters to *Amurath*, and as much as lay in him to labour for the pacifying of all these troubles: and in any case to conclude vpon it, so that he would be content with Chars and Teflis. With these instructions the Embassador departed, and at length arriued at Chars, and so came to Erzirum, and was from thence conducted towards Amasia. But when he came to Siuas, he found *Sinan* the Generall there incamped, gathring together his army for the execution of his designments: for *Sinan* vpon the arriual of *Mustapha*, departing from Constantinople the 25 day of April, was now come so far on his way. Of the comming of this Embassador, the Turks receiued great ioy, and news therof was in post sent by *Cicala Bassa* to the Court. The Persian Embassadour informed *Sinan* of all that he had to treat with *Amurath* on the behalf of King *Mahamet*; and laboured earnestly to persuade him, of the equity of the cause, and of his request: declaring to him, That forasmuch as both the nations were conioined vnder the law of *Mahomet* their common Prophet (though there seemed some smal difference not worth those troubles) it were a very inconuenient thing for them to contend among themselues, and to seek the ouerthrow or vtter destruction of one another: and that therfore he was in good hope to obtain of *Amurath* this desired peace, if he had no other cause wherwith he found himself agrieued, as in truth he had not. Wherefore he besought the Generall, that he would with safe conuoy conduct him to *Amurath*, to the end that if it were possible, these bloudy wars might take end, at the very report wherof, the rest of the world reioyced, and stood attentiuely waiting to see what would be the issue thereof.

The Persian King sendeth Maxut Chan his Embassador to Amurath.

This embassador, *Sinan* entertained after the best manner the rudenesse of his nature would afford: and thinking that the very fame of his valor, had wrought in the minds of his enemies this resolution to come to demand peace, granted vnto the Embassador a sure conuoy to conduct

duct him to Constantinople, and wrote to *Amurath* in his letters, all that he thought was fit to G
be demanded, representing to him what great and important matters (he hoped) might now
be obtained. But before he dismissed the said Embassador, he aduised him not to go to *Amurath*, without resolution to offer vnto him some great good conditions, and to yeeld vnto him
all that countrey which he by force of armes had before conquered: for he knew the mind of
Amurath very wel, that he was resolued in himself, not to yeeld so much as one hand bredth of
that ground which he had wonn with the sword. Which motion of the proud Bassa so troubled the Embassadour, that fearing he should not be able to conclude any thing, he stood in
doubt, whether to proceed on his journy to Constantinople, or to return back again into Persia: but considering better what belonged to his duty in so weighty a busines, and hoping to
receiue more reasonable conditions from the mouth of *Amurath* himself, he gaue large words H
to *Sinan*, and so with a safe conuoy departed from Siuas, and by long journies came to Scutari, and so passing ouer that little streit, the fourth of August arriued at Constantinople.

The admonition of Sinan to the Persian Embassadour.

The preparations of the Persian king against the Turks.

The Persian King in the mean time, stirred vp with the report of the Turks preparations, to
cause it to be noised, that he likewise intended some important matters, commanded all the
Chans and Gouernors of his kingdom, to meet together with all their forces at Tauris, where
he himselfe with the Prince *Emir Hamze* his sonne met them. And after many consultations
there had for the repressing of the Turkish inuasion (for as yet it was not certainly known what
Sinan meant to attempt) he resolued to send soldiers into Georgia towards Teflis, whither of
necessity, succors must be sent by the Turks to them of the fort: and withall, determined also
to goe himselfe with all his army from Tauris, to Caracach, a place very commodious and I
neer, to guard both Tauris and Siruan, being scituat euen in the middest between the one and
the other, and there to expect the remouing of *Sinan*, whose ambitious nature the king knowing, doubted, that he to surmount *Mustapha*, would attempt some greater enterprise; yea peraduenture to run euen vpon Tauris. But when it came to the point, that he should send some
of his Captains into Georgia, he made choice of such as had best experience of those Countries, and were neerest vnto them: with whom he sent *Tocomac* also, and the rest whose seruice
he had before vsed against the Turks; commanding them to ioine their forces with *Simon* the
Georgian, and by all meanes possible to annoy the enemie: whom if they should perceiue to
bend for Tauris, they should not faile to follow him; to the end they might ioine together
with him, and so encounter the enemies army. All those Captains were resolute men, and led K
with them ten thousand souldiers; which being ioined with them of Georgia, amounted to
the number of thirteen thousand: who arriuing at Genge, gaue knowledge to *Simon* of their
comming, and that in his behalfe they were ready to do great matters.

Now was the Persian Embassador with all due honour receiued at Constantinople, where
he was honorably entertained by the great Bassa's of the Court; but especially by *Mustapha*,
who within two days after suddenly died; of a surfet taken of eating too much of muske Melons, and immoderat drinking of Zerbet (a kind of pleasant drink which the Turks vse made
of water and sugar:) but most men thought him to haue poisoned himselfe, as fearing the former indignation of *Amurath* to be again inflamed by the new complaints of the Persian embassador against him, for that he in the time of his Generalship, had dishonorably suppressed L
certain embassages sent from the Persian king; which he now fearing to be called in question
for, the former storms as yet scarse well appeased, made himselfe now away. After his death it
was commonly reported, that if he had longer liued, he should haue been vndoubtedly strangled: which to preuent, he became the worthy executioner of himselfe, that had most vniustly
caused others to be most shamefully murdred. Which was the more like to be true, and the
rather beleeued, for that the infinit wealth he had of long time scraped together, was immediatly after his death taken into the Kings treasuries, some smal portion thereof being left vnto
his nephews: a most certain token of *Amuraths* indignation against him. The Persian embassador hauing audience the 7 of August, with many liuely reasons & much eloquence, persuaded
the Turkish Emperor to desist from the war begun, as contrary to the will & pleasure of their M
common Prophet *Mohomet*: as also to the peace, which was so roially, & with so many capitulations, not long before concluded between *Tamas* and *Solyman* his Grandfather; and was not
to haue bin broken, and wars raised, but vpon some great quarrell or injurie don; which the
Persians

A Persians had not at any time offered, but had alwaies wished vnto him all happinesse; as they
had manifestly declared, by sending vnto him an Embassage to that purpose by Sultan *Tocomac*: wherby he might plainly perceiue the good mind and zeal the Persian King had for the
maintenance of the peace. And although in the short reign of *Ismahel* there was a rumour raised, That he meant to go vnto Babylonia, and some such other like newes; yet that was but a
youthfull part, and an effect of that heat which is commonly proper to such as beeing kept
long in prison, canot vse their liberty with moderation, and had therfore receiued due punishment for it, by sudden and vnexpected death. But as for the King that now is, he did aboue all
other embrace amity with his Majesty, and therfore did most earnestly desire, that it would
please him to temper his anger conceiued, which had insenced him to take vp armes against
B a King so much his friend, being of the same religion, and better affected towards him than
all the rest of the Nations in the world.

This Embassador the Turkish Emperor dismissed without any resolution at all, but only gaue order, That whatsoeuer he had to say touching this peace, hee should communicate it with his Visier. Many were the discourses that hapned; for that the Turks required all those cities and countries which til that time he had conquered with the sword, or (as their proud maner of phrase is) wheron his Generals horse had trod, to be yeelded again vnto him: and the Embassador on the other side had no warrant from his King to yeeld more than that part of Georgia which is on this side the riuer of Araxis. Wherupon the said Embassador began to fear lest he should be suspected for a Spy, and so be euil intreated: wherewithall he did finde
C himself too manifestly charged by the hard speech which the Visier vsed toward him. Being
thus doubtfull whereupon to resolue, perceiuing himselfe strained to the grant of these demands, and receiuing also some threats withall, he determined with himselfe to inlarge his
speeches with the Visier in diuers and sundry particulars, and to giue him good hope that he
should be able to persuade his King to yeeld vp so much as *Amurath* had and did demand.
Heruponwas *Maxut Chan* in friendly maner and without any outrage sent from Constantinople to Chars, and commission giuen to *Sinan* (then at Chars) That without delay hee should
faithfully cause the Embassador to be conducted to Van, and from thence into Persia wherfoeuer he did desire. All which was faithfully performed.

But to return again to *Sinan* the Generall, who from Sivas had sent the said Embassadour
D to Constantinople (as is before declared) & being departed thence ariued at Erzirum, where
he took a suruey of his army and other prouision necessary for this expedition: and so from
thence was now come to Chars, from whence he dispatched the Persian Embassadour, much discontented that no other conclusion for peace could be wrought.

Sinan musters his army.

Maxut Chan at last arriuing at the Persian court, reported vnto the king all that had hapned in this his embassage: the sum wherof was, That *Amurath* would not condiscend vnto any condition of peace, vnlesse the whole countrey of Sirvan were yeelded vnto him, for that hee had once (as he said) conquered the same. Neither did he forbear to tel the King the suspition *Amurath* had conceiued of him, to haue bin a spie rather than an Embassadour; and of the large promises he was fain to make to the Turk, to auoid the manifest danger of imprisoment
E or death all which for all that now lay in his Majesties power to perform or not. The King
for the present remained well satisfied with that which *Maxut* had don, and in reward of his
great trauel and expences gaue him the charge of the Chamber at Tauris, naming him the Chamberlain of that rich and great city. Of which new office (though very honorable and of great importance) he took smal pleasure; for that *Emir Chan* his antient enemy was chief gouernor of that city, from whom he feared some dangerous trechery. Wherfore he appointed his deputy for the execution of the office, and withdrew himself from Tauris to Cassangich a place of his own, there to passe away the time vntil it should please the King otherwise to disposé of him. But *Emir Chan*, who still nourished in his mind the antient hatred hee had conceiued against him, tooke this as a most fit occasion to bring him into disgrace with the
F King: certifying him, That *Maxut* not contented with the preferment it had pleased him to bestow vpon him, had in contempt of his rewards abandoned the city of Tauris, and substituted in his place a most base person to represent the Kings Majesty, and to manage his Treasure: and that he absented himself far from that City and the court there, hauing withdrawn himself into the confines of Turky, no doubt for some mischieuous intent; either to yeeld

him-

himself vnto them, or else to haue intelligence with them, and was likewise ioyed to be guilty to himself of the great error he had committed, by offering Sirvan vnto the Turkish King, and making promise of such large conditions, whereby he had obtained such a sure and safe Conuoy to conduct him; when as he had before discouered himself to be a fauorer of the Turkes, and a traitor to his owne king: and that therfore it were good to make trial of his inclination, and so peraduenture to decline some great mischiefe, tending to the danger of the Persian state. This malicious accusation slily contriued, so wrought in the mind of the jealous king, that he commanded *Emir Chan* secretly to apprehend *Maxut*, and to bring him to the court, and if he could not by other means, then by torture to wrest from him the truth of all those matters. Glad was *Emir* to haue his enemy thus put into his hand, and thought it long til he had brought this shame vpon *Maxut*. Who hauing already heard some inkling therof, resolued with himself to do any thing, rather than to fall into the power of his fatall enemy. And therfore at such time as fifteen tall fellowes were for that purpose sent vnto him from *Emir Chan*, who in the kings name summoned him to the court; hee without making any shew that he took the matter otherwise than well, entertained them courteously, and made them good cheer: but when he perceiued them to be ouercome with sleep, which crept vpon them by reason of the excesse wherewith they had ouercharged themselues, hee caused them to be streitly bound, and with long cords hanged them down into a deep wel, and there shut them vp, secretly couered. Then gathering together the most precious things he had in the house, & setting his wiues, his children, his brethren, and nephews on horseback, fled with all his family in the euening, and the next day arriued at Salmas, and was there friendly entertained by the Turkish Bassa, and from thence conueyed to Van, where he was also curteously welcomed by *Cheah Bassa*, and honorably accompanied sent to *Sinan* the General; who very glad of his comming, sent him with all diligence to Constantinople to *Amurath*. And this was in effect the end of the first interparlance of peace betwixt the Turks and Persians.

Maxut Chan fleeth to the Turks.

Sinan staied at Chars eight daies, and there again surueyed his army and prouision; and afterward set forward toward Tomanis, with resolution there to build a fort. But beeing come thither, he could by no means put that his designement in execution, by reason of the immoderat rain, which continually for eight daies together fel in such abundance, as that neither did the Sun appear, nor the sky clear. Beside that, *Sinan* greatly feared lest the enemy taking the opportunitie of this rain, of the streit, and of the building, should assault his army, & finding it in euil plight, and out of order, greatly indanger it. Wherefore casting off his former determination for fortifying at Tomanis, he remoued thence to cary succors to Teflis: but so soon as he was risen with his Army and past the streit, *Tal-Ogli* Captaine of the Ianizaries at Damasco, and *Homar* Sanzack of Saffeto, hauing receiued secret intelligence, that hard by, a little out of the way, was good store both of corn and cattel, resolued to go thither to fetch in that booty: and so with two thousand soldiers greedy of prey they set forward. Now *Simon* the Georgian and the Persians following the Turks Army afar off, had diuided his souldiers into all such places as where there was either corn or water, or any such thing as might allure the Turkes to scatter themselues from the Campe: and perceiuing these hungry Turks carelessly to run headlong to lay hold on this desired booty, he suddenly set vpon them & cut them in pieces being disordered; so that of those two thousand escaped but *Tal-Ogli* the Captaine of the Ianizaries; *Homar* the aforesaid Sanzacke and all the rest beeing left dead vpon the ground.

Sinan holding on his way, in two daies came to Teflis, where presently calling a Councell of all the chiefe men of his Army, hee tooke order, That euery man should vpon his oath depose the truth concerning the greatnes of Teflis: which he did only in reproch of *Mustaphi* the great Bassa, who most vntruely had informed *Amurath*, That it was as great and populous as Damasco: wheras in truth it was not in any respect to be compared to that so famous a City. After that, he diuided the treasures and succors he had brought, among the souldiers of the Fortresse; cheering them vp with good words, & promises of great matters. And because the soldiers there in garison complained greatly against the Bassa their Captain, he caused a bill of complaint to be framed against him; & finding him guilty, That he had conuerted the soldiers pay to his own vse, he condemned him to the restitution therof, and so immediatly discharging him of his office, placed in his room *Guisuf Bey* a Lord of Georgia; who for the ancient

A tient enmity betwixt him and *Simon* had yeelded himself to the Turks; and was of them so welcommed, that *Sinan* trusted him with the custody of that fort; which with so many dangers had bin maintained vntil that day.

All things thus set in order at Teflis, *Sinan* with his army departed thence, and hauing passed the streit of Tomanis, there came vnto him *Mustaffad Bassa* (afterward gouernor of Aleppo) declaring vnto him, That not far off was great store of corn and cattel, and no body but a few Georgians to keep the same; and therfore wished him to send forth some to fetch it in, whereof if it had bin much more his army then stood in great need. *Sinan* was well affected to this *Mustaffad*, and therefore the easilier induced by him to send for the aforesaid booty. But mooued with the fresh remembrance of that which had happened to *Tal Ogli* and *Homar*, hee

B gaue order, That to fetch in this prouision there should goe out ten thousand horsemen and their seruants, with *Mustaffad* as their General. Now stood *Tocomac*, *Simon*, and the other Persian captaines in secret ambush, waiting when any of the Turkes should come to fetch in this booty. Whereupon the aforesaid souldiers beeing now come as they desired, and hauing almost charged all their mules and horses with that which best pleased them to make choice of, the hidden Persians all on a sudden issued out of their lurking places among them, & with great slaughter put them to flight, and with such fury pursued the victory, that they slew of them 7000, carrying away many prisoners aliue, and the mules and horses laden with the stolne booty. *Mustafad* was the first that fled, and the first that brought the vnhappy news of that ouerthrow to *Sinan*; which was forthwith confirmed by such as had by speedy flight e-

Seuē thousand Turks slaine.

C scaped the fury of the enemy. Whereupon *Sinan* dispatched the Bassa of Caramania with a great power, charging him whersoeuer he should finde the enemy, to set vpon him; and presently rising himself with his whole army followed the said Bassa: but all too late; for the Persians after the aforesaid victory, without staying had withdrawn themselues into their strong places, known only to such as were wel acquainted with the difficult passages of Georgia: and hauing there disposed of their prey, were now returning to await some fresh occasion of new slaughter. But when they descried the whole army of the Turkes vpon the rising of a certain hil, they were afraid to meet them, yea and stood in some doubt also, lest *Sinan* should descend from the hil and so assault them. For which cause they retyred themselues again into the strength of the mountains, yet not with such speed, but that the Turks ouertooke some

D few of them, and slew about fifty or threescore of them, whose heads in signe of triumph they carried a good part of the way vpon their speares point, and tooke prisoners about threescore and ten more.

At last *Sinan* with all his Army, hauing passed these dangerous places of Georgia, ariued at Trialà, where it was told him, That the Persian King in person himselfe, being already departed from Tauris, with an exceeding great Army was comming to bid him battel. At which newes he caused proclamation to be presently made thorow all his Army, That euerie man should put himselfe in readinesse for the voyage to Tauris, whither he himselfe meant to goe to meet with the King his enemy. In the mean time (as is reported) hee dispatched certaine Posts to the Persian king then at Carachach, to intreat him to send another Embassador vnto

E *Amurath* for peace; thinking by that means (as some do conjecture) to alter the Kings resolution for comming to assail him, if he had any such meaning. After this proclamation made, he descended into the open and large plains of Chielder, where presently he mustered his whole army, and gaue it out, That before he would set forward toward Tauris, hee would make triall of the readinesse and nimblenesse of his souldiers, as if they should presently join battel with the enemy. Which without further delay he put in execution the next morning, formally ranging his whole army in order of battel, and then sending out some few others to shew themselues vpon the top of certain hils, as if they had bin enemies that came to seise vpon his Army, he caused al his artillery to be discharged, and commanded euery man to skirmish & bestir himselfe altogether after the same manner as if the enemy had been there present before

F them: where the thundring of great and small shot, the thicke stormes of arrowes, with the brightnesse of the armour and weapons yeelding forth lightnings as if it had bin fiery beams, and the noise of Drummes and Trumpets, and other instruments of Warre, with the ensignes of blew and yellow flying in the winde, made such a medley of all things, as if it had bin the turmoile of a very battell indeed. In the end he caused the retreit to be sounded, and then setting

setting all his army in order again, made the like shew the second time, and so the third time also. Which was indeed performed with the great scorne and derision of his souldiers, who deemed it rather childrens play, than any commendation to the proud Bassa. These counterfeit shewes of war thus finished, yet did he not set forward toward Tauris, as hee had giuen it out, but loitred eight daies in those plains of Chielder. At which time there arriued out of Persia one *Aider* the Aga, as Embassador from the King, who was by *Sinan* with great joy entertained. Diuers were the things by this Embassadour propounded, such as had *Mauri Chan* before: but the conclusion of all was, That the Persian King would bee content voluntarily to relinquish Chars and Teflis, and so remain as he did before in amity with *Amurath*, and so desired *Sinan*, to conclude a peace with his master, if it might be; as for himselfe, this message done, he was presently to return into Persia. For this peace *Sinan* promised to deale with *Amurath*, so that the Persian King would send another Embassador to Constantinople. Whereupon the said *Aider* returned into Persia, and at Tauris declared to the King, what he had seen, what promises he had receiued from *Sinan*, and withal exhorted him to send a new Embassadour to the Turkish Court. After this, when the publique rumor of the comming of the Persian king was found to be false, *Sinan* in stead of going to Tauris, returned to Chars, where he idely staid a whole month, to the general maruelling and murmuring of his whole army, astonished to see themselues, to the great charges of the King, and the disturbance of the whole kingdom, brought forth not for any honorable conquest, but as it were only of purpose to make a vaine shew of war.

Sinan breaks vp his army.

At last he departed from Chars, for that Winter was now come on, and the frost and snow did his army great harm; and so comming to Erzirum, there presently dismissed euery man to go and winter in his owne Countrey, but remained stil himselfe in the same City. From whence he by speedy Posts diligently aduertised *Amurath* of the succours he had left at Teflis, of the losses he had receiued from the enemy, of all that which was by *Mustapha* misreported; of the comming of the Persian Embassador vnto him; of the promise made vnto him touching a new Embassador; and to be short, of all his whole actions. Besides all this, hee aduertised *Amurath*, That the enterprise of Persia was a very hard, long, and difficult matter, and such a one as needed another manner of preparation than had been as yet appointed for it. And that if he desired to subdue the whole kingdom of Persia, it was then very necessary that he should speak with him at large, and discourse of many particularities, which could not so wel without exceeding tediousnesse be declared by writing. After that, he sent other messengers also, to solicit *Amurath* for his returne to Constantinople; continually telling him, That it was not possible to signifie by writing, what he purposed to report to him by word of mouth for the better accomplishing of the enterprise begun. Nothing did *Sinan* more abhorre than this War, hauing his mind altogether bent against the affaires of the Christians in Europe, and therefore sought by all means possible to diuert those Warres from the East, into some other quarters. At last he wrought so much, hee entreated so much, he writ so many Letters, and solicited the matter so earnestly, that *Amurath* was persuaded to send for him to Constantinople, as soon as euer he was certified of the arriual of the new Embassador from Persia, of whom *Sinan* had before aduertised him. For he was resolued either to grow to a peace with the said Embassador, if he came with honourable conditions; or if he came not, or that after his comming they could not agree vpon the peace, then to put in execution those conceits wherof he must needs in particular talk with *Sinan* by word of mouth. At length the promised Embassador called *Ibrahim Chan*, a man of great eloquence, and highly honoured in Persia, came to *Sinan*; wherof *Sinan* gaue present intelligence to *Amurath*, beseeching him again to permit him to come to Constantinople. Which *Amurath* then granted. Whereupon *Sinan* forthwith returned to the Court, where he attended the vniuersall gouernment of the whole Empire. At his first comming to the presence of *Amurath* (wherein hee discourse not with him of any thing but of the comming of the Persian Embassadour) the conditions were set down which they were to require for the reducing of the Capitulations of this peace vnto good end. After which agreement the Embassador being now come, and most magnificently receiued at Constantinople, had audience. At which time he with much glorious speech labored to persuade *Amurath*, That his king earnestly desired a reconciliation, and to joyne his forces with his against the Enemies of the Mahometane Religion; and for that very purpose

pose, he was now especially come thither: which his good purpose, if it were answered with like zeale on his part, there would therof ensue the greatest vnity and friendship that euer was between any Mahometan Princes. Whereunto *Amurath* gaue him no other answer, but that he should therof talke with his Visier, and with him intreat of all matters concerning the peace: and so he was by *Amurath* entertained and dismissed both at one time.

Now had *Amurath* called to Constantinople his eldest son *Mahomet* (who afterward succeeded him in the Empire) being then about sixteen yeres old, to circumcise him, according to the custome of the Turks; following therein the inueterate Law of the Hebrews. Vnto which solemnitie many Christian Princes were solemnly inuited; who accordingly sent thither their Embassadors with great gifts and Presents, in token of peace & confederacy, namely *Rodulphus* the Emperour, *Henry*, the third the French King, *Stephen* King of Polonia; the State of Venice, the King of Persia, the Moore Kings of Morocco and Fez, the Princes of Moldauia, Valachia, and others. With al triumph and ioy was the circumcision of this yong Prince solemnised by the space of forty days and forty nights, in the great market place of Constantinople; where all the Embassadours aforesaid had their scaffolds prepared and furnished according to their degrees and States, & receiued such entertainment as might be shewed at such a kind of barbarous spectacle: Only the Persian embassador, who had also his scaffold seuerall to himself, but not regarded as the rest, reioiced not at these feasts and triumphs: for among sundry other wrongs and scorn done by the commandement of *Amurath* vnto the Persian nation (as by hanging vp certaine counterfeit pictures of Persians made of laths and sticks, and then burning them, and in many scornfull sorts abusing them) the Turke, for the great displeasure he had conceiued for the harm done to *Osman Bassa* and the Turks in Siruan much about that time, and for the disdain he had taken against *Ebraim Chan* (as one not condiscending to the conditions of peace which he expected, nor yeelding to any more than the other Embassador had done before, seeming to haue come as a Spie to mark the Turkish affaires, or to mocke *Amurath*, rather than to put in execution any good matter to pacifie the minds of the two mighty Princes) commanded the standing before appointed for him, in disgrace of him to be cast down, and himselfe and all his followers to be shut vp as close prisoners in the house of *Mahamet Bassa* at Constantinople; where he was so streightly kept, that though an hundred of his followers there died of the plague, which shortly after began to wax hot in the city, yet could he not obtain so much fauor as to be remoued into some other place, but there was inforced to tarry it out, vntill that afterward order was taken, he should be carried thence as prisoner to Erzirum. To end these solemnities, *Mahomet* the yong Prince was circumcised, not publiquely, but in his fathers chamber, by *Mechmet* one of the inferiour Bassaes, somtime the Emperor *Solymans* Barber.

Amurath circumciseth his eldest son Mahomet. 1581

To Leune. Sup. Annal. Turc. pag. 82.

Now whilst *Sinan* as great Visier sat commanding in Constantinople, the garrisons of Chars and Teflis (kept in by the enemie, and hauing receiued none other reliefe than a little which *Sinan* before his departure from Erzirum, had by good hap caused to bee secretly conueyed vnto them) were thought to be driuen to great wants. Which thing *Sinan* right well knew, and fearing lest those two places which had with so much ado been both gained and maintained, should for want of new succours fall againe into the hand of the enemy: he both boldly and freely counselled *Amurath* to send a new garrison to Van, for the safety of the countrey thereabouts, and then vnder the conduct of some valiant captaine, to send succours to Teflis. Vpon which point *Amurath* asked *Sinan* his opinion, and willed him to bethinke himselfe of some fit man. Hereupon *Sinan* propounded diuers vnto him, but none of them pleased him; for why, he was before resolued, in despight of *Sinan* and of his counsel, to bestow this charge vpon *Mahamet Bassa* nephew to *Mustapha* the late Bassa, and for his sake hated of *Sinan*. This Bassa *Mahamet* he sent to Erzirum, with the title of the Bassa of that Prouince; honouring him withall with the name of Generall of the army for Teflis. And presently gaue commandement to *Hussan* the Bassa of Caraemit, to *Mustaffa* sometime called *Manucchiar* the Georgian, to all the Sanzacks, the Curdi, and the soldiers of Erzirum, that they should resort to the standard of *Mahamet* their Generall, and so to follow him to Teflis. Whereupon there assembled together out of all the said places about fiue and twenty thousand souldiers, with all things necessarie for the reliefe of the distressed garrison which was in Teflis. Commandement was also giuen to the Bassaes of Aleppo and Maras, to repaire to Van with all their souldiers,

souldiers, and there to abide till Winter: which they accordingly did, not molested not troubled by any enemy. G

In the end of August, *Mahamet Bassa* departed from Erzirum, with the Bassa of Caraemit, and all his army, carrying with him mony, corn, and all other things needfull for the reliefe of Teflis, and in eight dayes came to Chats, and from thence to Archelec, not troubled by any. At Archelec he found *Mustaffa* (otherwise called *Manucchiar*) the Georgian, with all his souldiers, whom the Generall most ioyfully entertained, and honoured him with gifts, and withal admonished him to continue his obedience to *Amurath*, and to conduct him with his army the shortest and safest way to Teflis: for that some were of opinion, that it were best to goe by Tomanis; and some other, by the way of *Mustaffa* his countrey: wherin *Mustaffa* did readily resolue him, that the easiest and shortest way lay through his owne country, being also in his opinion the safest. H This counsell of *Mustaffa* pleased *Mahomet* greatly, so that he made choice of him to be the guid of his army, reposing himselfe wholly vpon his good direction: and so departed thence towards Teflis, passing through Altunchala and Carachala, both belonging to the said Georgian, abounding with all things necessary for the sustenance of man, neither were they euer disturbed by any enemy. Hauing passed *Mustaffa* his countrey, they came to a friendly Castle called Gori, from whence they discouered in certain fields a great army of the Georgians mingled with Persians, but apparelled after the manner of Georgia: these were those captains of Persia, sent from the Persian King (as in other yeres before) to aid the Georgians; who secretly conioyned with *Simon Chan* the Georgian, had changed their apparell, because the treaty of peace should not be disturbed, and their King acounted vniust of his word; I who vnder a colour of a treaty of peace, whiles *Amurath* attended nothing else but to succour and defend his conquered countries, without purpose to annoy any other places, went about to procure the destruction of the Turks. These then as soon as they saw the Turkish army, and perceiued that they also themselues were by them descried, sent Heraulds vnto them with haughty words of defiance, and to offer them battel. With great griefe of mind did the Bassa receiue this proud defiance: but hauing no other purpose but to bring his succors safe to Teflis, he dismissed the Heraulds, and studied by all means he could to shun battell. That euening he was fauoured in his purpose by the great and continuall rain which then fell, and serued for a reasonable excuse of his delay: but the next day prouing faire, and the Sunne shining bright, both the armies marched in sight one of the other all day, vntill about four houres and K an halfe before night; at which time the Turks arriued neere to a riuer that separated the one army from the other. There the Bassa fell in consultation with *Mustaffa*, whether they should passe ouer the riuer before night, or stay on that side they were till the next morning. In which case *Mustaffa* aduised him to stay, as fearing lest the enemy should set vpon the army disordered in passing the riuer, and so annoy them. Notwithstanding the General disliked this aduice of *Mustaffa*, hauing taken a strong conceit euen vpon the first discouery of the enemie, that there was some intelligence and compact betwixt *Mustapha* and the Persians, and that to that end he had maliciously persuaded him to come that way, and not by the way of Tomanis: and therfore the Bassa thinking, that if there were any such plot laid between *Mustaffa* and the enemie, to set it in some confusion, would not in any case follow the counsell of the L suspected Georgian, to stay that night; but commanded, that with the greatest speed that might be, all his souldiers with their treasure and corn should passe ouer the riuer, to the end that before night he might on the other side of the riuer incamp his army in some good place, to the scorn and derision of his enemies. *Mahamet* his lieutenant, a bold young man & an hardy, was the first that ventured ouer, and after him the carriages of money and of corn, and then the whole army, with such speed, that some of the confused multitude were drowned in the passage, being rather troden downe with the horses and camels, than brought to their deaths, either by the depth of the channell, or swiftnesse of the riuer.

Mahamet Bassa refuseth battel offered by the Georgians and Persians.

As soone as the Georgians perceiued that the Turks had passed the riuer, without staying M vntil they might settle themselues in any good order, they in great hast & fury ran vpon them, and presently assailed them, whiles they were yet all in confusion and out of order: by reason whereof the Turks, although they turned their faces vpon their enemie, and made some good resistance, yet in short time you might haue seen the banks of the riuer in many places stained with the Turkish bloud, and many carkases of the Turks here & there scattered, without any apparant

A apparant losse among the Georgians and Persians. Amongst them that fell in this slaughter, were a number of Sanzacks, of the Curdi, and Mesopotamians: which the rest perceiuing, and by the ouerthrow of their owne, coniecturing the losse of others, turned their backes and fled; the like did the remnant of the Mesopotamians, and after them at last the whole army: whom the Georgians pressed so sore in their flight, that many of the Turks seeing no other way to escape, cast themselues into the riuer, and so (though hardly) escaped with their liues. Great was the shame, great was the confusion, but greatest was the losse they receiued, for that in the heat of the battel the Kings money and corn was taken by the Georgians and Persians, euery man sauing only so much for himselfe as he could secretly hide vpon his owne body, or conuey by the means of some trusty slaue, which by the help of their swift horses was preserued rather by fortune than by valour.

The Turks discomfited, & the treasure and corne taken by the Georgians and Persians.

B The Turks thus discomfited and spoiled of their reliefe, the next morning gathered themselues together againe, one with another cursing the Heauens, the King, and their aduerse fortune: some of them also threatning the Georgian Renegate *Mustaffa*, as though all this mischiefe had hapned through his treeberie and secret intelligence with the enemie. Notwithstanding, when they found that they had still remaining so much money and other easements as might suffice to comfort the afflicted minds of the soldiers besieged in the fort, they resolued to hold on their way towards Teflis; and in their journy vsed such speed, that the day following they arriued there in the euening. But when they of the Fort saw their friends whom they had so long expected, arriued in such bad sort, and so euill furnished, they were astonied and wonderfully grieued at this common losse, and all in a confusion protested to *Mahamet*, C That they would abandon the place, if they had not forthwith necessarie prouision made for them. But the Generall after he had with large promises mitigated their first furies and insolencies, presently in the morning caused a Diuano or counsell to be called in the castle, where hauing gathered together all the chiefe men in his army, he spake vnto them in this manner:

Mahamet with his discomfited army commeth to Teflis.

The Oration of Mahamet Bassa in the castle of Teflis.

Forasmuch as it hath pleased God, that so great and important an occasion of victorie which was offered vnto vs for the honour and glory of euery one of vs, is now fallen out so vnfortunately, that it hath not only not ministred vnto vs any matter of triumphing ouer our enemies as we should haue done, but rather hath made them (I know not how) to carry away from vs both the triumph, and also our armor, our horses,
D *our slaues, and our spoiles: yea and (the remembrance whereof doth most grieuously trouble and afflict me) our Sultans money, and our publique munition and forces solemnly deliuered to our conduct, is now become a booty and a prey vnto them: that the honour which might haue made euery one of vs famous among noble and valorous soldiers, is now fallen from our forheads, and to our great detriment doth adorn the heads of strangers, or rather of our enemies: and that notwithstanding all this, we are now come to those couragious soldiers, which with their great valor haue defended this Fort euen in the midst of their enemies weapons and treacheries; and to whom we should yeeld that aid and reliefe which the vertue of euery one of their minds doth deserue, and which King* Amurath *had put into our hands to bring hither vnto them; there is now no remedie, but to resolue vpon some good means, that we fall not wholly into the vtter disgrace of our Lord and King; and that is, To maintain these souldiers in the custody and defence of this Fort: and*
E *though it had bin with all our wants, and all our owne dishonours, to comfort these that haue so long time looked for vs, and so well deserued all manner of reliefe. We cannot excuse our selues, that our enemies were better than we either in number or instruments of war; for both in the one and the other we were far beyond them: neither yet can we say, that they set upon vs by night, or at vnawares; for when we saw their number, their weapons, their horses, and finally their approach, and their manner of assault, yet we would needs passe ouer the riuer, and ioyn battell with them. Which we now know hath fallen out very lamentable vnto vs, because we were more ready to take our flight, than to endure the fight; and to vse our feet, than to occupie our hands. And therfore it is very requisit, as well to satisfie the rigor of justice, as to performe the duty of soldiers, that we suffer not our Lord and King to lose his mony, which he trusted into our hands, and which we haue lost, not by greater strength nor by any trecherous stratagem of our enemies, but by our*
F *own too too important feare, and too base a regard of our liues, before which, it was the duty of euery one of vs to haue preferd the care of honor. For if by fighting and couragious sustaining the assaults of our enemies, though they had bin stronger, and better armed than we, this misfortune had hapned vnto vs, and that we could in any sort haue represented to the King and the world an honorable and bloudy battell, wee should*

should not now haue any need to seek means how to repay this losse, and to transport the thing that violently was taken from vs by such as were more mighty than our selues, and these honourable souldiers should more easily haue digested with vs this lamentable calamity. But we haue lost that mony, and in very deed hauing as it were willingly bestowed it vpon the Georgians and Persians, to redeeme our liues, and to saue vs from their fury, are bound to repay it, or else for euer hereafter to be challenged by the King as lawfull debtors vnto him for it. And therefore my good friends and companions, if you will take a good course, let euery one of vs without further consultation, put his hand into his priuat purse (if he haue not foolishly cast that into the hands of the rauenous enemy) and with our own money let vs succour the necessitie of these men, and haue regard to the honour of our King. So shall we make our flight lesse blame-worthie, wee shall iustifie our actions more honestly, and that which is of greatest importance, wee shall better pacifie the wrath of Amurath, *which he might most iustly conceiue against vs. I my selfe before you all am most ready to disburse foure thousand duckats towards it: if it shall please you all to follow me accordingly, we shall deliuer these souldiers from their great necessitie, and acquite our selues from the intricate bonds of most troublesome displeasures.*

There might a man haue seene a thousand countenances changed a thousand manner of waies; for one softly whispered many a curse and shame vpon the King, vpon *Mahomet*, yea and vpon God himself; another denied to disburse any thing; another determined priuily to steal away; and some said one thing, and some another: but in the end euery man was induced to follow the example of *Mahamet*; and thereupon hauing made a purse according to euery mans ability, there was collected thirty thousand Duckats among them. And presently after, word was sent to *Leuent Ogli* at Zaghen, to send thither grain, muttons, and other necessary prouision, that they might the better continue the defence of the Fort.

The Turks out of their owne priuat purses relieue the Garrison of Teflis.

Two dayes onely stayed *Mahamet* in Teflis, and hauing changed such souldiers as desired to be dismissed, and also appointed *Homar Bassa* Gouernour of Teflis, in stead of *Giusuf* that there gouerned before, he departed. But before his departure consultation was had, Whether they should keep the way of Tomanis, or the way they came through the countrey of *Mustaffa* the Georgian: and in the end they resolued to keep the way of Tomanis, and thereupon order was taken that they should all passe the riuer. The Curdi were the first that went ouer, and had alreadie pitched their Tents vpon the farther side of the water; when the Generall began to reuoke his former order, and sent them word, That they should returne, because he was now determined to goe backe the same way he came. At which message the Sanzackes were in a rage, and in plain termes sent him answer, That these mutabilities beseemed not them, being men accustomed to warre, but to be rather childrens play, than manly resolution; and that for their parts they were minded not to change their journy, but would go on the same way they had begun: and so forwards they went (say the General what he could) and by the way of Tomanis arriued at Chars long before *Mahamet*; who was much grieued at this their so great disobedience: but seeing no other remedy, he with the Bassa of Caraemit and *Mustaffa* the Georgian, put themselues on their journey, euen by the same way they came to Teflis. At last *Mahamet* arriued at Altunchala, the chiefe Castle of *Mustaffa* the Georgian, and burning with the desire of reuenge of those losses, (which he thought himself to haue receiued by the treacherie of *Mustaffa*) or, as some thought, seeking by this meanes to make *Amurath* beleeue, that in truth all the forepassed mischiefes had hapned not through their cowardise, but through the treacherous and malitious deuices of the Georgian, and so to make their receiued losses seem more pardonable: he deuised with himselfe how to finde out such a plot, as that *Mustaffa* might vpon the sudden be taken away, as guilty of so foule a treason. And that he had deuised, was in this sort: To call a Councell into his owne Pauilion, as if hee had receiued some commandement from the Court; and hauing caused *Mustaffa* to come into that roome, whilest the said counterfeit commandment should be in reading, to cause his lieutenant with those chief of his band that stood about him, to fall vpon him and presently to cut off his head. This pretended Councell was accordingly called; wherein sate the Bassa himselfe, and with him the Bassa of Caraemit, certaine Sanzackes subiect to the Iurisdiction of Erzirum, the Capagi Bassa or chiefe Gentleman Vsher, and the Generals lieutenant, with whom hee had vpon their solemne oaths for secrecie, communicated his intended deceit. The Georgian *Mustaffa* was also called accordingly: who both

Mahamet purposeth to betray Mustaffa.

both because he was loued of moe than one, and had also vsed all diligent circumspection, but especially hauing heard in the army some priuy whisperings of such a matter, knew full wel of all that was deuised against him, and therfore prouided also for his own defence. But as touching his going to the Councel, he thought he might not deny so to do, lest by his absence he might seem guilty of the fault, wherof he was (peraduenture not without cause) suspected; and therby to leaue his cities for a prey to the enemy, now in the heart of his Country. And therfore resoluing to go, he deuised how so to do with most safety; and so, as if need should be, he might be able to turn the mischief intended against him, vpon the head of the General himself. And therfore hauing chosen out fifty of his most faithful and resolute souldiers, he commanded them to follow him to the Councel appointed in the Generals pauilion; and being come thither, to stay there ready and attentiue at his first and one only call, suddenly and forcibly to thrust into the pauilion with their weapons, and rather than any wrong should be don vnto him, to shew their valor against the Turks, without exception of any person whatsoeuer. These men by nature enemies to the Turks, vnderstanding well his meaning, settled themselues vpon the execution, and taking vnto them some other also of their faithfull and trusty friends, followed him euen to the pauilion of *Mahamet*: where *Mustaffa* entring the place of counsel, desired of the General to know what his pleasure was. Who presently caused the counterfeit commandement to be read; wherunto *Mustaffa* gaue an attentiue ear. But when the other Bassa's and Sanzacks began to sit down (contrary to the manner of the Turks, who whensoeuer any commandement from the Emperor is in reading, vse alwaies to stand vp and not to sit down vntil it be ful read) the Georgian took his leaue, promising to be euer ready to perform not only that order of the Kings, but also whatsoeuer els he should command. And being about to depart, the Capigi Bassi or great Vsher of *Mahamet* came vnto him, and plucking him by the sleeue, would haue forced him to sit down. Then *Mustaffa* crying aloud drew his sword, wherwith he strook *Mahamets* lieutenant, that was right against him; and hauing with his left hand wrought the roll from his pate, with his right hand suddenly (to the great astonishment of all that were there present) at one only blow parted his head, his neeke, and his brest in twain euen to his very stomack; so that he died (a strange spectacle to behold) being thus cut in sunder, with his cleft head and two shoulders hanging down vpon their seuerall sides. After this first he redoubled his second stroke, aiming at the head of the Bassa of Caraemit: but it being defended with the wrythen rolls of the turbant, it slipped down by his ear; yet so, that with a piece of the said turbant it carried his ear quite away, with a little also of the flesh of his cheek: and all inraged, eagerly assailed *Mahamet Bassa* the General (who now all in confusion was risen vp in the tumult) and wounded him with fiue mortal wounds, which were yet afterward by cunning hand healed, when they had brought him euen to deaths door. At the cry of this Georgian al his people rushe in together: vpon whose confused tumult, and the fear that *Mustaffa* through his fury had strook into the Turks, the camp was presently raised, and euery man with all speed departing thence, put himselfe on his way toward Chars; whither also were brought the two wounded Bassa's, and the rest that were il handled & much scared with these sudden and vncoth stirs.

Mustaffa notably reuenged vpon Mahamet.

Of all this treachery intended against him, *Mustaffa* sent present information to the Turkish Emperor; finding himself greatly agrieued at the false suspition that *Mahamet* had vniustly conceiued against him, to his great dishonor: and wrought so cunningly, that *Amurath* in token of his good liking and contentment, sent him both cloth of gold, and a battel-ax all gilt. *Mahamet* on the other side intermedling here and there with all the art he possibly could deuise, all hateful and iniurious termes, sent large aduertisements of all the misfortunes that had hapned, and aggrauated to the King, both the treacheries of *Mustaffa*, and also the slender security of those waies and countries.

As soon as *Amurath* vnderstood the calamity of his souldiers, the losse of his money, the great dishonour of his people, and the apparant danger wherin the fort of Teflis stood, when it was like to be abandoned; all inflamed with rage and anger he called vnto him the Bassa's of his court (among whom sate as chief the proud and hauty *Sinan*) and rated them al exceedingly, reprouing their lewd counsel, and recounting the losses that he had from time to time receiued, as if they had hapned through their defaults. And especially *Sinan*, as the principall occasion of all these mischiefs: who like an improuident fool (as he said) would needs relinquish

quish the charge of his army, and like a king sit idle at Constantinople, standing as it were at some publique triumph, to behold and heare the misories and misfortunes of others, hauing before in the time that *Mustapha* was General, vainly boasted, with the like power that he had, to fetch the Persian king out of Casbin, and to deliuer him in bonds to *Amurath*; but had indeed performed nothing worth the remembrance. *Sinan* could do no lesse but make answer to the wrathful King, yet not with such mildnesse and modesty as he should in such a case per-aduenture haue done; but in proud and peremptory manner, without any reuerence or regard told him plainly, That as the last year a little before his return to Constantinople, succours had bin conueied to Teflis without any losse or trouble (as in truth they were) euen so had they bin this year also, if he had put his aduice in execution, as much as he despised and contemned it: for he did then giue him to vnderstand, That *Mahamet-Bassa* could not be a fit man for so great a charge; and that it was necessary to haue chosen in his room some other Captain of valor and discretion. But seeing he would needs make choice of the same vnfit man, he was not now to blame any other for this errour, but only himselfe. As for his comming to Constantinople, it was a thing long before thought most needful, not only for his aduice, how the matter of peace might be brought to some good pas, but also becauſe if that treaty came not to the desired issue, then he had to talk with him how he might compas the ouerthrow of his enemy: which thing as yet he had no fit time to declare vnto him, but was now ready to reueal it, if it were so his pleasure. Wonderfully was *Amurath* grieued with this sullen answer, when he considered that a slaue of his own should so arrogantly and manifestly reproue him of folly and improuidence. Notwithstanding being desirous to know of him what that secret and important matter was, which he had to reueal vnto him for the easie compassing of his commenced enterprise; he dissembled his discontentment conceiued against him, and commanded him to disclose those his deuices which he had to vtter. *Sinan* in brief, of all his aduices propounded these two things: first his counsel was, not to proceed in this war as hitherto they had don, by seeking with forts and fortresses to hold and keep the enemies countries; for that their treasures were not able to yeeld such store of money as were sufficient to maintain so many and so great garrisons: contrary to the opinion of *Mustapha* (of late dead) who with great pertinacy had persuaded that dangerous, chargeable, and difficult manner of War. His second aduice was, That the true means to bring this war to wished end, consisted especially in the resolution of *Amurath* himself, who if he would go in person, & against so great a king oppose the person of a king, then might he most assuredly promise to himself all speedy and honorable victory, for that at the only name of his comming the Persians would easily come to any agreement; or if not, he might then proceed in his wars, and so obtain most glorious conquests. This his aduice so little pleased the effeminat king, that in stead of the great opinion which he before held of him, he now conceiued an enuious affection against him: & a further suspition (fostred by the great ladies of the court, especially *Amuraths* mother) That *Sinan* had thus counselled the king, himself to go in person, not for any good could come of it, but only that so he might finde meanes for the prince his son to make himself king, and to driue out his father. Which suspition was in such sort nourished in *Amuraths* mind, especially being assured of the great affection which the prince caried toward *Sinan*, and he also toward him, that he resolued to rid him out of his sight, and so depriuing him of all charge presently banished him the court, & out of Constantinople to Demotica a city of Thrace; from whence he afterwards by most humble supplication obtained to be remooued to Marmara a little beyond Selymbria. And into his place of Visiership was preferred *Sciaus Bassa*, who had married *Amuraths* sister; an Hungarian born, a goodly personage, and of honorable iudgement but aboue all men a seller of justice and preferments, and yet a great friend to the peace with the Christian princes, which *Sinan* had alwaies most wickedly maligned.

Sinans proud answer to Amurath.

Sciaus Bassa made Visier in Sinans place.

1582. The Persian Captaines in the mean time, with their spoyles and diuers of the enemies Ensignes, were with great ioy and triumph receiued at home in Persia. But when the discord that fell out between *Mahamet Bassa* and *Mustaffa* the Georgian was also reported, the former ioy was redoubled; euery man in generall being of opinion, That these discords might bee great impediments vnto the Turks further attempts into Persia; which it was much feared they would the next year attempt, to the great danger of Nassivan & Tauris. Vpon which occasions the Persian king perceiuing he could not haue a fitter opportunity to imploy himself against

against *Abas Mirize* his son (then with him in disgrace) determined with himself to leaue the matters on this side of his kingdom in their present state, and to march toward Heri. Whereunto he was earnestly solicited by his eldest son *Emir Hamze Mirize*, but especially by *Mirize Salmas* his Visier. Vpon which resolution, committing the defence of Reivan, Nassivan, and that side of his kingdom to *Emir Chan* gouernor of Tauris; hee set forward himself with his army towards Casbin, and so marching thorow diuers prouinces, arriued at length at Sasuar, being on that side the chief of all the cities subiect to the jurisdiction of Heri: which city he took by force, & without delay caused the gouernor therof to be beheaded, although he aledged a thousand excuses for himself, and obiected a thousand accusations more against the seditious Visier. The King after this departing thence, and hauing also put to death certaine captains and Sultans, that were accused by the Visier to be confederats in the rebellion of his son, he arriued at last at the desired city of Heri. Very strong is this City by scituation, compassed about with a good wall, and watered with deep chanels of running springs, conueyed into it by *Tamerlane* their founder or restorer. Besides that, there were in it many valiant captains, enemies to *Mirize Salmas*, ready to lay down their liues in defence of themselues and of *Abas* their Lord; so that the winning therof could not but proue both long and difficult. So soon as the King approched the city, he felt in himself many troubled passions arising of grief and pitty; it grieued him to think that he should beget so graceles a son, who in stead of maintaining his state and honour, should seek his ruin and destruction. It grieued him also to remember the bloud of his subjects, before spilt vpon so strange an occasion; and scarsly durst he enter into the cogitation, thenceforth to shed any more of the bloud of his people. Neuertheles being stil more and more solicited by his Visier, he attempted to vnderstand the mind of his son, and if it might be possible, to get him into his hands. But while the king trauelling with these thoughts lay with his army before Heri, *Abas Mirize* in the mean time writ diuers letters to his father and his brother; wherin he besought them, That they would make known vnto him the occasion of this their stir: for if desire of rule had mooued them to seek the deprivation of him, being their son and brother, from the honor he lawfully possessed, & which his father himself procured for him of his grandfather *Tamas*, they ought to abandon their imagination, for that he was alwaies ready to spend his wealth and his bloud, together with his estate, in their seruice, and acknowledge his father to be his good father and King. But if they were not induced herunto for this cause, but by a desire they had to reuenge some trespasses that he had committed, to the preiudice of the crown of Persia, or his fathers honor, he was most ready to submit himself to any amends, and with all reason to yeeld vnto them the kingdom, yea the whole world, and euen his own life, the rather to satisfie their minds with a more ful contentation. With twice or thrice reading ouer, were these affectionat letters considered and digested; and at last, both the father and brother perceiuing in them such liberality of words, and ouercome with pitty, or if not with pitty, yet with great admiration and contentment, they determined to put the matter in practise; and moderating their desire of reuenge, to attempt to reduce the yong mans mind to some good passe. Wherupon they wrot back vnto him, That no greedy desire to vsurp his gouernment had induced them to make so great a voyage, to trouble so much people, and to shed such abundance of bloud; but only his disobedience and presumption, in that he had caused himself to be called the King of Persia, and had not sent so much as one captain to aid them in the late wars against the Turks. Glad was *Abas* the yong prince, when he vnderstood the accusations that were laid against him; hoping to make it manifest before all men, how the King and his brother were mis informed in these particularities: and therfore incontinently did write back vnto them, That if they would faithfully promise him, honorably and without any outrage to receiue his Embassadours, hee would send them such euident matter, and so cleer information touching those his accusations, as that they should not onely plainely perceiue that there was neuer any such kinde of thought in him, but also that he had alwaies desired and labored the contrary; & would moreouer open vnto them such matter, as in respect of other men, and not of himself, might cause their comming to proue profitable & commodious to all the kingdom of Persia. Which his request they both solemnly promised faithfully to performe, beeing very desirous to vnderstand what those strange nouelties should be. Whereupon *Abas Mirize* sent vnto them two of his chief counsellors, men of great account and reuerence both for their years and wisdom, with

Mahomet the Persian King resolueth to go to Heri against his sonne Abas Mirize.

Mahamet commeth to Heri.

Abas Mirize by his Embassadors purged of treason.

with full instructions, who after many speeches, in the end swearing (according to their Custome) by the Creator that spread out the aire, that founded the earth vpon the deeps, that adorned the heauen with stars, that poured abroad the water, that made the water; and briefly, of nothing, brought forth all things, swearing by the head of *Ali*, and by the religion of their Prophet *Mahomet*, that such peruerse thoughts neuer entred into the head of *Abas Mirize*: they alledged many testimonies and manifest proofes, that most loyally in all due time, as well when he was aduanced to the kingdome of Persia, as also in his battels against the Turks, his son had alwaies caused deuout prayers and supplications to be made to God for his prosperitie; neither euer desired to heare any other but happy and fortunat successe of him. They brought with them 10000 and 1000 precepts and loyall letters, which the young man had caused to be written, as occasions required to the Gouernours that were his subiects, for the gouernment of the State, wherin he neuer named himselfe king of Persia, but only, Your King and Gouernor of Heri. They prayed the king also, to cause a diligent processe to be framed against his son; and if there should be found in him any sign or shadow of so wicked a suspition, then to take from him his estate and liberty; offring themselues to remaine as hostages for him. But when all this should be done, and *Abas* found altogether free from these vniust accusations, then (falling euen to the earth and kissing it) they besought him, and as it were coniured him, not to leaue the matter thus imperfect, to the preiudice of his bloud; but returning to his counsellor, to take information likewise, vpon what mind and consideration he had aduised the King, to take vpon him this vnorderly and dangerous voyage; where no doubt hee should find nothing in him but malignant, ambitious, and wicked affections; and such as euen deserued, that with his bloud there should be reuenged all the bloud of those, which till that hour had bin brought to their vnworthy & vndeserued deaths. And forasmuch as nothing remained, wherof the Visier had informed the king against his son, but the commandement that was giuen by *Abas Mirize* to the Gouernours vnder him, That they should not go to the wars against the Turks: they confessed in truth, that such an order was taken, but not to that wicked and traiterous end and purpose as was reported to the king by his great counsellor, but onely in respect of an inuasion iustly feared in those quarters by the Tartarian *Iesselbas*; who by diuers inrodes had alreadie don great harm in the country about Heri, and put young *Abas* and his counsellors in such a feare, that they durst not disfurnish their Cities of their guards and forces: and therfore had commanded the said Gouernours, not to go to war against the Turks, but to stay and expect further direction. And that all this was by writing signified vnto the Visier himselfe: which he of a malicious mind had concealed, only to try, if in these common troubles he could bring to passe, that *Abas Mirize* and the king might be taken away, & *Emir Hamze* succeed in his place, and so he himself remain the Superintendent of his son in law, and Moderator of that so famous kingdom. Of which so treacherous a purpose, they (for all that) thought *Emir Hamze* the young Prince altogether ignorant (knowing his honourable disposition and loue towards his owne kindred) but imputed it only to the immoderat and ambitious desire of the wicked traitor *Mirize Salmas*.

The Embassadors of Abas accuse Mirize Salmas the Visier.

Of these graue speeches of the Embassadors, *Mahamet* the father (by nature credulous) began to make great construction; and deeply to consider of their so earnest and important requests; which seemed vnto him so vpright and equall, as that he could not chuse but hearken vnto the same. And therefore calling vnto him the Gouernors, the Captaines, the Iudges, and Treasurers of all the cities that were subiect to Heri: he demanded of them, how and in what sort they esteemed of *Abas Mirize*, and in what degree of honour he desired to be esteemed of them: and of them all receiued one answer, That they held him for their Lord & lieutenant to the king of Casbin, and that himselfe had alwaies desired to be so taken and thought of: for proofe whereof, euery one of them brought in diuers letters, precepts, and orders; wherein he neuer caused himself to be honored with any other title, but only, Your king of Heri. He demanded further, Whether any such warres were attempted by the Tartarian *Iesselbas* or not: whereof he receiued a large and solemne information, that so it was, to the great detriment of all those territories. And thus the king was throughly persuaded of the innocencie of his son; who before was noted vnto him by his Visier, to be an obstinat Rebel. Vpon which occasion only, although he might iustly haue put him to death, as author of so great troubles & bloudshed; yet because he would be better inform'd of the truth of the accusations laid against him by

by the Embassadours, he resolued to make a curious & diligent inquisition thereof: and therfore first of all in great secrecie he examined *Emir Aamze* his eldest sonne, wherefore he had aduised this journy against his brother *Hbas*, whom he had found guiltles of all those crimes that were obiected against him? Whereunto the Prince answered, That he had no other certaintie of the pretended euill behauiour of his brother, but only that which proceeded from the great credit that he alwaies gaue to his father in law *Mirize Salmas*, to whom as to a chief Counsellor, his father in law, and protector of the Kingdome, he had alwaies yeelded assured credence: and so discharged the whole tempests of all those mischiefes vpon the Visier. Touching whom the King made diligent inquisition, as well among those of the Court, as of the army; and therby found him guilty of all that the Embassadors of Heri had accused him: and that being alwaies acquainted with the true occasions which restrained the Gouernours of Heri (subiect to *Abas Mirize*) from going to the war against the Turks, he had most maliciously concealed the same, of purpose to hatch such a strange and dangerous discontentment, as had wrought the vnworthy death of many great men, and almost defiled the hands of the father with the innocent bloud of his guiltlesse son. For which so foule a treason the false Visier was worthily condemned to die, and his wily head by commandment of the King, strucke from his carkasse. Iustly rewarded, with the same punishment which he vniustly sought to haue conuerted vpon others; and with his own destruction pacified the dissention and battels that were risen between the two Princes. And so the two brethren being reconciled together, and the son to the father; after that *Abas* had again promised his wished obedience (which he afterwards most dutifully performed) King *Mahamet* returned with the Prince towards Casbin: where by reason of new and vnexpected motions of the Turks, he had now been long looked for and desired.

Mirize Salmas beheaded for treason.

Amurath through the rough speeches of *Sinan*, was more and more setled in his purpose for the continuing of the Persian warre; accounting it so much the more to his owne glory, as it should in happy successe fall out contrary to the opinion of many: and therupon began to bethinke himselfe, whom he might chuse for his Generall, to whom he might commit so great a charge. Among the Bassa's of the court there was one *Ferat*, a man of ripe yeres, but yet fierce of courage, tough of opinion, in counsell as hardy as might beseeme his age, ready for all sudden & strange aduentures, but aboue all, a vassall most deuoted to the king: of this man, at last he was resolued to make choice to haue the leading of his army: and therefore calling him apart, declared vnto him what he had in himself purposed; incouraging him to take the charge vpon him, with a firm resolution to perform all things answerable to so worthy an enterprise, with the opinion he had conceiued of his valor. Very willing did *Ferat* accept of this new office; and thought himself (as indeed he was) highly fauored by the King: and thereupon made him a large promise, to imploy his strength, his wit, and vttermost deuoire, to put in execution whatsoeuer should be offered vnto him, either by occasion, or by his royall commandement.

Ferat Bassa chosen General in Sinan's place

At first *Amurath* had no other purpose to imploy him any further, but only to assure the passage to Teflis, and so into all Georgia; and to haue destroied the countrey of *Mustaffa* the Georgian, who had so audaciously iniured the lieutenant of *Amurath*, and put his whole army in confusion: but being certainly aduertised of the troubles in Persia between the king & his sonne, he changed his purpose, and commanded *Ferat* to imploy all his forces to erect a fortresse at Reiuan, a place belonging to Tocomac, and to assure the passage from Chars to Reiuan; for so they should be reuenged of many harms they had receiued by him, and lay open the way to the city of Tauris, to the great glory of *Amurath*. As for *Mustaffa* the Georgian, although he had well deserued to be chastised for his rash attempt against *Mahamet Bassa*, being then his Generall, yet he willed *Ferat* to dissemble his euill opinion of him; and (if it were possible) so to work, as to vse him as an instrument to conuey treasure and succors to Teflis: for by this means the passage being made safe, all Georgia would without any moe fortresses be subdued, and then the next yeare they might attempt the enterprise for Tauris.

Highly did *Ferat* commend the deuices of *Amurath* his Lord, and shewed himselfe ready for any attempt. And so the time being come wherin it behoued them to set on foot their important designements, in the beginning of the yeare, 1583, commandements were sent out to all the cities of the empire, which were wont to make their appearance at these wars, that vpon fresh 1583.

fresh summons they should be ready to return against the Persians; and to put in execution G
that should be injoined them by their new General. The fame wherof flew as far as Siria, Iu-
ry, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Babylon, to Balsara, to Sivas, to Maras, to all Bithynia, Capadocia,
Cilicia, Armenia; yea & beyond Constantinople to the borders of Hungary and Græce, and
in brief, to all the regions that were wont to come to this war: all which sent their captains and
souldiers accordingly. And so at last General *Ferat* departing from Constantinople, & passing
Generall Ferat departeth from Constantinople
ouer to Scutari, by the way of Amasia and Sivas came to Erzirum, where he took a view of all
his armor & prouision; and from thence in eight days ariued at Chars, conducted by the Per-
sian fugitiue *Maxut Chan*; and from Chars set himself on his way toward Reivan. Three days
before he came to Reivan, of certain ruins of an old castle which the Turks cal Aggia Chalasi
(or the castle of Strangers) he erected a new fortres, and left in it a Garison of 400 souldiers; H
with a Sanzack and certain pieces of Ordnance; and then went to Reivan. This country is di-
stant from Tauris eight or nine days journy; betweene which two places is scituat Nassivan,
Chiulsal, Marant and Sofian; all inriched with goodly gardens and pleasant greens. But in
the way are many craggy mountains to be climed, and sundry hard passages either for Army
or traueller.

He buildeth a great fort at Reivan.
Here then did *Ferat* incamp himself with his Army, and taking aduice of his chiefe Cap-
tains, where he should build the fort, they all with one consent aduised him to seise vpon the
houses and gardens of *Tocomac*, and there to fortifie. Which he accordingly did, inclosing
the gardens with strong walls and deep Ditches round about, wherinto he conueyed water
from a certain riuer, that comming down from the mountains ran into Araxis. Which worke I
he performed with such expedition, that within the space of 15 days the fortres was finished,
being in circuit seuen hundred and fifty yards. It grieued *Tocomac* exceedingly, thus to lose
his country and dwelling, and so much the more, for that it hapned so suddenly, and as it were
vnlooked for. He himself, as soon as he vnderstood that the Turkish army was comming vnto
that coast, hauing withdrawn himself and his men of War out of the City he could not keep,
sought by all means to be reuenged, if not altogether, yet in some part, of this so great an inju-
ry: and therfore he writ to the king at Chorazan, to *Emir Chan* at Tauris, to *Simon* in Georgia;
he gathered souldiers out of the villages, and vsed all his possible indeauor to inable himself to
anoy the enemies army. But from none of these places could he receiue any helpe; the King
being so far off in wars against his son, the Georgian being busied, by hindring any reliefe to K
be brought to the besieged in Teflis: as for *Emir Chan* (who by solemn promise vnto the King
before his departure to Heri, had vndertaken the defence of that side of the kingdome against
the Turks) he either would not or could not stir, nor sent so much as one souldier, hauing (as
some supposed) secret intelligence with General *Ferat*, not to disturb him in this his Worke.
So *Tocomac* destitute of all other help, and not able to do much himself against so mighty an
enemy; yet ceased not to lay such priuy ambushes for the Turks as he could, killing of them
somtime 100, somtime 150, and somtimes moe, as they fell into his danger. And to ease his
stomack against *Emir Chan* (who sitting stil at Tauris as it were to behold his misterie, would
not so much as shake a sword against these spoiling Turks) he spared not to dispatch certain L
horsmen in hast to the king at Chorazan, and by eloquent letters to amplifie the cowardise of
Emir Chan; intermedling withall some causes of suspition that he had intelligence with the
Turkish General.

Ferat hauing thus built this new fort at Reivan, as *Amurath* had commanded, and furnished
it with artillery and all other things needful for defence therof, appointed *Sinan Bassa* (the son
of *Cicala Bassa* a Renegat of Genoa, whom *Selymus* the late Emperour in the flour of his youth
created Aga or Captain of the Ianizaries) with a garrison of 8000 soldiers to keep the same.
And so departing thence by the way of Aggia Chalasi, in ten days arriued with his Army at
Chars.

Ferat had not long stayd at Chars, but strange news were brought thither, That *Mustaffa* the
Georgian (to whom *Amurath* had sent thirty thousand ducats by two of his Capigi and two M
of his Chiaus, to haue by him bin conueyed to Teflis for the relief of them in the Fort) was
reuolted from the Turkish obedience, and being now become a Rebel, had left that fortresse
in most manifest danger to yeeld, if by some other means it were not relieued. Which strange
nouelties

A nouelties exceedingly troubled the General; who to know the certaintie therof, called before
him all such as were the messengers of this misfortune. By whom he was certainly informed,
That *Mustaffa*, the two Capigi, and the Chiaus, hauing put themselues vpon their way toward
Teflis with the treasure, garded with a conuoy of 500 of his soldiers, in the mid way had met
with his cousin *Simon* the Georgian, by whom he was persuaded to return to his antient faith
and religion (which he had to the great peril of his soul so prophanely abandoned) and to
shake off the seruice of *Amurath*, which would yeeld him no other recompence than an hate-
ful and infamous captiuitie, and in the end some fraudulent and treacherous death. And that
his persuasions had so preuailed with *Mustaffa*, that he caused the two Capigi and the Chiaus
to be apprehended and presently beheaded, and diuiding the treasure with his said cousin, had
B with him and his other kinsmen vowed a solemne and perpetual confederacie: and so hauing
withdrawn themselues to their wonted passages, lay there in wait for such succours as should
by the Turks be brought to Teflis.

When *Ferat* vnderstood these and such other particularities, he all in a fury swore, that he
would not return to Erzirum til he had put all the Country of *Mustaffa* to fire and sword. Yet
first he thought it needfull to relieue Teflis, which otherwise would be in danger to yeeld to
the enemy: and for that purpose made choice of *Hassan Bassa*, who in the last year of the Gene-
ralship of *Mustapha* had most couragiously conueied the like succors, and taken *Aliculi Chan*.
Vnto him therfore did the Generall assigne forty thousand Ducats, with other prouision ne-
cessary for that seruice; and for the more security appointed him fifteen thousand of the most
C choice and valiant souldiers of his whole Army, to conduct the same. In ten dayes space
Hassan Bassa went and came from Teflis, hauing in his journey to and fro had many skirmi-
shes with the Georgians, wherin he lost some few of his men, without any further losse worth
remembrance.

After this, the General sent one *Resuan Bassa* with six thousand souldiers to spoil the Coun-
try of *Mustaffa* the Georgian the late Renegate, but now become a Rebel to the Turk. Which
Resuan without any long stay ouer-ran all his territory, burnt his towns, and committed most
vncouth outrages, which extended euen vnto the insencible trees, and caried away with him
many captiue souls, with much Corn and Cattell, like a raging tempest destroying whatso-
euer came in his way. Now was the General also retyred to Ardachan, whither came *Resuan*
D to meet him with his aforesaid booty. But because they had now performed what they be-
fore intended, and the approch of Winter persuaded their return, they remoued from Arda-
chan, and by the way of Olti retyred to Erzirum; from whence all the souldiers were licen-
Ferat breaketh vp his Army.
sed to depart to their seueral places of abode, and a memoriai sent to *Amurath*, of all the acti-
ons had bin performed, and especially of the good seruice don by *Hassan Bassa*: Who for the
same was now once again honored by the King with cloath of gold, a battel-ax and Targuet
all gilt.

About this time one *Podolovius* a gentleman of Polonia, sent by *Stephen* king of Polonia to
Constantinople, by the leaue of *Amurath* to buy certain horses in Anatolia; returning home-
ward, with 24 goodly horses which he had bought, was notwithstanding the great Turks Passe
E by his commandement staid vpon the way, all his men (in number 34) slain, except one boy,
who getting into a Wood escaped; and *Podolovius* his head struck off. The horses brought
back to Constantinople, were by the appointment of *Amurath*, some bestowed into his owne
stables, and the rest giuen amongst the Bassa's, oftentimes pointed at with the fingers of the
Turks, in derision of the King of Polonia. This injurie *Amurath* commanded to be don in
reuenge of an outrage don by the Polonian Cossacks against the Turks: wherof news was but
euen then brought to the court.

The 29 of Nouember, *An.* 1583, died *Hama Chadum*, the widow of the late Emperor *Selymus*
the second, and *Amuraths* mother, who lieth buried by her husband *Selymus*, and his fiue sons, *The death of Amuraths mother.*
strangled by their brother *Amurath*.

F All the rest of this year 1583 *Ferat* spent at Erzirum, and afterwards sent out his ordinarie
commandements to all the accustomed cities, to summon the soldiers against the next spring
in the year 1584, gathering together a greater number of pioners and enginiers than euer had 1584.
bin gathered in these Wars heretofore: and withall gaue it out, That he would go to Nassi-
Ferat raiseth a new Army.
van, and there do great matters. At which report the Persians were much mooued, and be-
gan

gan to cast many things in their heads about it:but aboue al others the King,who vnderstanding at Casbin of all that had before hapned at Reivan, and of the new preparations of the Turks,began to fear that they would this year passe to Tauris,or at leastwise(as was reported) to Nassivan,and in those places build new fortresses,to the great danger of the Persian empire. And therfore retaining stil such forces as he brought with him from Heri, and commanding as many moe as he could out of all the cities that were subiect & vnto him, to follow him vnto Tauris,he arriued there with his army not long after the arriual of *Ferat Bassa* at Erzirum. This vnexpected comming of the Persian King with so great an army to Tauris, filled the World with expectation of great matters to haue bin don by him against the Turks: insomuch that *Ferat* the general,before he would proceed any further,thought it good to aduertise *Amurath* of the matter:declaring vnto him,that his desire was to go to Nassivan, and there to build a fortresse,according to his commandement,and so to lay open a passage to Tauris. But hauing certain intelligence,that the Persian king was come to Tauris with a huge army,and ful resolution to incounter him; he thought it his duty not to put in execution his aforesaid determination,without his expres commandment. To whom *Amurath* presently wrot back,that the matter so standing,he should not go to Nassivan,but only imploy his forces to assure the passages to Tomanis and Lori,that so the fort of Teflis might the year following be relieued by some small band,without sending any great army for the conueying of succors thither. This new commandement of his Lord *Ferat* kept secret to himself,causing the rumor of his going to Nassivan to be more and more increased; of purpose to nourish the opinion that the Persians had before conceiued of his comming thither: and so deluding them, with lesse danger to build the forts he had intended,for the quieting of those most dangerous passages of Lori and Tomanis.

The Persian king c Tauris with a great army.

Vpon this resolution *Ferat* hauing gathered together his people,with all things necessary for his purpose,remoued with his army from Erzirum towards Chars,where he staid ten days to take a new suruey both of his souldiers and prouision. And so departing thence,set forward toward Lori; sending before him *Hassan Bassa* with fiue thousand light horsemen to scour the Country euen to Tomanis, and to learn what he possibly could of the enemies purposes,and of the state of Georgia. Which thing *Hassan* dutifully performed,speedily scouring ouer all the woods,and disclosing all the passages from thence to Lori, and so to Tomanis,not meeting with any vpon whom to assay his valour:only certain Robbers vpon the high way,whom he caused to be slain,as men altogether ignorant of the Georgian and Persian affairs,and their heads to be set vpon the tops of their launces; and so returned again to Lori. Where hauing stayd one day he met with the Generall, to whom he recounted all that had hapned in that excursion. *Ferat* being come to Lori,there incamped his Army. This place did somtime belong to *Simon* the Georgian,wel strengthned with an high castle, compassed about with very deep Ditches,and a thick Wall almost a mile in circuit, but was then somewhat weakned with time. It is distant from Teflis about two daies iourny of a Cariers pace. Vpon this Castle *Ferat* seised,and hauing repaired the Walls, and strengthned the breaches, he placed therin *Ali Bassa* of Greece, with seuen thousand souldiers for the defence therof, and planted vpon the Walls two hundred small pieces of Ordnance. And so when he had set all things there in good order, he departed thence with his Army towards Tomanis, hauing before commanded *Ali Bassa* at some conuenient time to fortifie Saitan Chalasi (a Castle about ten miles distant from Lori) and therin to place a conuenient garrison of souldiers and Artillery.

Ferat builds a fort vpon the streit.

Four daies were they going from Lori to Tomanis, being ordinarily but one daies worke from the one place to the other:but now the General would needs so make it,to take the spoil of those rich fields,abounding with corn,cattel, and fruit, and to leane to the country people a lamentable remembrance of his being there. At last being come to Tomanis,in times past a Castle of *Symons*, but by reason of these Wars by him then abandoned) he began to consult with the other Captains,how and where the Fort should be erected for the assurance of that country. But after many discourses,it was at last concluded not to fortifie in that castle,as being too far from the streit,to make that dangerous passage safe & secure;but to go a little farther, and to build a Fortresse vpon the very mouth of the streit. So the Army marching forward a few miles,at the very entrance of the narrow passage found the ruins of another castle, and

and neer therunto staid themselues. This steep headlong castle was so compassed round about with a thicke wood,which hindred all discouery afar off, that it was not conuenient to found such a castle there, from whence their Ordnance could neither auaile them to whom the defence thereof should bee committed, neither indamage those that should come to offend it. And therefore the Generall commanded,that euery man with all his endeauors should lay to his hand for the cutting down of that thicke wood, and making way through thicke and thin, to lay it for an open champaign,that was before the receptacle of a thousand dangerous treacheries. In very short space were the trees laid along on the ground,the place made lightsome and open,and a very commodious scituation prepared for the foundation of a castle. The plot of the old ruined Castle was compassed about with a wall of a thousand and seuen hundred yards,and in the midst therof was erected a strong Keep,sundry lodgings and chambers builded,and 200 pieces of Ordnance distributed vpon the new wals. After that,the Generall sent *Resuan Bassa* and the Bassa of Caraemit, with 20000 of his most choice souldiers, to conuey succors to Teflis:who marching closely together in the direct way, in one day arriued at the said Fort;wherein they bestowed their supplies,and changing the Gouernor thereof,substituted in his room one *Bagli*, being then vpon this occasion only called a Bassa. Whilest *Resuan* yet lay thus incamped vnder Teflis, *Daut Chan* the brother of *Simon*, who in the beginning of these wars,at the comming of *Mustapha* the Turks Generall into Georgia, had fled out of Teflis, came now with all his family, and offered himselfe as a subiect and deuoted vassall to the Turkish Emperour:whom *Resuan* entertained with great promises and large assurances of all good successe,according to his desire.

The compasse of the castle built at Tomanis by Ferat.

In the meane while newes were brought to *Simon*, That General *Ferat* staying at ths streits of Tomanis with his army,had sent *Resuan Bassa* with a far lesse number than indeed he had,to succor Teflis:Vpon which report he tooke courage to encounter *Resuan*, and to giue him battell. Vpon which resolution without further delay,being accompanied but with 4000 Georgians, partly subiects of his owne,and partly of *Manucchiars*, he with all speed possible went against *Resuan*. But whilest *Simon* was going thitherwards, Generall *Ferat* fearing the worst, had already by chance dispatched away the two Bassa's of Caramania and Maras,with 10000 souldiers,to the end that ioyning themselues with the souldiers of *Resuan*,they should at all aduentures be so much the stronger. Now *Simon* going resolutely on, found *Resuan* incamped with 6000 soldiers only,at the foot of an hill,on the backe side whereof lay all the rest of the army;and presently gaue a charge vpon him:when the soldiers behind the hill being aware of his comming,were ready all at once with their weapons to receiue him. Who now perceiuing his error,repented himself to haue so rashly assaulted his enemies,seeing now no other remedie but to be vtterly vndone. But seeing that he had now so far ingaged himselfe,as that hee could not by flight but increase his grief, and make the issue more lamentable;with these few souldiers which he had, he endured the fury of the great army of *Resuan*, so that on both sides there was ioyned a most cruell battell: wherein the strange and vnusuall valour of those few Christians was much to be wondred at:yet in the end the huge number of the Turkish swords and speares so preuailed vpon that small number of the Georgians, as that they were brought to great extremitie:yea *Simon* himselfe hauing his horse slaine vnder him,fel downe headlong to the ground,and in his fal was very neer to haue bin taken prisoner,as was his lieutenant and many other his followers,had he not been relieued by an vnexpected and maruellous chance: for whiles the battell was euen at the greatest heat betweene them, *Resuan* discouered the two Bassaes of Caramania and Maras, who (as is before said) were newly sent by General *Ferat* to succour him; but both by the said *Resuan*, and also by the rest of his army, were indeed thought to be Persians: whereupon they were incontinently surprised with a sudden feare, insomuch that they now became very doubtfull of the victory, whereof they thought themselues before assured. In this suspence and doubtfulnesse of mind the battell was also intermitted,and the victory by the sight of those their friends disturbed: whereby the Georgians, and especially *Simon*,whose estate was almost desperate,tooke the opportunitie to escape and saue themselues; leaving behind them most sure signes of their valour among the Turks, of whom many remained there slaine, many wounded. and many filled with great maruell and vnexpected feare. Thus escaped poore *Simon* with the remainder of his followers into his knowne places of refuge,there to bewaile the death and captiuitie of his subiects. But *Resuan* after

Simon in danger to haue bin taken, escapeth by a strange chance.

after he had discouered the Bassa's approching toward him, to be his known friends and con- G
federats, fretted in himself exceedingly, that *Simon* had so escaped his hands: yet holding on his way to Tomanis, he arriued there in great triumph, drawing the standards of *Simon* al along the ground, and causing many of the Georgians heads to be caried vpon his soldiers launces, to the great ioy of General *Ferat*, to whom he deliuered all the prisoners taken in the battell, and wicked *Daut Chan*, who hauing in times past renounced his first faith, was become a Persian; and now again despising the vain superstition of the Persians, had yeelded himself to the vanity of the Turks, and made himself a voluntary slaue to *Amurath*.

Now was the year so far spent, that euery man began to fear the winters approch; and therfore the General determined to remoue thence, and to withdraw himself into places of more safety. And so hauing set all things in order in the new fort, he appointed *Hassan* to be Bassa H
of Tomanis, and left with him 8000 select soldiers, chosen out of all the army, for the defence of that fort and the country therabout. Deeply had *Ferat* laid vp the outrage committed by *Mustaffa* the Georgian (being now returned to his old name of *Manucchiar*) in taking away the Kings treasure, and killing the two Capigi and the Chiaus; and therfore resolued with himself, not to return to Chars or Erzirum, vnles he had first passed into the Country of the sayd Georgian, and in most cruel maner reuenged those notable injuries before receiued. In three daies he arriued at Triala, and there incamped: but lying there, such an vnwonted dearth and scarcity of all things possessed the Army, but especially of victuals, that euery fiue bushels and a half of wheat was sold at fiue hundred Ducats, to the vniuersal calamitie of the whole Army. I

A wonderfull dearth in the Turks army at Triala.

From this place the General was minded to go on forward toward the country of *Manucchiar*; but whilst he was vpon the raising of his tents, one *Veis* Bassa of Aleppo came vnto him and told him, that it was not good now to spend the time in wandring about those countries, for that there were three very great enemies confederat together, to make this enterprise very difficult, and almost impossible and desperat: one was the season of the year, being now ful of snows, frost and tempest: another was the want and scarsnes of all things necessary, especially of victuals: the third was the people of Georgia, who by a common vniting of themselues together, and peraduenture aided by the Persians, might work some notable mischief against the army. This speech of *Veis* so much offended the Generall, that he most sharpely rebuked him, and with bitter terms reproued him; telling him flatly, that he well perceiued that K
he was brought vp among mountains and villages, and of a villein (as he was) vpon some superfluitie of grace, or foolish importunity, aduanced to the honour of a Bassa, and that therefore he should not haue presumed so much as to thinke it lawfull for him, so impudently and malapertly to come and giue him such aduertisements; whereas it had bin his duty rather to haue held his peace, and to haue harkened to the commandements of his betters and superiours, yeelding himselfe obedient and deuoted with all his power to performe the same. With this rebuke the Generall passed on to Archelech, burning and in a maner destroying the country before him, though indeed it was in amity and confederation with the Turks. But the inhabitants of Archelech vpon the comming of the Turks had abandoned the city, and for feare withdrawn themselues into the mountains. In Archelech *Ferat* incamped, and staied the space L
of foure daies among the rocky crags, and in a barren soile yeelding necessary sustenance neither for man nor beast; so that euery man there endured vnspeakeable miseries: yet for the space of foure daies the souldiers with patience endured this so great a calamity. But in the end, the fall of an huge snow being added to these extremities, did so greatly increase their griefes, that all the Ianizaries and Spaoglans of Constantinople arose in a tumult, and comming before *Ferat*, in despightfull and contemptuous manner with very haughty and resolute termes said vnto him:

The insolent speech of the mutinous souldiers against Ferat their Generall.

*And how long shall we endure this thy tedious and insolent gouernment? Where is the due commiseration that thou oughtest to beare toward the Vassales of thy Soueraigne, thou rusticall and vnreasonable Captaine? Dost thou thinke haply, that we keep our Harlots as thou dost vnder thy sumptu- M
ous pauilions, all fat and in good plight, with delicate viands, whilst others liue in miserie? Dost thou beleeue that we haue as thou hast, our dainty sugars, spices, and conserues, whereby to restore vs, in the common calamitie of others? And that we haue at command meat and pretious wines, which thou mingleest with thy cleere and pleasant water, partly prouided for thee by the art of the cunning Doctors,*

A *Doctors, and partly brought to thee from far places? From this day forward it will be no longer endured that so much people should continue in this famin, afflicted with nakednes and many other inconueniences: and therfore get thy self vp and return toward Erzirum; otherwise we shall be inforced to do that which will breed more displeasure vnto thee than to any man liuing.*

The General in a great agony presently called a Councel, wherin it was concluded, That they should all send their strong sumpter horses to Ardachan, and the rest to follow him into *Manucchiar's* Countrey, whither he had appointed to go only to make an inrode, and with the spoil and booty of that country to refresh the minds of his soldiers, afflicted with the miseries both past and present. This commandment of the Generals they all readily obeyed, as well
B because he promised them a speedy voyage, as also for that euery man desired the sack of Altunchala, with other the territories of *Manucchiar*. So *Ferat* holding on his journy thorow certain low vallies between the high & craggy mountains, continually accompanied with great famin and scarsity, at length brought his army to Clisca, a place belonging to *Manucchiar*, but as then for fear of the Turks quite abandoned and forsaken by the inhabitants, who with their wiues and children, and all the best stuffe they had, were fled into remote and safe places, vntil the fury of the enemy was ouerpast. In the fields neer to this place (abounding with corn and cattel, and plenty of fruit) the General refreshed his whole army; and hoping that al the soldiers would like it wel to stay a while in that such case, determined with himself to erect a fort in that place: and with this resolution gaue commandment to *Resuan Bassa* to go vp to the
C tower, and in the top therof to set vp an Ensigne, with a proclamation and publique report, That he would in the name of *Amurath* there erect a fort, & fortifie it as he had don the other forts before. *Resuan* accompanied with *Amurath* the Bassa of Caramania, according to the commandement of the general, in the top of the tower set vp an ensigne or two, which so soon as the soldiers had espied, the forenamed Ianizaries and Spaoglans thinking themselues too much abused by the General, arising again al in an vprore, replenished with fury and indignation, ran vp in a rage to take down the ensignes that were set vp vpon the tower; and taking them in their hands, rapt the said *Resuan* once or twice about the pate, discharging withal many iniurious and despightful words vpon him, and sharply rebuked him. And then returning to the General (who was now come thither himself to countenance the action of *Resuan*) with
D gestures ful of despight, contempt and disdain, reuiling him with many shameful and scorneful terms, they protested vnto him,

That they were not come to the wars to exercise the occupation of Masons and daubers, and to bee employed in such vile and dishonorable offices; but only to manage their weapons, and therby to deserit their ordinary wages, and to purchase to themselues glory and renown at the Kings hand. And therfore if he lo- ned his head, and would not see those arms turned against himself, which hitherto had bin the reuengers of the enemies injuries, he should resolue with himself to leaue these new buildings and vnseasonable designements, and giuing place to the contrary seasons of the yeare, to haue due care of their common desires and necessity.

The mutinous soldiers again threaten their Generall.

E

Whilst they were yet thus expostulating the matter with him, one more bold than the rest, and more forgetful of his duty, did not stick to assault the Generall, and to threaten him to wreak his fury vpon him: which in that tumult had haply bin don, had not the Bassa of Caramania lent the General his own horse, and so conducted him to his pauilion. Yet was hee neuertheles stil pursued by the tumultuous souldiers, and again sharply accused for the stay that he made there, and for not resoluing presently to remoue thence: and at last after many reprochful speeches, said expresly, That if he did not the next morning remoue out of those quarters, without all fail he should lose his life for it. For all that, *Ferat* disdaining to yeeld to them that should of duty haue bin ready and obedient at euery beck of his, and seeking by
F all means (notwithstanding all this stir) to stay there so long time as should bee sufficient to build a fort, that would so much offend *Manucchiar*; answered them again,

That he made no account of their threatning him with his life, which he had alwaies offered to lay down for his Ferat.

The stout answer of Ferat.

down for any seruice of his King. But if they had no care to serue their Soueraign in this new building, they might go their waies: as for himself he was resolutely minded to obey his Lord in whatsoeuer he had commanded him; for the honor of whom euery one of them ought to think their liues very well bestowed. G

Vpon this answer there followed diuers railings and cursings against the King, against the General, and against them all: and in this confused tumult euery man betook himselfe to his weapon; in euery corner was heard grumlings and whisperings ful of wrath and indignation, so that there was a great fear of some dangerous euent, but greater was the suspition of the generals life. And now euery man had withdrawn himself to the garding of such things as hee esteemed most; when suddenly and in a trice you might haue seen the pauilions of the Bassa's & captains fal down flat to the ground, all the cords therof being cut in sunder by the wrathful soldiers; and as it were in a moment, all the muttons and other cattel the Generall & Bassa's led with them for their ordinary vse, were seised vpon by the same soldiers, & garded with all diligence possible. And so far was it off, that any man durst challenge or reuenge this their insolencie, that they themselues turning afresh vpon their General, being now in a maze and deadly fear, began now the third time to threaten him, That if he did not forthwith remoue from those countries, and turn his journy toward Erzirum, those vallies & fields should without all fail become the sepulchres of the Bassa's, and those hils retain the eternall memory of so bloudy a day. H

Ferat in danger to be slain by the soldiers.

With a little liberality might the Generall haue don with his people whatsoeuer hee had listed, but being loth to gratifie them in any thing, he was inforced to performe their proud and arrogant demands, and to his great shame to obey them, whom with right vsage he might haue made obedient to himself: and therfore to auoid their despightful threats, to his exceeding great reproch, he was glad to yeeld to them, in remouing out of those quarters. The first day he arriued at Ardachan, with the great trouble of all his souldiers: for wheras the journy was wont to be two days work ordinarily, as wel in respect of the length of the way, as the difficulty of the passage, the General would now needs haue it don in one, the rather thereby to grieue his soldiers. But of this his wilfulnes he receiued euen the same day the iust reward; for that the chariots wherin his women rid were conueyed away, together with the Eunuchs their keepers. Some say by the Georgians that lay in wait for such a prey: others say by the Ianizaries, who the more to dishonor their Generall wrought him this iniury. I K

Great was the reproch that *Ferat* receiued in the Army, but far greater at Constantinople, when these news were there known. But there was no remedy, he must now perforce indure it, and discontented as he was, to keep on his way towards Erzirum. In Ardachan he took a surucy of his Army, and there gaue his souldiers leaue to depart: himself afterwards arriuing at Erzirum, hated of all his souldiers, envied by his Captains, derided for the losse of his Women, and fallen into disgrace with euery man. No lesse than the rest was the Turkish Emperor discontented with him also; first, for that he had don nothing worth speaking of, in reuenge of the shameful iniury don by *Manucchiar* the Georgian, and yet so mightily discontented his soldiers. Secondly, for that without any care he had suffered *Aliculi Chan* the Persian prisoner to escape away, about whose flight it was thought he could not chuse but haue some intelligence. For *Ferat*, after he was by new order from the Court, to diuert his journey from Nassiuan, to the streits and narrow passages of Georgia; being desirous to be throughly informed of those dangerous waies, in this second year when he remoued from Erzirum, tooke *Aliculi Chan* out of prison, of purpose to vse him as his guid in those dangerous streits, and therfore carried him vnder a gard (whatsoeuer it was afterwards) of his most faithful vassals; still intreating him wel, and taking such order as that he wanted nothing. At last being come to the streits of Tomanis in Georgia, where the castle (as it is before said) was erected, he from thence secretly escaped into Persia. The manner of his escape is diuersly reported. Some say that *Ferat* in discharge of his promise, for his good direction had gratified him with his liberty. Others say, That *Ferat* corrupted with mony, gaue him opportunitie to escape. Some others (with more probability) That his escape was made neither for mony, nor discharge of promise, but by the only vigilancie of *Aliculi* himself, and the sleepines of his Keepers. And that watching the opportunitie of the night (a friend to all escapes) he started away. Howsoeuer L M

Ferat breakes vp his army.

A euer it was, in fine he was deliuered from his long captiuity, to the discredit of *Ferat*, and returned into Persia, to performe such enterprises against the Turks, as shall be hereafter declared.

General *Ferat* (before his departure out of Georgia) had commanded *Aly* the Bassa of Græcia (whom he left, as is before declared, in the new castle of Lori) to fortifie a certaine castle called Saitan Chas (in our language, *The castle of the Deuill*) which he with great diligence performed, and left therein fifty pieces of artillery, and a thousand soldiers vnder the charge of a Sanzacke: and so quieted the passages from fort to fort, as that all the waies from Reiuan to Chars, and from Chars to Teflis, were made easie and safe; and all the meanes taken away whereby the enemy might be able to plot any new treachery vpon those passages: which was B no small peece of good seruice.

The dangerous passage from Reiuan to Teflis secured vnto the Turks.

The Persian King in the meane time lying at Tauris with his army, vnderstanding that the Turks had changed their purpose from Nassiuan to Georgia, so that there was no further need to imploy his army against them for the defence of Tauris or Nassiuan; at last resolued with himselfe to licence his soldiers to depart, and to apply himselfe to more priuate reuenges. For calling *Emir Chan* vnto him, whom he had left Gouernor of Tauris, and Generall for that part of his kingdome; he required of him the occasion, why he had not performed the great promises which he had made to him before his departure to Heri, nor done his endeauour to hinder the Turks Fabrick at Reiuan: and why he went not out with other soldiers appointed for that purpose, and namely, with the Turcomans (as he had promised) to reuenge so great an injury, C and in best maner he could, to haue indamaged the Turkish forces? Sundry excuses did *Emir Chan* alledge for the colouring of his manifest default, but none sufficient to cleare him of the crimes objected against him by the King and the Sultans: wherefore he was by the King adjudged to haue his eies burnt out with an hot yron; and so depriued of his sight, to be despoiled of all his goods and shut vp in close prison. Which heauy doome was without further delay accordingly put in execution: whereof within the space of a few moneths, the wicked *Chan* (but yet a famous soldier) miserably died in prison. Whose death so highly offended the Turcoman nation (who had him alwaies in great estimation) that they absolutely denied their defences for the crowne of Persia: and the more, when they heard that the King had bestowed the roome of *Emir Chan* vpon *Aliculi*; who although he had in many respects deserued all preferments, yet for that he was an antient enemy to certain Turcoman captains, they would not D in any wise endure that he should be exalted to so great an honour. And therefore they waxed more disdainefull and ill affected towards the King, whereby the Persian forces became the more weakened and diuided.

Emir Chan having his eies put out, dieth miserably in prison.

The Turks notwithstanding the league yet in force betwixt *Amurath* and *Rodolph* the Christian Emperor then reigning, did many times make incursions into the vpper part of Hungary, burning the country villages, and carrying away the people into captiuity: but in their return, they were oftentimes cut off by the Emperors soldiers and slaine. Which being reported at Constantinople, much moued the Turkish tyrant: but when he vnderstood that his men had without any cause made those inrodes into the territory of the Christians, and so receiued E the foresaid losses, he was againe appeased, and in the beginning of this yeare 1584, renewed the league betwixt him and the Emperor for eight yeares more.

Ferat from Erzirum aduertised *Amurath* of all that had hapned in his late expedition; desiring him to command what he would haue taken in hand the next Spring. But besides this information from him, there wanted not many others which did the like also, although in another manner: declaring vnto the king (and that in an odious sort) the whole proceedings of *Ferat*, the escape of *Aliculi Chan*, the shameful losse of his women, his quarrels with the Ianizaries, his falling out with *Veis Bassa*, a man well regarded of *Amurath* himselfe, the disorders of his whole camp for his want of discretion; and to be short, the particularities of al such actions as had not altogether so honorably bin by him performed that yeare: causes of themselues sufficient to induce the king to remoue the said *Ferat* from his Generalship. To which occasions, F were also added sundry other secret respects: for euer since the last departure of *Ferat* from Erzirum, *Amurath* had still in his head, the next yeare following to attempt the enterprise of Tauris, and thereby to stir vp through the World a famous report of his conquest correspondent to his greatnesse. Now among the captaines whom he esteemed to be worthy men, to

whom he might with truſt commit this ſo great an enterpriſe, he bethought himſelfe of *Oſman Baſſa*, left at Sumachia in Siruan by Generall *Muſtapha* in the firſt yeare of this war; who G
hauing in that prouince remained euer ſince, had without any helpe of the Tartarians, by his owne induſtry and valor, to the great contentment of *Amurath*, brought that large country in-
to a reaſonable obedience to the Turkiſh Empire: and that which moſt of all pleaſed the Tur-
kiſh Emperour, had in a country ſo far diſtant, maintained his army, wherewith he had done
all this without any expences at all to his king; hauing now a good while leuied his ſouldiers
ſtipends vpon the lands and territories of that region; and ſtill exerciſed a kind of gouernment
and ſouereignty ouer thoſe places. Of all which his good proceedings, he had cauſed intelli-
gence from time to time to be ſent vnto the court: by which means, and other fauorers which
he had about the King, there was foſtered in the minde of *Amurath* a wonderfull good opini-
on of him; ſo that now without delay he reſolued to ſend for him to Conſtantinople; and for H
that purpoſe, before *Ferat* was arriued at Erzirum, he had diſpatched certain Capigi & Chiaus
to call this famous warriour vnto him: yet wanted there not ſome (and thoſe not of the meq-
neſt ſort) that went about to hinder both his comming to the court, & alſo theſe diſignements
of ſo great importance. For *Sciaus* the chieſe Viſier (who rather for the comelineſſe of his per-
ſon and alliance with the king, than for any other his vertues, was mounted to that high room)
did greatly feare, leſt *Oſman* whoſe courſe it was to ſit next vnto him in the order of the grea-
teſt Baſſaes, partly for his experience in matters of war, and partly for the good affection the
king did beare vnto him, ſhould at his comming to Conſtantinople perſwade the king to what
he liſted, and ſo peraduenture take from him the chieſeſt office, & get into his hands the whole I
gouernment of the empire, whereby ſo great wealth was to be gained. Wherefore to rid him-
ſelfe of theſe feares, he caſt about by all means to keep him from comming to the court: but
becauſe that to attempt the ſame openly, might proue a matter both difficult and dangerous,
he thought it better to make triall of a more commodious and ſecret meanes. This *Sciaus* in
conſideration of many gifts beſtowed vpon him by *Mahamet* the Cuman-Tartar king, had ma-
ny times excuſed him to *Amurath* of diuers accuſations which *Oſman* by his letters had laid to
his charge; For not aiding him in the ſubduing of Siruan, as he was both by promiſe and duty
bound: and for all his ouerſights alledged ſuch reaſons in his behalfe, as if they did not alto-
gether perſuade *Amurath* to be kinde vnto him, yet at the leaſt not to carry a mind of reuenge
againſt him: and had ſo far proceeded in countenancing this Tartarian king, that there was be-
twixt them confirmed an interchangeable amity and mutuall confederacy. Him *Sciaus* imagi-
ned to find willing and ready by al means poſſible, to hinder the comming of *Oſman* his enemy
to the Court, if he were but made acquainted with the matter. And therefore *Sciaus*, as ſoone
as he vnderſtood the certain reſolution of *Amurath*, to call *Oſman* to the court, ſecretly wrote
to the Tartar king, who lay incamped neer to the hauen of Caffa vpon the Fens of Meotis; cer-
tifying him, That *Oſman* was to come to the court; and that therefore it were good for him to
call to mind, how great an enemy he had beene to him, and how much he had endeauoured by
letters to *Amurath*, to turne all his hatred and diſpleaſure againſt him: and withall, That if he
was able to doe ſo much by letters, as if *Sciaus* had not defended him with very reaſonable ex-
cuſes, the King had executed his wrathfull indignation vpon him to his great danger; hee L
ſhould then imagine with himſelfe, what *Oſman* ſhould be able to do, when he ſhould come in
perſon to the preſence of *Amurath*, and without any mediator, betweene themſelues determine
of all matters what they ſhould thinke conuenient. Theſe, and peraduenture worſe Letters
which *Sciaus* wrote to the Tartar, miniſtred matter enough vnto him to reſolue to do what he
might, not to ſuffer ſo pernitious an enemy of his to arriue at Conſtantinople: and eſpecially
perceiuing that *Sciaus*, in whoſe breaſt he repoſed all his hope and all his protection, did ſo
greatly feare his comming. Wherefore to rid himſelfe of that feare, he commanded twelue
thouſand ſoldiers, that changing their weapons and apparell, they ſhould goe and lie in wait
for *Oſman* in the borders betweene Cholchis, and Iberia, towards the Tartarian Nomades, by
which way he was to come; and ſo making an aſſault vpon him, to bereaue him of his life. M
Hoping that ſuch an outrage once done, could not, or would not, be imputed to his procure-
ment, but rather to the Tartar Nomades, or to the Mengrellians, or to the Georgians, or to
the Muſcouites, or to the robbers by the high way; and to be ſhort, rather to any body elſe,
than to him. This commandement of the Tartar King, was accordingly by the ſouldiers put
in

Amurath ſendeth for Oſman into Siruan.

The Tartar King ſendeth 12000 Tartars to lie in wait for to kill Oſman.

A in practiſe: who without further ſtay joyned themſelues together, and ſo rode towards the place appointed.

And now were the meſſengers ſent from *Amurath*, come to *Oſman*, who preſently put him-
ſelfe on his way towards Conſtantinople, hauing left behind him at Derbent and Sumachia,
two Baſſaes, thought to be the moſt ſufficient men in Seruania: hauing alſo appointed very
good orders in the ſame, and an aſſured eſtabliſhment of all thoſe countries and places which
Muſtapha had firſt ſubdued, and he himſelfe had afterwards maintained vnder the obedience of
Amurath. He had alſo prouided for the ſafety of his own perſon, in paſſing thoſe troubleſome
and dangerous paſſages through which he was to trauell, by chuſing out foure thouſand ſoul-
diers which he had tried in diuers battels, and brought vp vnder his owne diſcipline; through
B whoſe valor, he doubted not ſafely to paſſe through the treacheries of the Albanians, and the
populous ſquadrons as well of the Tartarians as of the Mengrellians.

Thus departed he from Derbent, and coaſting along the rocks of Caucaſus (that at al times
of the yeare are all white and hoary with continuall ſnowes) leauing on his left hand Media,
Iberia, and Colchis; and on the right hand, the famous riuer of Tanais and Volga, euen at his
firſt entrance vnto the ſhores of the Euxine ſea, he was by the aboue named twelue thouſand
Tartarians, being apparelled like the ues that lie vpon thoſe waies, ſuddenly aſſailed & fought
withall. But like as a huge rocke lying open to tempeſt and waues, ſtanding faſt and vnmoue-
able in it ſelfe, reſiſteth the thundrings and ruſhings of the great and fearefull billowes: ſo
ſtood *Oſman* faſt & firme, and couragiouſly ſuſtained this treacherous aſſault, turning the bold
C countenances of his reſolute ſouldiers, againſt the rebellious multitude of thoſe traiterous
ſquadrons: who, as is their manner in the beginning, vſed great force, but finding ſo ſtout reſi-
ſtance in thoſe few, whom they had thought with their only lookes and ſhoutings to haue put
to flight, they began at length to quaile. Which *Oſman* quickly perceiuing, couragiouſly for-
ced vpon them, and in a very ſhort ſpace, and with a very ſmall loſſe of his own, put thoſe Tar-
tarians to flight, killing a number of them, and alſo taking many of them priſoners: by whom
Oſman was afterwards informed (as the truth was) that their king for feare that he had conce-
ciued, leſt when he came to Conſtantinople he would procure his deſtruction from *Amurath*,
had ſent this army to ſeeke his death. Of which treaſon *Oſman* cauſed a perfect proceſſe to be
made, together with the depoſitions of the Tartarian priſoners, which he ſent the ſhorteſt way
D he could deuiſe to *Amurath* at Conſtantinople, with letters declaring all that had paſſed, in-
flaming him to reuenge ſo dangerous an injury and ſo wicked a practiſe. *Amurath* receiuing
theſe aduertiſements from *Oſman*, according to the neceſſity of the matter, tooke order that
Vluzales his Admirall with certain gallies well appointed, ſhould paſſe ouer to Caffa to fetch
Oſman; and withall to carry with him *Iſlan*, a brother of the Tartar kings, commanding *Oſman*
by letters, that he ſhould (to the terror of others) put to death the treacherous king, and place
his brother in his roome.

This Tartar King was one of thoſe mighty Princes, who baſely yeelding to the *Othoman*
power, led vnder them a moſt vile and troubleſome life, as their tributaries and vaſſals, alwaies
at command: whoſe yonger brother *Iſlan* (preſuming of the ſufficiency of himſelfe and the fa-
E uor of the people) going to Conſtantinople, became a ſutor to the Turkiſh Emperor, to haue
his eldeſt brother thruſt out of his kingdome, as a man for his euill gouernment hated of his
ſubjects, and to be placed himſelfe in his roome. Which his ſuit was ſo croſſed by the Embaſ-
ſadors of the king his brother (who ſpared for no coſt in the behalfe of their maſter) that the
ambitious youth was ſent from the Turks court to Iconium, and there clapt faſt vp in priſon:
where apparelled like an Eremit, he led his life altogether conformable to his miſery, with
ſuch a kind of externall innocency, as if he had beene void of all hope or ambitious deſire of a
kingdom, but rather like a forlorn and vnhappy wretch with vain affliction & impious deuoti-
on to prepare himſelfe to a laudable and honorable death. But whilſt he thus liued, ſequeſtred
from all wordly cogitations, vpon the diſcouery of the king his brothers rebellion, he was in
F more than poſt haſt ſent for to Conſtantinople, and put into the gallies bound for Caffa, with
letters to *Oſman* of the tenour aforeſaid. Now in the meane time *Oſman* had by cunning means
got into his hands this Tartar king, being as is reported betraied by his owne counſellours,
corrupted by the Turks gold: whom with his two ſonnes *Oſman* vpon the receit of the
aforeſaid letters from *Amurath*, cauſed to be preſently ſtrangled with a bowſtring, and *Iſlan* his

Oſman aſſaulted by twelue thouſand Tartars.

Oſman ouercommeth the Tartars.

Oſman ſtrangleth Mahemet the Tartar king with his two ſons, & placeth Iſlan his brother in his ſtead.

yonger brother be saluted king in his place, yet as vassall to *Amurath*. This shamefull death, the vsuall reward of the Turkish friendship, was thought justly to haue hapned vnto this Tartar king, for that he long before, supported by *Amurath*, had most vnnaturally deposed his aged father from that kingdome, just reuenge now prosecuting his so great disloyalty. G

Osman embarked himselfe in the forenamed gallies at the Port of Caffa, passing ouer the Euxine sea, and entering into the Thracian Bosphorus, arriued at Constantinople, where he was receiued with great pompe and singular significatons of good loue. But with most euident and expresse kinds of joy was he saluted by *Amurath* himselfe, when by his owne speach and presence he declared vnto him euery particularitie of the matters that had hapned in his long and important voiage, and in liuely maner represented vnto him the perils & trauels that he had passed, and the conquests that he had made in Siruan. After all which discourses *Amurath* who longed after nothing more, than to see the Persian king somewhat bridled, and the famous city of Tauris brought vnder his owne subjection, began to enter into conference with *Osman* about that enterprise, and in the end would needs know throughly of him, what issue he could promise him of this his desire; and in what sort by his aduice and counsell the forces should be imploied, and the armies disposed for the subduing of that city, which ouer all the nations of the world was so famous, and so great an honour to the Persian kingdome. To all which demands his answer and resolution was, That forasmuch as the matters of Georgia were now well setled, the trecherous passages by the new built forts assured, and the prouinces of Siruan vnder his obedience established, there was now no cause why he should any longer foreslow so famous an enterprise, but by the conquest of Tauris, and erecting of a fort in that proud city, to bring a terrour vpon all Persia, and to raise a glorious renown of so mighty a conquest among the Nations of Europe; for the accomplishment whereof, he thought that either the same army, or at the most a very little greater would suffice, so that it were raised of the best and choiest souldiers. H I

Amurath demandeth Osmans opinion concerning the enterprise of Tauris.

Osmans resolution.

By reason of one of the letters which *Sciaus Bassa* had written to the late Tartar king, and by the instigation of the yong Sultan *Mahomets* mother (jealous of the neere alliance of the great Bassa with her husband, as prejudiciall and dangerous to her sonne) *Amurath* had in the open Diuano depriued the said *Sciaus* from the office of the chiefe Visier, and hardly pardoning him his life, at the intercession of his wife, being his sister, had banished him the Court, so that he liued afterwards about Calcedon, vpon the borders of Asia, not far from Constantinople, in a close palace he had there built for his owne pleasure: in whose roome he appointed *Osman* to be chiefe Visier; and to honour him the more, nominated him the Generall of his army against the Persians. Such power hath Vertue, that euen from the very scum of the rascall sort, and out of the rusticall rout of mountain peasants (which notwithstanding cannot be truly justified of this *Osman*, his father being Beglerbeg of Damasco, and his mother, the daughter of the Beglerbeg of Babylon) it doth oftentimes in the course of this variable world draw diuers men into Princes courts, and aduance them to the highest dignities. Truth it is, that from a priuat souldier, though well born, he by sundry degrees grew vp to the highest honor of that so great an Empire, and was at one instant created the chiefe Counsellor and Generall of the *Othoman* forces. Great was the joy that *Osman* conceiued hereat; & great was the desire he had to make himselfe worthy of so honorable fauors; and the greater confidence he perceiued that *Amurath* had reposed in him, the more eagerly was he spurred on to doe any thing possible whereby he might shew himselfe to haue deserued the same. And therefore aduising with himselfe, that forasmuch as the greatnesse of the enterprise required a greater army, than was leuied in former yeares, so was it necessary also for him the sooner to send out his aduertisements into all his subject prouinces, and by his own example to stir vp the other captaines and souldiers euen in the Winter (though it were as yet somewhat troublesome) to passe ouer to Scutari, and from thence to Angori, to Amasia, to Siuas; and there in those territories to driue out the time, vntill his souldiers which were summoned, were all gathered together. And because vpon this his great speed it might peraduenture fall out, that the enemy misdoubting his purpose for Tauris, might prouide a greater army than they would otherwise, he caused it to be giuen out, That he must goe for Nassiuan; to the end, that the Persians so beguiled, should not regard the gathering of so mighty an Army as they would haue done if they should haue heard of the Turks comming to Tauris: and so the generall cousening rumor flew, not onely through J K L M

Osman Bassa made chiefe Visier & Generall of the army.

A through all the cities subject to the Turks, but into the countries of the Persians also: who notwithstanding being very jealous of the city of Tauris, and fearing that the matter would fall out as indeed afterward it did, ceased not to make most curious and diligent inquiry about it. And although the disgrace offered to his Embassador at Constantinople, dissuaded him from sending any other for treaty of peace: yet to spy out the secrets of the Turks, and to vnderstand the certainty of their purpose for Nassiuan or Tauris, he sent diuers messengers to *Osman*, as if he had meant to feele his mind touching a peace; but in very deed for nothing els but to sound his designements: which for all that, he could not with all the cunning he could vse possibly discouer, but still remained doubtfull as at the first, the Fame still running for Nassiuan.

B In the beginning of this yeare, now growing towards an end, *Amurath* sent one *Mustapha*, one of the meanest of his Chiaus, vnto *Stephen* king of Polonia, to excuse the death of *Podolouius* (so shamefully murthered as is before declared) as if the same had hapned by the insolency of certaine souldiers, and not by his commandement: who the better to colour the matter, had brought with him two base fellowes, as authors of that outrage, for the King to take reuenge vpon; but were indeed no such men as they were pretended to be, but rather (as it was thought) men before condemned for some other fact worthy of death, and now sent thither to serue that purpose: for whom the Chiaus (in proud and threatning maner in the name of his Master) required to haue present restitution made of all such goods as the Polonian Cossackes had not long before taken from the Turks, and the captaine of the said Cossackes to be deliuered also C vnto him, to be carried to *Amurath*: and so hardly vrged the matter, that (notwithstanding the vnworthy death of *Podolonius* and his followers, and the taking away of his horses) all the goods taken by the Cossackes were forthwith restored: which the Chiaus almost in triumphant manner presented vnto *Amurath* at Constantinople.

This Summer also, *Amurath* disporting himselfe with his Mutes, was almost dead. These Mutes are lusty strong fellows, depriued of their speech; who neuertheless by certaine signes can both aptly expresse their own conceits, and vnderstand the meaning of others: these men for their secrecy are the cruell ministers of the Turkish tyrants most horrible commands; and therfore of them had in great regard. With these Mutes mounted vpon faire and fat, but heauy and vnready horses, was *Amurath*, vpon a light and ready horse, sporting himselfe (as the maner D of the Turkish Emperors is) riding sometime about one, sometime about another; and striking now the horse, now the man, at his pleasure; when suddenly he was taken with a fit of the falling sicknesse, his old disease, and so falling from his horse, was taken vp for dead: insomuch, that the Ianizaries supposing him to haue been indeed dead, after their wonted manner fell to the spoiling of the Christians and Iews, and were proceeding to further outrages, had not their Aga or captain to restraine their insolency, to the terror of the rest, hanged vp one of them taken in the manner, and certain others in the habit of Ianizaries. Neuertheless, *Amurath* shortly after recouered againe, and to appease that rumor of his death, openly vpon their Sabbath, (which is the Friday) rid from his palace to the temple of *Sophia*; where I with many others saw him (saith *Leunclauius*) his countenance yet all pale and discoloured.

Io. Leunc. sup. Annal. Turcicorum, pag. 91.

E h This yeare also hapned such a chance as had like to haue raised new warres betwixt the Turks and the Venetians: which, forasmuch as it is worth the reporting, I thought it not good in silence to passe ouer. The widow of *Ramadan Bassa*, late Gouernor of Tripolis in Barbary, with her sonne, her family, and a great number of slaues of both sorts, being about to depart from Tripolis to Constantinople, had rigged vp a faire gally for the transporting of her selfe and her substance, reported to be worth eight hundred thousand duckats: vpon which galley for her more safety, she had joyned two others as consorts. Thus embarked, she came to the mouth of the Adriaticke; where sailing by Corfu, she was by force of tempest driuen into the gulfe of the Adriaticke. At which time one *Petrus Emus*, one of the Venetian Senatours, with certaine gallies, had the charge for the keeping of that sea against pyrats, and all other ene- F mies whatsoeuer. He hearing of the Turks comming into the gulfe, without delay set vpon them; and being too strong for them, tooke them all: and hauing them now in his power, exercised most barbarous cruelty, as well vpon the women as the men: for hauing slain the men, in number two hundred and fifty, and the sonne of *Ramadan* in his mothers lap, he caused the women, being before rauished, to haue their breasts cut off, and afterwards to be cast ouer boord

A most barbarous outrage committed by Petrus Emus a Venetian.

so entertaining them with all affable curteſie, and promiſing both rewards and honors to ſuch as would follow him in his purpoſed expedition, he leuied a wonderfull great number both of men and monies. And now was the time come that called him away to go towards Erzirum, where he was greatly expected of his huge army there aſſembled together. And notwithſtanding the great dearth of victuall, that commonly reineth in thoſe quarters, yet thither he muſt, where he arriued about the latter end of the moneth of Iuly, in the yeare 1585: and there taking a view of his whole army, and of all the prouiſion neceſſary for ſo important and famous an enterpriſe, he dayly labored to haſten his departure. In this city of Erzirum were met together all the ſoldiers of the prouinces that were wont to ſend helpe, but yet in greater number than euer was gathered by any Generall before: for that euery man forſooke his owne priuate buſineſſe, and vpon aſſured hopes of new rewards and vnwonted honours, were all induced to follow the fame of this their new Viſier and Generall: only the people of Ægypt and Damaſco were buſied with other more priuat quarrels at home, wherof becauſe they were both of great importance, and alſo fell out at this very inſtant (leauing *Oſman* with his army for a while at Erzirum) I will in as few words as I may make a briefe rehearſall.

Haſſan Baſſa the Queenes Eunuch ſent to Caire to gouerne there.

Amurath had heretofore taken *Haſſan Baſſa* the Eunuch out of the Seraglio, from the charge he had there to ſerue in the Queenes Court, and at her inſtance ſent him as Baſſa to Caire the great city of Ægypt. Which great office, beſide the honour belonging vnto it, is alſo beneficial to them whoſe good hap it is to be aduanced thereunto: the riches, the multitude of people inhabiting therein being ſo great, that it ſeemeth not to be one city, but rather to containe within the large circuit thereof many cities. This man being exceeding couetous, and therefore deſirous to handle the matter in ſuch ſort, as that he ſhould little need to ſeeke for any more ſuch grants at the Kings hands; ſought by all manner of means to oppreſſe the whole nation, and by all importunities to wring and extort from them rewards and bribes, without regard of honeſty or reaſon. By which his ſiniſter and corrupt dealing hee had now made himſelfe ſo odious and intollerable to the people in generall, that they in great number, and many times, began to goe to Conſtantinople, and with humble petitions to requeſt the King to take from them ſuch a cruel and vnjuſt Gouernor: ſo that generally in the Court there was no talke but of the villanies and miſchiefes that were reported of the couetous Eunuch. At laſt *Amurath* ſeeing theſe publique exclamations went dayly ſo far, as that he could not for ſhame let them go any further without due puniſhment, he reſolued with himſelfe to call him to the Court: and hauing ſent vnto him certain meſſengers, admoniſhed him ſundry times to returne home. But the Eunuch loth to leaue ſo fit an occaſion to enrich himſelfe, did ſtill delay his returne, alledging diuers feigned excuſes for his longer ſtay. Which thing when *Amurath* vnderſtood, thinking himſelfe thereby deluded, he determined to prouide for ſo great a diſorder, and by puniſhing of the miſchieuous Eunuch, to ſatisfie in ſome part the diſcontented minds of his oppreſſed ſubjects in Caire.

Ebrain Baſſa in ſpeech to marry Amurath his daughter.

There ſat at that time among the chiefe Baſſa's of the Court, one *Ebrain* (or as ſome call him, *Ibrahim*) by nation a Sclauonian, a young man of the age of 23 yeares, or thereabouts, of very faire conditions, and of a reaſonable judgement; vpon whom *Amurath* himſelfe had determined to beſtow his owne daughter to wife, and ſo to make him his ſonne in law. And therefore being now minded to remoue the Eunuch from his office, and to ſatisfie the city; and being alſo willing withall to giue means for his ſaid ſonne in law to enrich himſelfe, he reſolued to ſend him as general Syndic & ſoueraigne Iudge into Ægypt, giuing him in particular charge, to remember how wickedly his predeceſſor had dealt before him. And ſo this new Baſſa took his journy towards Ægypt, although there ran before him a great rumor of his comming, and of the great authority wherewith he was ſent. At which report, as the Ægyptians reſted content and joyfull, ſo the Eunuch waxed very ſad and ſorrowfull: perſuading himſelfe, that this alteration could not but engender ſome ſtrange iſſue and effect againſt him. Whereupon aduiſing himſelfe to prouide better for his owne affaires and the ſafety of his life, he reſolued not to ſtay the comming of the new Gouernour; but departing out of Ægypt, hee with great care and circumſpection for feare of meeting with *Ebrain*, trauelled towards Conſtantinople in hope to appeaſe the Kings wrath, or at leaſt by mediation of bribes, and by the interceſſion of the Queene, to finde him more fauourable than hee ſhould finde *Ebrain*, who without doubt would not haue ſpared any extremity or cruelty, to haue bereft him both of his goods

goods and life together. *Amurath* aduertiſed from *Ebrain*, of the ſudden flight of the Eunuch Baſſa out of Ægypt, & hearing withall, that he kept not the high way from Caire to Conſtantinople, began to feare, leſt when he came into Soria, he ſhould fly into Perſia to the King, and ſo worke him double and treble damage; as one that had already gathered a huge treaſure, and hauing long liued in the Court, knew the moſt ſecret affaires thereof, and had learned all the priuy deuices and faſhions of the Seraglio. Whereupon he with all diligence diſpatched his Imbrahur Baſſi (whom we call Maſter of his horſe) with forty of his Capigi (all Gentlemen Vſhers, and officers of moſt ſecret and neereſt roomes about him) with charge and commandement, that if they met him they ſhould bring him to the court, vſing all the aid and aſſiſtance of his people that might be requiſit: and for that purpoſe deliuered vnto him very effectuall and large letters, after the beſt manner of the Court. This meſſenger with his appointed train departed, and without any extraordinary inquiry, found the Eunuch in Soria, incamped in the plaines neere vnto the city now called Aman, but in times paſt Apamea, the principall city of that country. As ſoone as the Eunuch vnderſtood of the comming of the Imbrahur himſelfe, he gaue order to his guard of ſlaues, which in great number with ſpeares and arcubuſes did ordinarily kept his pauilion, that they ſhould not grant entrance into his tent to any, but only vnto the Imbrahur himſelfe, and if need were, by force to keepe the reſt of the Capigi from comming in. Which order was in very good time giuen; for as ſoone as the kings officer had diſcouered the tents of the fugitiue Baſſa, in all haſt he ran towards the ſame, and ſeeking out the greateſt among them, went preſently thither, to haue entred with all his followers: but the ſlaues being in armor, oppoſed themſelues againſt them, and permitting only the Imbrahur to enter in, entertained the reſt of his traine without. The Imbrahur being come in, read vnto him the commandement which he had from the King to bring him to the court; and moſt inſtantly moued him, that without any further reſiſtance, he would quietly go with him. To whom the wary Eunuch anſwered, *Behold, how without any calling of the King, or conducting by you, I come of my ſelfe, well aſſured to finde not only pardon and pitty, but alſo fauour and grace in the ſight of my Lord, whoſe vpright and milde nature the wicked treacheries of my falſe accuſers cannot abuſe, to the prejudice of me an innocent.* And ſo without more ado they went all to Conſtantinople: the Eunuch ſtill ſtanding vpon his guard.

The warineſſe of the crafty Eunuch.

The politike and crafty Eunuch had in this meane time diſpatched diuers poſts with letters to the Sultan ladies, certifying them of his comming, & principally beſeeching the queen to protect him, and to appeaſe the kings wrathfull indignation that haply he might haue conceiued againſt him: and ſo at length they arriued at Scutari. As ſoone as *Amurath* vnderſtood of his comming thither, he cauſed all the treaſure which hee had gathered to be taken from him, with all the reſt of his priuat ſubſtance, and the wretch himſelfe to be clapt in priſon in the Iadicula or ſeuen towers. Where after he had languiſhed many daies, ſtill fearing ſome deadly blow, he at length receiued from the Queene, an vnexpected, but moſt welcome aduertiſement, That he ſhould be of good cheare and quiet himſelfe, for that his wealth had already ſaued his life, and that ſhe hoped in ſhort time to procure him alſo his liberty. Which indeed ſhe brought to paſſe; for ſhe her ſelfe made earneſt petition to *Amurath* her husband, that foraſmuch as he had bereft her Eunuch of all his goods, he would yet at laſt deliuer him out of priſon, and reſtore him vnto her againe. Which requeſt of the Queenes was granted accordingly, and the Eunuch enlarged: but the treaſure that he had ſo vnjuſtly ſcraped together in Ægypt, that remained ſtill among the gold and other jewels of the Kings.

The Eunuch caſt in priſon at Conſtantinople, and his euill gotten goods confiſcated.

But *Ebrain Baſſa* with his new commiſſion now arriued in Ægypt, had in ſhort ſpace by far more ſiniſter means than had the Eunuch before him, ſcrapt together ſuch an infinit heap of riches, as was able only of it ſelfe to make him worthy of his promiſed wife, and therfore he was called home to the court, to accompliſh the intended mariage. With this commandment to returne to Conſtantinople, he receiued alſo in charge, to make his journey through the people of Druſia; and ſuch as he ſhould find loyal, to confirme them in their due obedience, & to make them pay their antient duties; but ſuch as he ſhould find ſtubborne and diſobedient he ſhould quite root them out and deſtroy them. This commandement *Ebrain* preſently put in execution, and hauing packed vp together all the riches he had gathered in the time of his gouernment, and raiſed good ſtore of ſoldiers in that prouince, he tooke with him thirteen Sanzackes, that were ordinarily accuſtomed to ſit as aſſiſtants vnder the gouernment of the Baſſa in

in the ruling of the populous territories of Caire, and so set forwards towards Gaza, passing G
ouer those vast and huge wildernesses of sand that lie betweene Caire and Gaza. From Gaza,
joyning the Sanzacke thereof with him, he went to Ierusalem; and from thence, causing the
Sanzacke there also to follow his traine, he turned by Safferta, by Lezium, by Naplos (called
in times past Samaria) still taking with him the Sanzacks of all those places, and at last tar-
ned himselfe towards Damasco: so that before he joyned with the band of Damasco, he had
gotten together eighteene Sanzacks, with all their squadrons of souldiers and slaues. Besides
these, he had also his own priuat Court, which was wonderfull populous, and two hundred Ia-
nizaries of Constantinople, whom *Amurath* would needs haue him to take with him at his
departure from the Court, so that he had in his army almost twelue thousand horsemen. From
Damasco, *Veis* the Bassa was come as far as Ierusalem to meet him, with all the souldiers vnder
his gouernment, in number about two thousand persons. Besides that, there came vnto him H
by the way of Sidon, the Aga of the Ianizaries of Cyprus, with all the band of that desolate
and destroied Island: which captaine with his soldiers was transported ouer into the maine,
in those gallies that by the Kings appointment were sent to fetch *Ebrain*: who now strength-
ned with all these souldiers, had purposed the vtter ruine of the disobedient Drusians, and the
raising of his own glory by triumphing ouer them.

The Drusian people: what they are.

These Drusians, against whom these great preparations were now made by this new Cap-
taine, and of whom the Turkish Emperor is so suspitious and doubtfull, are supposed to be by
discent Frenchmen, the relikes of those that with great deuotion did in times past fight those
memorable and Christian battels in Iury, and recouered the holy city: but being afterwards I
brought low, partly by the plague, and partly by the fury of the Barbarians, mingled their seed
with the circumcised nation, and so together with their authority & command, lost also their
first faith and religion: yet so, that they grew into an hatred of the Turkish superstition, & ab-
horring the circumcision of the Iewes, betooke themselues to a new Prophet of their own cal-
led *Isnan*, whose doctrine they follow. The right Drusians liue vncircumcised, neither do they
forbeare wine, as do the Turks: they make it lawfull among them (most vnlawfully) to marry
with their own daughters: the Turkish gouernment they haue sought by all means to eschue,
and notwithstanding all the endeuors and attempts of the Turkish tyrants, but especially of
Selymus the second, yet haue they alwaies bin subject to their own naturall Princes, and would
neuer admit any captain or gouernor of the Turks within the countries which they possessed. K
They are a people very warlike, stout, resolute, and religious obseruers of their own superstiti-
on: in battel they vse the arcubuse & scimitar, yet some of them at this day do serue with lan-
ces and darts: they are apparelled after the manner of the Easterne people, with a turbant on
their heads, & breeches they neuer weare, but in stead therof they couer those parts with their
coat; which reacheth down to their knees, buttoning it vp before: their feeding is grosse, and of

The Countrey which the Drusians inhabit.

mountaine meats: they inhabit all the countrie that is inuironed within the confines of Ioppa,
aboue Cæsarea & Palestina, and within the riuers of Orantes & Iordan, stretching it self euen
to the plaine of Damasco, neere to the hils that compasse it about vpon the coast of mount Li-
banus. They were all in times past good friends & confederats, so that they were greatly estee-
med: but noow being at variance through greedinesse and couetousnesse, they were diuided L
among themselues, one seeking the destruction of another. At this time they were gouerned

Fiue chiefe Rulers or Gouernors among the Drusians.

by fiue chiefe captains or gouernors: one of them was called *Ebne-Man*, and of the Turks *Man-Ogli*; another *Serafadin*; the third *Mahamet Ebne-Mansur*; the fourth *Ebne-Frec*; and the fifth *Ali-Ebne-Carfus*, by the Turks called *Ali-Carfus-Ogli*. Vnder these (who indeed carry the title and authority of an Emir, that is to say, King or Chiefe) there are diuers their lieutenants or depu-
ties whom they call their Macademi or agents. *Ebne Man* or *Man-Ogli* inhabited the moun-
tains and fields that are contained vnder the jurisdictions of Cæsarea, of Ptolemaida, of Tyrus,
and of Sidon, and had his residence for most part vpon the hill, in a town called Andera, he was
very mighty in men & armour, and since the time that by treachery his father was murthered
by *Mustapha* then Bassa of Damasco, alwaies a deadly enemy to the name of the Turkes. M
Ebne-Frec, *Ebne-Carfus*, and *Ebne-Mansur* were alwaies great friends; but now especially at
the comming of *Ebrain Bassa* they shewed themselues more streightly confederated toge-
ther. *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* were euer opposite against them: so that the one side procu-
ring the ouerthrow of the other, they lost their strength, and left no meanes to defend them-
selues

A selues against the Turks, who had long lien in wait for their liberty. Now as soone as the news
came among them, That *Ebrain* being departed from Caire, was comming into Soria to sub-
due them; the three confederates aboue named resolued among themselues to goe and meet
this great Bassa, and to submit themselues vnto him, of purpose to turne all the intended mis-
chiefe vpon *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* their enemies. And so hauing packed vp great store of mo-
ney, cloath of silke, cloath of woollen, and cloath of gold, with many loads of silkes, and other
things of exceeding value, euery of the three being accompanied, one with some two thou-
sand, another with some three thousand men, they put themselues vpon their journey towards
Ebrain, and met him at Ierusalem, where he was already arriued. This their comming *Ebrain*
tooke in wonderfull good part, and courteously accepted those their rich and great presents

Three of the Drusian lords met Ebrain at Ierusalem with rich presents & a great traine of men.

B which they brought him; and by the offers of their fidelity, and the grieuous accusations they
made against the other two Drusian lords their enemies, began to conceiue great hope of his
intended enterprise: for why, he saw that nothing could more easily compasse their ouerthrow,
than this their discord. Being thus accompanied, he came by the way of Damasco, to the
champaigne of Bocca, and there incamped. This was in the month of Iuly this yeare 4585.
The whole army that was with *Ebrain*, reckoning also the soldiers of the three Drusian lords,
was about the number of twenty thousand horsemen strong. In this place there came people
out of all quarters thereabouts, with presents to honour the Bassa; to whom he likewise yeel-
ded such small fauors as his couetous nature could afford them.

From this place also *Ebrain* presently sent letters to *Serafadin* and *Ebneman*, whereby he in-
C uited them to come vnto him, to acknowledge their obedience vnto the Sultan: for that other-
wise they might assure themselues to be in short time depriued both of their estates and liues.
For all that, *Man Ogli* would not by any meanes come in. But *Serafadin* being poore both in
wealth and forces, resolued to come, in hope by rich presents to purchase his attonement with
the great Bassa. And therefore hauing packed vp together diuers loads of silke, great store
of money, and many cloaths of good value and beauty, and also attended vpon with diuers
of his subjects, he arriued at last at the pauilion of *Ebrain*, with these his rich presents; which

Serafadin commeth with presents to Ebrain.

were there readily receiued, and he himselfe with great attention heard: whose speech in ef-
fect tended to no other thing, but only to persuade the Bassa, That he had alwaies beene a de-
uoted vassall vnto *Amurath*, and that he had carried a continuall desire to be imployed in any
D his seruice; and that now being led by the same affection, and assured of his fauour, by the
friendly and courteous offers made him in his letters, he was come to shew himselfe vnto him
to be the same man, and so prosered him whatsoeuer lay in his slender power to performe.
Whereunto *Ebrain* made no answer at all; but onely asked him the cause why he liued conti-
nually in discord and brawles with the three Emirs (who also sat at that time in the same pau-
lion.) Whereunto *Serafadin* answered, That it was not long of him, who as one desirous of
peace, had not at any time taken vp armes, but in the just defence of himselfe, against the inju-
ries of those his enemies, who because they were more mighty than he, sought continually
to oppresse him. Hereat the three conspirators arose, and with their grim looks bewraying
their inward hatred, falsely charged him to haue beene euer the author of those brawles: ad-
E ding moreouer, That his insolency was at that time growne so great, as that no strange vessell
durst for feare of him arriue at the ports of Sydon, Tyrus, or Berito; nor any merchant or mer-
chandise passe ouer the plaines; but that those countries, as though they were a prey and spoile
to the theeues of Arabia, were generally shunned of all trauellers both by sea and land, to the
great hinderance of the Sultans customes. *Serafadin* would hereunto haue gladly replied, but
preuented by *Ebrain*, and surcharged with many injurious words, was committed to the custo-
dy of the two hundred Ianizaries of Constantinople. And so being by them brought into a
rotten tent that was appointed for him, was euery night from thence forward put in the stocks
fast chained, and continually guarded with a rrusty gard of the same Ianizaries. In the meane
time came the answere of *Man-Ogli*, who wrote backe vnto the great Bassa *Ebrain* as fol-
F loweth:

A letter of Man Ogli, to Ebrain Bassa.

To the Lords of Lord, Souereigne aboue the Great Ones, the mighty, the noble Captaine cousin to the grand Lord, and the worthiest among the elect of the Prophet Mahomet, *the noble and famous Lord* Ebraim Bassa, *God giue good successe to his haughty enterprises, and prosperity in all his honour. I wish*

(euen

(euen as thou doest louingly inuite and exhort me) that I might come before thee, and follow thee, and serue thee alwaies in any occasion that it may happen thee to stand in need of my helpe. For I know that thou wouldest rest assured of the reuerence that I beare towards thy Lord, and of the most fernentdesire wherein I liue to serue him, and to imploy both my life and my substance in his seruice: whereof I haue also giuen some testimony, though but small, in the managing of his customes that I haue receiued: wherein I haue alwaies so carried my selfe, as that I am not his debter of one aspe: a thing I wis that Ebne Mansur *(who is now with thee) hath not done. For although by his comming to meet thee euen as far as Ierusalem, he would make a shew of his fidelity, yet doth hee vsurpe more than two hundred thousand ducats of the Kings, which he doth most vnjustly detaine from him of his customes. But my hard fortune will not grant me the fauour that I may come vnto thee: for there are at this time present with thee three of mine enemies, who (I know well) being not contented to haue alwaies disquieted and troubled my estate, doe now seeke to bring me into so great hatred with thy heart, that if thou haddest me in thy hands, thou wouldest without any consideration bereaue me of my life. And I am assured, that this sending for me importeth no other thing but only a desire thou hast to imprison me, and so to kill me: for I know how much thou art giuen to great enterprises. Besides this, my comming is also hindered by mine antient oath that I tooke: when as being yet but a childe, I saw mine owne father so villanously betraied by the murthering sword of* Mustapha, *being at that time the Bassa of Damasco, who vnder the colour of vnfeigned friendship, gaue him into his hand, and traiterously strucke off his head. For in truth I carry the image of my fathers reuerend head, all pale, and yet as it were breathing, imprinted in my minde, which oftentimes presenteth it selfe vnto me, as well sleeping in the darkenesse of the night, as also waking in the light of the day; and talking with me, calleth to my remembrance the infidelity of the murthering Tyrant, and exhorteth me to keep my selfe aloofe from the hands of the mighty. And therefore I neither can nor may obey thy requests, and in that respect it grieueth me that I shall seeme disobedient vnto thee, being in any other action and in all my cogitations wholly addicted to doe any seruice not only to thee, who art most worthy to be reuerenced of far greater persons than I am, but also to euery the least vassals of* Amurath. *Thou wilt pardon me I hope, and thou shalt well perceiue, that if there be any thing neere me that may be acceptable vnto thee, all that I haue whatsoeuer, though in respect of thy selfe it may seeme vile and base, yet is it thine, and is now reserued wholly for thee, and not for me. Farewell; and command me, and hold me excused vpon these just causes which thou hearest, for my being so backeward in comming to honour thee, as my duty requireth.*

The poore and the least among the slaues of the grand Lord,

The Sonne of Man.

Ebrain burneth 24 Townes of Man Oglies.

Ebrain perceiuing by this letter the resolution of *Man-Ogly*, resolued also in himselfe to go vpon him with all his army, and either by force or sleight to get him into his hands; or at least to draw from him so many arcubuses, and as great gifts and tributes as possibly he might: and therefore rising with his campe, and turning himselfe toward the country of *Man-Ogli*, he burned and destroied foure and twenty of his townes, and so mounting vp certaine rockes of Libanus, vpon the top of a large hill (that standeth ouer Andara and other places belonging to *Man-Ogli*) he incamped himselfe. But whiles the army was thus marching forward, *Veis Bassa* of Damasco with a great part of his people, and his sonne the Sanzacke of Ierusalem, with his soldiers likewise, to the number of fifteen hundred persons, hauing separated themselues from the rest of the army in manner of a rereward; as they were busie in raising their tents, vpon the sudden were furiously assaulted by a great band of Drusians of the faction of *Man-Ogli*, and discomfited. Which victory the Drusians so prosecuted, that they became lords of the pauilions, the wealth and armour of the Turks: and leading away with them their horses and their carriages, put to the sword fiue hundred persons, and scarce gaue any leisure of escape either to the Bassa the father, or the Sanzacke his sonne, who fled streight to Ierusalem, and neuer returned againe to *Ebrain*; but *Veis* his father still followed the army with those few which he had left, and was thought worthy of all men to be pitied.

Veis Bassa and his sonne discomfited by the Drusians.

Vpon the hill aforesaid, *Ebrain* continued twenty foure daies together, with abundance of all things necessary for victual: during which time he attended nothing els, but to try all deuises how he might draw mony and presents from *Man-Ogli*, or how he might traine him into his

his hands. For the compassing wherof he dispatched one *Gomeda (Ebne-Mansur)* Agent) vnto *Man-Ogli* being in Andrea, to tel him, That forasmuch as he would not giue credit to the promise that was made him, nor aduenture himselfe into the hand of his friend; he should send him all the arcubuses he had; for that the Sultans pleasure was, that his people that went not to the wars in his seruice, should not be furnished with so great store of weapons, to the danger of their neighbors, and of the subiects themselues. With great griefe of mind did *Man-Ogli* behold the messenger, as the man whom he well knew to be the agent of his deadly Enemy: yet in regard of him that sent him, he forbare to doe him injury, or to giue him any reproch; telling him, That all his people and weapons were dispersed abroad ouer his territory, so that he could not tel what arcubuses to send him: with which cold answer *Gomeda* returned.

Ebrain sends for arcubuses to Man-Ogli.

Which thing when *Ali* Bassa of Aleppo vnderstood, he offered the Generall to goe himselfe vnto him, and that to some better purpose. Many reasons did *Ali Bassa* vse to persuade the wary Drusian to come and yeeld his obedience to *Ebrain*, swearing that no harm should bee don vnto him, and withall promising him great and honorable fauors. But neuer could he remoue the resolute and prouident mind of *Man Ogli*, or win him to yeeld himselfe into such a mans hands whom he thought to be so murderous: yet at last with much ado, he so far preuailed with the Drusian Lord, that in signe of the reuerence he did bear toward the Generall, and his obedience towards *Amurath*, he was content to send a present to *Ebrain*. And therupon he gaue him 320 arcubuses, 20 packs of Andarine silks, and fifty thousand ducats to carry to the Bassa for a gift, and to reconcile him vnto him. For the better effecting wherof hee sent his own mother vnto the great Bassa, who in the behalf of her sonne performed a very worthy message, excusing him as wel in respect of his enemies that fate there so neer vnto him, as also in regard of the oath which he had solemnly sworn, That for the treachery of *Mustapha*, hee would neuer commit himself into the hands of a Turk: and therefore besought him to accept of the gifts that were sent him, and withall a mind and heart most ready to serue and obey the King in all occasions; and that he would hold him excused, for that his excuses were but iust reasonable. Wherunto the Turk replied, That although she had found so foul a fault in *Mustapha* (who vnder the assurance of his promise and fidelity had betraied her husband) yet for all that she ought not to fear any such infamous or wicked act at his hands, who stood vpon his honour, and the word of a souldier. And so by oath protesting all faithfull and constant friendship towards him; in token of his sincere meaning, he cast a white vail about her neck, and put another vpon himself, and the third he gaue her in her hands: Willing her to report vnto her son the othes he had made, and to carry that vail, and bring him with her; protesting no otherwise to intreat him than as a friend and a brother. The peaceable old woman went away accordingly, but shee neither could nor would go about to alter the purpose of her son, but returned to *Ebrain* such an answer as did not greatly please him. After which time hee sought more than euer before to get the wary Drusian into his hands, or at least, without regard of shame, to draw from him moe presents and weapons. And therfore once again he sent the crafty *Gomeda*, to exhort him, vpon faith and promise giuen, to come vnto him: but for all the craft and lying speeches that the treacherous messenger could cunningly vse, he could obtain nothing of the Drusian lord but good words only: yet at last after much fineness, he preuailed so much, as that *Man-Ogli* was contented by him to send another present to *Ebrain*; with an expresse condition notwithstanding, That hee should cause *Ebrain* to depart out of those quarters, and that he should not himself return any more to request any thing further of him. Which he very largely promised, only desiring him to send a good number of Arcubuses, therby to content the Bassa fully: so he gaue him fifty thousand ducats more, and foure hundred and fourscore arcubuses, with a thousand goats, a hundred and fifty Camels, an hundred and fifty Buffles, a thousand oxen, and two hundred weathers. With this rich Present came *Gomeda* to *Ebrain*, declaring vnto him, that this he had got from him vpon promise that he should not molest the Drusian any more. For which promise so made, *Ebrain* sharply reproued *Gomeda*, and threatened to make him know what it was to take vpon him so dangerous a liberty: and for the greater despight both to the one & the other, *Ebrahin* would needs haue *Gomeda* himselfe to returne again with the like message to trouble the Drusian. Wherefore although he went in great feare of some mischiefe by the hands of *Man-Ogli*, yet was there no remedy, but needs he must follow the commaund of him, in whose power it was to take

The notable dissembling of Ebrain Bassa.

take from him both his honor and his life, and therfore on he went. But as soon as *Man-Ogli* G
saw *Gomeda*, thinking as the truth was, that he came again about his wonted requests, hee was
at the very sight of him so far mooued, as that he was euen at the point to haue thrown a dart
at him, and so to haue dispatched him, had not the regard of more dangerous effects staid his
fury: yet spared he not with ignominious words and deadly threats to dis burthen his choler.
Notwithstanding *Gomeda* could doe no lesse than accomplish the effect of his fraudulent de-
sires, and so wrought with him, that he drew from him foure burdens of Arcubuses more, ten
swords, ten gilt daggers, certain siluer belts, ten packes of silke, and some few pence. Causing
him withall to protest vnto him; Neuer to suffer himself to be persuaded to come again; for if
he did, he threatned to kill him, happen after what would of it. With great ioy and triumph
did *Ebrain* receiue this present, and thinking now with himself that he had gotten a sufficient H
booty from him, he determined to rise with his army, and to sacke all the rest of *Man-Ogli*
country. Which he performed accordingly, and being conducted by *Emir-Ebne-Frec*, burned
Andrea, the place of *Man-Ogli* his residence; and in two daies burnt and destroied 19 of his
towns, with vnspeakable cruelty committing all things to fire and sword. After all this sac-
king and rasing, *Ebrain* sent diuers messengers to *Man-Ogli*, to try whether he would be yet
persuaded to come to him. But nothing could mooue the resolute Drusian to dommit him-
self into his hands, but rather increased his constancie to auoid a most certaine death. Now
the great Bassa stil thirsting after bloud and reuenge; vnderstanding by a spy, That the Cap-
tain of Andrea (being one of the factors of *Man-Ogli*) with 350 souldiers was got vp to a cer-
tain hil, into a place of great securitie, he sent *Emir-Ebne-Frec* to intice him, and to tell him, I
That seeing his Lord *Man-Ogli* would not come and yeeld himselfe, he should come to him:
which if he would doe, he would assuredly in despight of *Man-Ogli* make him a Sanzacke of
some place he most desired. The ambitious and vnheedy Macademo suffered himselfe to bee
easily persuaded, and being accompanied with his 350 followers, went with the said *Ebne-frec*
and came at last to the pauilion of *Ebrain*, hauing first caused his aforesaid men to stay behind
in a valley two or three miles off. But *Ebrain* would not so much as see the Macademo, al-
though both in respect of the nimblenes of his person, and also the fiercenesse of his looker,
he was worthy to be looked vpon; but commanded him to keep in a seueral place from *Serafa-*
din, and in the mean time deuised, how hee might with the least losse of his owne men, put to
death those three hundred and fifty, the Macademo's followers: which was by training them K
by means of the said *Ebne-frec*, into a certaine Vineyard, and so hauing brought them into a
streit, suddenly to set vpon them and kill them. Which was accordingly performed; for be-
ing by the treacherous *Emir* brought into the place appointed for their slaughter, fearing no-
thing lesse, they were suddenly inclosed by the Turks Sanzacks or Ianizaries, and slaine euery
mothers son. This massacre thus finished, *Ebrain* commanded the Macademo to be brought
before him, and without delay to be stript and flaied quick. Who being come, stoutly vpbraid-
ded *Ebrain* with his promise and his oath: and among other speeches which he vttered whilst
they stripped him, said, *Cut me off my members, and first putting them into the priuities of that infa-*
mous Ebrains *wife, put them afterwards into the mouth of himself: for so I trow he will be contented and*
satisfied with my flesh. And to them that were the executioners of his painful death, hee said, L
It is your great good fortune indeed, that with such violence, and needlesse deformity you are now able to
spill my bloud, and to take my life from me: whereas none of you all had bin able, or once durst, man to man,
to haue drawn one drop of it from me, no nor to haue endured my countenance. But go top, proceed in your
wicked & vnsatiable desire of my bloud, and fulfill the cruell command of your Visier: for in the end there
will also light vpon you the iust reward of this so villanous a fact. With these and other such like
speeches the miserable wretch was stripped, and three great gashes made on his backe, where
they began to flea him: he in the mean time not ceasing to blaspheme their religion, and to
curse their King and their false prophet also. But the barbarous soldiers proceeding in their
cruel action, made other-like gashes vpon his breast and stomack; and so drawing the skinne
downward, could not bring it to his nauel, before he was with the extremity of the pain dead. M
After this, *Ebrain* caused the followers of *Serafadin* (in number about an hundred and fifty) to
be cruelly slain, and all his country to be most miserably wasted, he himself still remaining in
chaines.

Man Ogli his lieutenant inticed to come to Ebrain, is slain quicke.

Whilst the fire and sword thus raged in the Drusian Country, *Ebrain* by speedy posts sent to

A to Sidon, where his gallies lay at rode, commanded, That disbarking 4000 souldiers, they
should sack all those countries alongst the sea coast, euen as far as Cæsaria in Palestine, spa-
ring neither age nor sex, of what condition soeuer. Which his cruel command was presently
put in execution, and three thousand soules brought away captiues, great booties made of
much rich merchandise, many towns burnt, sundry castles rased & layd euen with the ground;
and to be short, all the whole countrey both of *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* layd vtterly waste and
desolate.

Ebrain was now in readinesse to depart for Constantinople, where hee was by *Amurath*
expected, as wel for his gold, as the accomplishment of the mariage. But bethinking himself,
that whatsoeuer he had hitherto don, would bee accounted little or nothing, vnles hee prouid-
B ded in some sort for the quieting of those people vnder the Turkish obedience, he determined
to nominat one of the three Drusian Emirs that came to him to Ierusalem, to be Bassa of all
those regions. And because Emir *Aly Ebne-Carfus* was the richest and most obedient of them
all, he thought good to commit that charge vnto him, and honored him with that dignity, yet
not without a bribe, but for the price of an hundred thousand ducats. Wherfore he apparel-
led him in cloath of gold, gaue him a horsmans mace and a sword all gilt, and deliuered vnto
him the Kings commission, causing him withal to swear faith and obedience to *Amurath*. And
so hauing (at least in shew) set in order the affairs of those mountaines, which an hundred of
the Turks great Captaines had in former time vainely attempted, hee returned to Damasco,
where he staied twelue daies, by shamefull shifts extorting money from diuers persons. At
C last hauing no more to do in those parts, he turned himself towards Gazir and Baruto, places
vnder the gouernment of *Ebne-Mansur*, where he arriued with all his army, and found the Gal-
lies which he left in the port of Sidon, now in the hauen of Baruto, as he had before comman-
ded. Now vpon a certain hil aboue Baruto, neer vnto the sea, *Ebrain* had pitched his own tent
only and no other; and hauing sent all the rest of his best and goodly things which he meant
to carry with him to Constantinople, aboord the gallies, shrouded himselfe onely vnder that
narrow and base tent. Thither he called *Ebne-Mansur*, and in pleasant manner told him, That
now it was time for him to make paiment of the debt of an hundred and threescore thousand
ducats, which he owght the King his Lord for the custom of Tripoli and Baruto; for that he
could not longer stay in those quarters, but was to return to Constantinople, which hee knew
D not how to do, vnlesse he caried with him the discharge of that debt. Wherunto *Ebne-Mansur*
made answer, that it would not be long before his Macademo's would come with his monies,
and that then he would without further delay make paiment. Which thing *Ebrain* well knew
to be but an excuse, and therfore determined with himself to thrust him into the gallies: and
because he could not carry the mony vnto the King, yet at the least to bring him his debtor.
But forasmuch as he doubted to put this his determination openly in execution, for feare of
some insurrection among the people, as well for that he was within the territories of the said
Ebne-Mansur, as for that he saw him to be greatly beloued and fauoured of the other two Dru-
sian Lords, *Ebne-Frec* and *Ebne-Carfus*; he therefore thought it better policie, by concealing
this his purpose, to shew him in his outward actions all good countenance, and by secret and
E subtil means to take him prisoner. Wherupon hee deceitfully told him, That forasmuch as
he was to stay there about his businesse that night, and was resolued the next day to make a
road into the Country of *Man-Ogli*; he therfore praied him to do him the fauour to be his
guid; and for that purpose when he should send for him at midnight, that he would come vn-
to him very secretly, because he was minded to depart without any stirre, only with fiue hun-
dred men in his company. The Drusian Lord verily beleeued the matter, that so it was, and
withall was in good hope, by that means to find some way to escape his hands. Wherupon
being called vp at midnight, he readily went to the tent of *Ebrain*, who presently charged him
(whom all men thought he had especially affected) with many abhominable and foul terms,
causing a chain to be cast about his neck and his arms, and so fast bound to be caried into the
F Gallies. And yet not so contented, took the spoil of all his Country, whereby there was le-
uied such a prey as was maruellous to behold: for besides mony (wherof there was a very huge
sum) the store of cloaths of silk and gold was such, and so great, as might better beseem some
great Prince, than such a mountaine rustical Lord as he was. When the Bassa had conueyed
all this into his Gallies, hee sailed to Tripoli, where hee found *Serafadin* in the custody of

Ebrain vnadvisedly dissembleth with Ebne-Mansur.

Ebne-Mansur in chains sent to the gallies.

Veis Bassa and *Ali Bassa*; and hauing staid there some few daies, wherin he committed sundry villanous and abhominable outrages, hee caused the said *Serafadin* to be put into the Gallies, with all his silks and other wealth, and so departed for Constantinople. Where at such time as he entred into the chanel of the city, accompanied with 24 gallies, he was incountred and receiued by a wonderful number of his friends and fauourits, and saluted with an honourable peal of artillery out of the Seraglio. *Iohn Thomas Minadoi*, the best reporter of this history, as also of the late wars betwixt the Turks and the Persians, being then at Constantinople, & hauing (as he reporteth of himselfe) good means to see the bountifull & the beautiful presents which the spoiling and rauenous Bassa gaue the Turkish King; reporteth the sum thereof to haue bin a million of gold, besides the yearly reuenue of Cair, amounting to 600000 ducats, with 60 horses most richly garnished, of singular beauty, but especially of the Arabian race, a liue Elephant, and a liue Giraffle (which is a beast like a Camel and a Panther) two great crocodiles dead, a Chair of massie gold richly set with pretious stones, a Casket also beset with pretious stones and gold, many packs of most fine cloathes, woollen and silkes, certaine other cloaths with fringe of gold & siluer, and the Barbarian cut-worke, most fine linnen of Alexandria, and all the arcubuses taken from the Drusians: besides sundry rich presents giuen by the proud Bassa to the great Ladies of the court, reported by *Leunclavius* to haue bin worth two hundred thousand Sultanines.

Ebrahim rich presents.

Io. Leun. sup. An. Turc. p. 95

But now forasmuch as we haue before made mention of the Sanzack of Ierusalem and his flight, it shall not be altogether impertinent to our history (though somwhat out of time) to declare in few words what past between him and the Arabians of Palestine a little before the comming of *Ebrain* the great Bassa into those quarters: by which little the desirous Reader may easily perceiue the woful and troublesome state of that somtime most blessed and fruitful, but now most miserable and barren land of Iury, and of those places in holy writ so much renowned.

Troubles in the land of Iury.

In the confines of Sodom, and in the places that lie not only betwixt the lake Asphaltites and Damasco, but also in the plains and in the vallies of Iericho and of Samaria, and in other places about Bethlehem, Emaus, Bethany, Bethsage, Capharnaum, Nazareth, Leuir, Bethsaida, Naplos, and other Townes of name thereabouts, there do haunt and liue certain Arabian captains, who spreading themselues euen as far as Rama and Ioppa, ouer-run at their pleasure al the countries there round about, and continually commit grieuous outrages, as wel against the said Cities, as also vpon the goods and wealth not only of the inhabitants there, but also of strangers: yea, and their insolencie oftentimes groweth so great, that they dare to assault the fenced cities; besides the spoiling of Trauellers, that by reason of their businesse haue occasion to passe from one city to another. They are good horsmen, but they vse no armours; their horses are very swift to run, and spare of diet, and are themselues bold and aduentuous theeues. These Arabians hauing had intelligence, that the aforesaid ambitious youth, appointed Sanzack of Ierusalem, was in mind to raise all the Sanzacks thereabout, and joining himself with them and his father the Bassa of Damasco, to restrain their insolent liberty, & to work their destruction; resolued with themselues not to stay vntill hee and his Confederates were ready, but rather by sundry inuasions vpon him, euen vnto the gates of Ierusalem, to prouoke him to come out into the field. And the rather to induce him so to do, they compacted with a certaine Subbassi of Bethlehem their friend, to incourage and animate the Sanzacke therunto, by promising him good succes and prosperous euents. The ambitious yong man, seduced with the glorious persuasions of the false Subbassi (of whom hee made good reckoning) and prouoked by their insolencies, resolued, as they had wished, to issue out of the city into the open field; and therupon hauing armed an hundred of his Vassals, and raised all the horsmen that were vnder his gouernment, to the number of six hundred, he made a rode towards Iericho, sending before defiance vnto them. Against whom the Arabians came accordingly, and with their arrows and Indian canes ouerwhelming his arcubuses, as if it had bin a raging floud, wrought him great wo: when as in the very nick, the battel yet being at the hotest, the traiterous Subbassi fled towards Bethlehem, and left the souldiers of Ierusalem in the hands of the Arabians, who put most part of them to the edge of the sword, and scarcely gaue liberty to the Sanzacke to saue himselfe by flight. The Sanzack certainly informed of this fraud of the dissembling Subbassi, to be reuenged vpon him, began also in like manner to dissemble with

A with him, feining that he would once more try his forces against the same Arabians; and so vsed the matter, that the Subbassi arming himselfe, came vnto him without any suspition of the mischiefe intended against him. But as soon as he was come the Sanzacke tooke him, and presently caused him in most cruel maner to be slain quick.

The Subbassi of Bethlem slaine quicke.

Thus hauing passed ouer the troubles that stayed the people of Egypt and Damasco, and the countries therabout, from resorting to *Osman* the Turks great Generall at Erzirum, let vs again return thither where we left him, taking a view of the preparations against the Persian; and prosecute those affaires, which of all others most exercised the forces of the two mightiest Mahometan Monarchs; and with the expectation therof filled the World from the East to the West.

B The streit commandement of *Amurath*, together with the fame and reputation of *Osman* the General, had drawn together such a world of people of all sorts to Erzirum, as that it seemed not the power of one king alone, but rather the vnited forces of many kings. Wherfore *Osman* perceiuing that he had gathered together too great a number of people, and too huge an Army, and that it might so fall out that hee might want victualls for so many (neither so greatly fearing his enemies forces, as that he needed to lead so populous an Army against them) determined to discharge a great number of such as he thought most weake, and least able to endure trauel: so that out of this great multitude he drew about 40000 persons, who liberally according to euery mans ability redeeming the ordinary perils of the wars, returned home to their own dwellings. And so in *Osmans* army remained 180000 persons or therabout.

The number of Osmans army.

C With this multitude the General departed from Erzirum about the 11 of August this yeare 1585, towards Tauris, continuing for all that the speech for Nassivan. But he had scarce marched two daies, when diuers souldiers of Grecia and Constantinople presenting themselues before him, vpbraided him with great improuidencie, telling him, That they began already to feel the want of victual, by wanting the same day their ordinary allowance of Corne for their horses: so that if in the beginning, and as it were in the entrance of so long a Journey, they felt such want, they could not tell with what iudgement or discretion he meant to lead so great a company so far as Nassivan; nor by what cunning conceit he had presumed to sustain so great an army in the seruice of their Lord. *Osman* quietly heard their complaints, and presently prouided for them, by causing such store of barly to be distributed among them, as they desired; and sauerely punished the officers who had the charge for allowance of corn who most couetously began to make merchandise of the common prouision, by conuerting it to their owne priuat vses. And hauing thus quieted their troubled minds he proceeded on his journy, & by the way of Hassan Chalassi and Chars, arriued vpon the Chalderan plains, famous for the memorable battels there fought between *Selymus* and *Hysmael*. In these plains he took a general review of his Army, wherein he wanted a number, that by reason of sicknes being not able to continue the journy, were inforced to stay behind, some in one place, some in another. Remouing thence, he took his way not to Nassivan, as he had til hitherto giuen it out he would, but now directly to Tauris. Which so sudden an alteration of the journy, so soon as the souldiers of Grecia and Constantinople heard, they fel into a great rage; and comming againe before the General, reuelled with him in this sort to his face:

D

E

The soldiers insolent speeches to Osman.

And what are we, thou villain, thou Turk, thou dolt, whom thou handlest in this sort? We are neither Oxen, nor sheep of the mountains, for the leading of whom thou thinkest thou art come out: neither can we brook these thy ties and deceits. If thou hast publiquely professed to lead vs to Nassivan; and by that speech hast trained vs from the farthest bounds of Grecia, to what end now, after thou hast wearied vs so much, dost thou deceiue vs with such vanities, and prolong our Journey & set before vs such strange and improuisant dangers, as our minds neuer once thought on? But if this was thy first purpose and intent, and that now, not foolishly or by chance, but vpon premeditation and good aduice thou changest thy opinion, why did st thou dismisse so many soldiers as might haue made the Army more terrible and stronger for the enterprise of Tauris? Dost thou think that by suffering others to redeem their liberties, so to increase thy riches, thou shalt set our liues to sale, and make vs slaues to the Persians?

F

At these proud speeches the General was exceedingly troubled, seeing his good meaning, and the ernest desire hee had to aduance the majesty & glory of his king, taken in so euil part; and

and those his best soldiers so highly offended. And although hee could indeed haue readily vsed the sharpest and hardest prouisions and remedies for it, that in such occasions are ordinarily applied; yet vpon good aduice he forbare so to doe, and in stead of rigor and punishment resolued to work by more easie means. Wherupon causing many of the captains and chiefe men among those seditious soldiers to come before him, he first persuaded them,

That the former speech for Nassiuan was not raised at all by him, nor that he was minded at that time to go for Tauris; but all that was don, he had don to fulfill the commandment of the Sultan, who had charged him so to do, to the end to lessen the Persian preparations, which they would haue vndoubtedly made farre greater, if the speech had bin giuen out at first for Tauris. Which his princely care for their safety, they for their parts ought willingly to further, for that in so doing they should still preserue that great opinion which both the King and the world had conceiued of their valor and fidelity. Neither needed they to fear, that the soldiers which were dismissed might weaken the Army; for that they themselues were not only sufficient to pierce into Tauris, and to open the way vpon the enemy, but to daunt them euen with their looks: and that those which were discharged, had but purged the host of all cowardise, and left nothing in it but vertue and courage.

By this mild answer of the General the tumultuous soldiers were sufficiently pacified; but much better apaied & contented they were, as soon as he put his hand to the common purse, and bestowed among them a small quantity of monies: for by this his kind vsage all their stomacks were ouercome, and they themselues became so willing and so courageous, that now they durst venture not to Tauris only, but to Casbin, yea euen to the farthest parts of all the Persian kingdom.

These important outrages thus appeased, the General turned himself with all his army towards Coy, a City scituat beyond Van, in the midst betweene Tauris and the Martian Mere, where he refreshed his Army with all things he could desire. From Coy hee passed to Marant, a city subiect to the Persians, plentiful also of all things needful both for man and beast. From thence he leaned down toward Soffian, a fruitful place subiect also to the Persians; from whence he began to discouer Tauris. Great was the ioy of the whole camp, and now the mutinous soldiers of Græce and Constantinople could highly commend the aduice of the General, or rather of *Amurath* himself, in giuing out the rumor of Nassiuan for Tauris, as the only means wherby they were come in quiet so far; the Persians being wholly occupied (as they supposed) about Nassiuan. Insomuch that euery man beeing waxen courageous, and replenished with ioy, without any feare at all began proudly to plot vnto themselues nothing but sackings, pillings, taking of prisoners, rauishments, robberies, and all those insolent and outrageous actions that vse rashly to proceed from the greedy affections of those barbarous Vaiators. Especially they of the Vauward, who being desirous of booty, and to discouer the enemies Countrey, descended downe toward certaine pleasant gardens full of all sorts of trees, springs, and fruits; where hauing satisfied their appetites, they withdrew themselues to a certain little riuer, neer to a bridge called *The bridge of salt* water, and there stayd at pleasure, attending the comming of the army. But while they were thus in ioying the water, the fruits, the shade, the green grasse, and other delights of the place, the Persian Prince *Emir Hamze*, King *Mahamets* eldest son, who with ten thousand good soldiers had closely couched himself, watching stil when some of the enemies bands should come downe to those resting places, suddenly set vpon them with such speed, courage, and fury, that as if it had been a lightning, and in a maner without any resistance, he quer-ran all those Turkes and dispersed them, putting to the sword about seuen thousand of them. And so leading away with him many prisoners, horses, slaues, with sundry ensignes and Turkish drums, he withdrew himselfe backward his blinde father, who lay then incamped about twelue miles from Tauris, with some soldiers or thereabouts. *Aliculi Chan* gouernor of Tauris being left in the city with 400 soldiers only. A greater army than this, not exceeding the number of threescore and foure thousand, was not the Persian King able to levy: the principal occasion whereof was the death of *Emir Chan*, for which the Turcoman Nation beeing waxen rebellious and disobedient, would not by any means be brought to defend that city, whereof *Aliculi Chan* their capital Enemie was now Gouernour. And from Gheilan and Heri there came not so much as one souldior to relieue the necessities of Persia. So that with these small forces (in comparison of their Enemies) the Persian King had no stomacke to meet the Turkish Army in plaine battell; but sought

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sought how he might with as little losse to himself as possibly he could, make trial of his forces, and by all politique means to weaken and anoy his strong enemy.

Osman vnderstanding of this discomfiture of his vauward, forthwith dispatched *Sinan Bassa* the son of *Gieda*, and *Mahamet* the Bassa of Caraemit, with 14000 souldiers to pursue the victorious prince: who in their pursuit vsed such expedition, that at length they ouertook him in the way toward his fathers camp. But as soon as the prince saw the Turks so neer him, that without a dangerous and shameful flight he could not auoid the battell, couragiously he turned his face, and ioyned with them a most bloudy conflict: which being begun two hours before night, was most fiercely maintained vntil the darknes of the night bereauing them of the vse of their weapons, inforced both the one side and the other to retyre. Which was don with the notable losse of the Turks, who in this second conflict (as it was commonly reported) lost 6000 men, and had as was thought suffred a generall slaughter, had not the night interrupted so vncoth an action, wel worthy a thousand day-lights. So that hitherto the Turks sustained the losse of more than ten thousand souldiers, and yet had scarce discouered or seen the City which they so greedily longed after.

A bloud conflict between the Turks and Persians.

The next morning the Turks camp remoued and came within two miles of Tauris, where they incamped. But whilst they were setting vp their tents, *Aliculi Chan* issuing out of the city with all his garison and such of the city as were fit to bear Armes, set vpon the face of the vauward, being now renued, and with many cunning turnings and windings so charged them, that with great losse he forced them to retyre euen vnto the main battel; where after hee had espied the great artillery, he without hurt withdrew himself again to the city. The confusion of the Turks in this skirmish was notable, for in a very small time the vauward was disordred, and almost 4000 slain. But *Aliculi* not so contented, in the shutting in of the euening sallied out of the city the second time, and swiftly running along that side of the army which lay toward Tauris, slew the Bassa of Maras, and did great harm in that quarter. Which don, without any staying he fled to the Kings camp, and forsook the defence of that sorrowful city which he could not hold. Neuertheles the Taurisians, as many of them as remained in the City, gathered themselues to the gates of the City, well armed, prepared to make a bloudy entrance for the Turks whensoeuer they should come. All the night was spent in watching, without rest on either side, and yet nothing attempted. But vpon breake of day, a great multitude of the seruile sort of the Turks, and of the common rascall rout, without any order from their captains, armed with corslets, spears and swords, went to the city with resolution to haue sacked it, and so to haue inriched themselues with the spoil and pillage of that wealthy city. But whensoeuer they came to the garded gates, they found there contrary to their expectation, a terrible rescue, and were inforced there to ioyn a hard and mortal battel, so that the wals, the entrance, yea all the ground thereabouts was bathed with bloud, and as it were couered with weapons and dead carkasses. And yet for all that, though the Persians stood fast and firm at the ariuall of this seruile rout; at the last they were constrained to yeeld the entrance, being ouercome by the multitude of them that out of the camp flowed in vpon them like a floud, and retyring into the city, now astonied and amased on euery side, they fortified themselues in their houses vnder the ground, and in the corners and winding turnings of the streets; from whence with their arrows and some few arcubuses they did the Turks that entred great harm; yet were they not able to kil and destroy so many of their enemies, but that at the last they were too mighty for them, and wrought many grieuous mischiefs in that wofull city. And so a great number of this rascall people that remained aliue, returned to the Turkish Campe, carrying with them too manifest tokens of the poor oppressed city: wherin the miserable women and impotent souls stood embracing and straining the doors and posts of their houses, and kissing their native soil, with prayers, mournings, and complaints bewailing their present miseries, and yet feared worse to come. *Osman* the Generall now made acquainted with these calamities, caused a proclamation to be published, That no man should be so hardy as to molest the Taurisians: and in the mean time went himself about the city, viewing throughly the situation of it, and surueying the place wherein hee might both incampe himselfe safely, and with better foundation and greater security erect a castle or Fort, for the more assurance of that conquered country.

A great slaughter at Tauris.

The city of Tauris, seated at the foot of the hil Orantes, about 8 daies iourny from the Caspian

The description of Tauris.

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The city of Tauris, seated at the foot of the hil Otantes, about 8 daies iourny from the Caspian

The description of Tauris.

spian sea, and is subiect to winds, cold, and snow, yet of a very wholsome air, abounding with all things necessary for mans life, and wonderfull rich with perpetual concourse of merchandise brought thither out of the East to be conueyed vnto the West; and also of others brought out of these Western parts, to be dispersed into the East. It is very populous, for there dwells almost 200000 persons; but yet open to the fury of euery Army, without walls, and vnfortified. The buildings (after the manner of those of the East) are of burnt clay, rather low than high. For all things it carrieth the name, and was the place of the Persian Kings residence, vntill such time as that the late King *Tamas* remooued his seat further into his kingdome to Casbin. Neuertheless both before and since, although it had beene sundry times molested by the inrodes and fury of the Turkish Emperors, yet was it still held in great estimation and renown.

Of this city *Osman Bassa* hauing taken diligent view, caused his Tents to be pitched on the South side therof, where was a spacious garden all flourishing and beautiful, replenisht with sundry kinds of trees and sweet smelling plants, and a thousand fountains and brooks deriued from a pretty riuer, which with his pleasant stream diuided the garden from the city of Tauris, and was of so great beauty, that for the delicacie therof it was by the country inhabitants called *Sechis Genet*, that is to say, the eight Paradises; and was in times past the standing house of their Kings, whilest they kept their residence in this City: and after they had withdrawne their seat from thence to Casbin, became the habitation and place of abode for the gouernors of Tauris. Of these gardens and places *Osman* made choice to build his castle in, whereof he gaue the model himself, & commanded that all the whole circuit of those pleasant greens should be inuironed with wals, and trenches digged round about them, to conuey the water from the aforesaid riuer. Which was accordingly don with the greatest care that might bee possible; the foundation of the imbattelled wals layd, the ditches digged fourteen foot broad and a mans height in depth; and in the space of 36 daies the whole work fully finished, great store of Artillery mounted vpon the walls, and diuers baths, lodgings, and such other houses necessarie for the Turkes vses, built within the Castle. The first day of this building *Osman* fell sick of a feauer with a bloudy flix also; which haply was the cause both of the slownesse of the building, and of many other losses which afterwards happened, as shall be in due time declared.

The castle of Tauris built in 36 dayes.

Fiue daies after the building of the castle was begun, news was brought into the Turkish camp, That eight Ianizaries and diuers Spaneglans were seen strangled in a bath within the city of Tauris. Whereupon the Zaini, Spahini, and Ianizaries came presently to the general, declaring vnto him, That although he had with too much clemencie giuen order, That none should hurt or molest the Taurisians, and that according to his pleasure, euery man had vsed modestyy towards them, and obedience to him, yet the Taurisians themselues had most iudaciously strangled in one of their baths, eight Ianizaries and certain Spaneglans: which iniury and insolencie they said in their iudgment was not to be suffered. This outrage so moued the General, that without any further delay he commanded the City to be sacked, leauing it wholly to the pleasure of his soldiers; who forthwith so vsed the matter, not as if they would haue reuenged an injury, but forthwith haue brought an vtter destruction vpon the miserable City. Euery place was filled with slaughter, ransishment, rapine and murthers; virgins were deflowred, men children defiled with horrible and vnspeakable sins; youglings snatcht out of their parents arms, houses laid euen with the ground and burnt, riches and money caried away, and in brief, all things ruinated and wasted. Neither were these mischiefs committed once only, but the second followed worse than the first, and the third vpon that worse than the second. So that it was a miserie almost inexplicable, to behold that city, so populous, so rich, sometime the court and palace of the Persian Kings, and honour of that empire, now subiect to the fury of the Turkes, plunged in calamitie and vtter destruction.

The misery of the Taurisians.

The wofull aduersitie thereof sore troubled the Persian King, but the young prince his sonne much more, who moued with the passions of most inward griefe, disdaine, and despaire, and desiring nothing more than reuenge, resolued to attempt any thing, whereby to requite so great a wrong. In which resolution hauing confirmed his sonne, he commanded fiue hundred of his horsmen to present themselues euen to the very sight of the enemies tents, & so were to dare them to battel. Which thing they performed accordingly, and made a gallant shew of

of themselues. At the discouery wherof the Turks imagining that the Persians were come in great number to assail the army, order was giuen by the sick Generall, That *Cicala Bassa* and *Mahamet* the Bassa of Caraemit, with the people of Grecia and all their owne forces, should go to incounter the enemy. Who presently with their ensignes displaied (vnder which there stood about 34000 strong, besides a number of seruile people, yet men exercised in labours and perils, in all wel neer 40000) set forward. Now the 500 Persians with a maruellous cunning kind of skirmishing dallied with the Turkish souldiers, and drew them forward for the space of eight miles and more: and being brought so far on, and now forewearied with the skirmish, were lustily assailed by the Persian Prince, who with part of his army, to the number of about 20000 persons, couragiously set vpon the two Bassa's, and joined with them the deadliest and cruellest battel that euer was written of. Wherin the Persians hauing giuen a perillous onset, and don great harm, it was thought that they would haue contented themselues with so lucky an incounter, and so haue retired. Which the Turks minding to preuent, and not to return without a notable victory, hardly pressed vpon them, hoping in the end to put them to flight, and so to giue them a bloudy and deadly ouerthrow. But the Persians hauing quietly and with great assurance for a reasonable space indured the charge, at last as if they had bin fresh men made head vpon them afresh, and began a most terrible battell anew, wherin the Bassa of Caraemit aboue named was put to flight, and being wholly dismaied and discomfited, fled back again to the camp, carrying with him the most manifest tokens of the vnhappy issue of the battel. *Cicala* the other Bassa notwithstanding valiantly and with great cunning stil sustained the fury of the Persians, laboring by all means to incourage his souldiers, and to haue restored the battel: but when he had don what he might, ouercome at last by greater valor, he was inforced to betake himself to flight also; and so altogether discomfited, came to the camp without any ensigne, hauing left behind him 8000 of his soldiers dead vpon the ground.

Eight thousand Turkes slain.

The Persian Prince incouraged with this so fortunat a victory, by speedy heraulds sent to the sick Visier (whom he thought notwithstanding to haue bin in health) and gaue him to vnderstand, That if he were willing to fight, he was ready for him, and in what sort soeuer it pleased him to accept of battel, to make him good account of his valor, and to cause him to know, not only that *Amurath* his master had most vniustly raised this wat, but also that it had beene good for himself not to haue taken the same in hand. Of this offer *Osman* accepted: but being not able himself to answer the prince in person hand to hand, by reason of his sicknes, which euery hour mortally increased, he sent out all his captains with his army to dare him battel.

The prince lay ten miles or therabouts distant from the camp of *Osman*, toward whom the Turks set forward in this manner: The main battel was guided by the Bassa of Caraemit and *Cicala Bassa*, with all the souldiers of Assyria and Babylon: The left wing was led by the Bassa of Natolia, with the band of Grecia; and the right wing was conducted by *Amurath* Bassa of Caramania, with the people of Soria; to the number of threescore thousand, besides those that were left behind at Tauris, with the trusty gard of the Ianizaries, and the Artillery, for the safegard of the sick Visier. In this order they confronted the Persian prince, who was himself in the midst of his army, with all his people in very good order, hauing on the one side the soldiers of Persia and Hircania, and on the other them of Parthia and Antropatia, in all to the number of forty thousand. The Turks feared nothing more, than that the Persians fetching a great compasse about, should with all celerity and fury set vpon their Tents, and the riches they had layd vp together in their pauilions: and therfore at euery motion of theirs they continually feared this sudden out-rode. Whereof they had so much care, that retyring themselues as much as they might, and feigning as if they had giuen place to the Persians, it wanted not much, but that they had brought them euen within the iust leuel and mark of their Artillery. Which the Persians perceiuing, without any further dallying hardly began to assaile the maine body of the battell. The Prince himselfe beeing entred amongst the souldiers of the Bassa of Caraemit (who as Generall sustained the place of *Osman*) and pressing into the middest of the battell, dispatched euery man that came in his way, and hauing singled out the Bassa from the rest, smote off his head, and gaue it to one of his followers to carry vpon the top of his Launce. The which being openly descried, brought a great terrour vpon the Turks,

The Bassa of Caraemit slain, and his head cut off.

Turks, and exceedingly incouraged the Persians; who imbrued with the bloud of their Ene- G
mies, and intermingling themselues more and more among st them, made of them a most con-
fused and generall slaughter; wherein beside the Bassa before named, there died the Bassa of
Trabszonda, the Sanzack of Brusia, with fiue other Sanzacks, and as it was commonly repor-
ted, 20000 Turks more. It hapned *Amurath* Bassa of Caramania to bee there taken prisoner,
with diuers other common soldiers. But night comming now on, & the Persians being come
somwhat too nigh the Turkish artillery, they gaue ouer the fight & retyred themselues back
to the place where the King lay incamped with the rest of his army.

But now were diuers daies spent, wherin the new fortres at Tauris (as we haue before sayd)
was fully finished; when the soldiers of Grecia & Constantinople, wearied to see their friends
and fellows thus slain before their faces, and hauing also safely layd vp in their owne custody H
such preys and booties as they had gotten in the sack of the City, resolued with themselues
to procure their own departure; and so much the rather, for that the Winter was now fast
comming on. And forasmuch as the Generall was through the immoderate flux of bloud
brought weak, and in despair of life, and quite abandoned of all hope by his physitians, and
therfore not to be spoke withall; they were faine by the mouth of such as were their trusty
friends about him, to represent vnto him the necessity of their returne, and withall, after many
reuerend intreaties, caused it also to be signified vnto him, That if hee stood obstinate, and
would needs stay dallying out the time, in those dangerous places where no need was, they
should be inforced to withdraw themselues, and to forsake him. *Osman*, who had now nothing
els to do in those countries, but only to leaue some conuenient garrison in the new fortres at I
Tauris, liberally promised to satisfie their requests, by departing thence the next morning. So
calling vnto him *Giaffer* the Eunuch Bassa of Tripolis, a man of a crafty and cruel nature, hee
made him gouernor and keeper of the new built fortres at Tauris. And the more to encou-
rage him to take that charge vpon him, he gaue him freely for the space of three whole yeares
not only the office & authority, but also the rents and reuenue of the Bassa of Caraemit, late-
ly slain by the Persian Prince, and withall honored him with the title of a Bassa of the court;
so that after hee had finished his three yeares office of Caraemit, hee was then to goe and
sit among the soueraign seats of the Bassa's of the port. The Bassa seeing so fair and so nigh a
way for him to mount to those high honors (greater than which there is none in the Turkish
empire) readily accepted the offer, & dispatching his lieutenant to Caraemit, to gouern those K
countries in his absence, with a hundred of his own followers; setled himself in the sayd Fort
with a garrison of 12000 soldiers, furnished with all necessary prouision vntil the next spring.
The General hauing thus set all things in order, and carefully prouided for the safety of the
Fortresse, departed according to his promise, and the same morning (which was the 87 day af-
ter his departure from Erzirum) came vnto a place called Sancazan, seuen miles distant from
Tauris.

Giaffer vpon Osmans departure made Governor of Tauris.

The Turks were now vpon the point of their incamping, in a confused disorder and hurley-
burly; when those that were hindermost in the army heard the neying of horses, and the noise
of drums and trumpets, as if it had bin the comming of an Army. Which when the whole
Camp vnderstood, they ran all headlong and disordered as they were, to the rescue, on that L
side where the noise of the horses and warlike instruments was heard. But whilst the Turkes
were thus intentiuely busied on that side to expect the comming of the enemy, the Persian
Prince without any signe or token of battell, with 28000 horsemen was ready vpon them on
the other side: Who hauing discouered their Camels and other Carriages, wherupon their
booty, their spoiles, and their riches were laden, which they had taken at Tauris, beside much
of their prouision of victuals for the sustenance of the Army, he turned vpon them, and with a
prouident and safe conuoy had taken for a prey eighteen thousand of the Camels and Mules
well loden with the same booties and victuals; which the Prince sent presently away with six
thousand of his souldiers: and he himself with his two and twenty thousand Persians entred
into the Turks army, who now to withstand his assault, had on that side also made head against M
him. A gallant thing it was, and terrible withall, to see what a mortall battel was made, what
singular prowesse shewed euen presently in the forefront of the battell; for in a moment your
might haue seen the tents and pauilions turned vpside down, and their incamping Lodgings
reple-

The battell of Sancazan.

A replenished with dead carkasses and bloud, victorious death raging and reigning in euery cor-
ner. The Turks themselues were astonished and maruelled, to see their enemies (so few in
number, and intermingled among so populous an army of warlike people) more like fatal mi-
nisters of death, than mortal men, to brandish their swords ouer them as if it had been light-
ning, and to make so generall a slaughter; & do to this day with great admiration recount the
valor and prowesse of the Persians. But they al now doubting lest the enemy in his fury should
forcibly haue entred the very lodgings of the sick Visier, it was commanded (not by himself,
for he lay now at the last gasp; but by him who that time commanded in his name) That the
artillery should speedily be vnbarred and discharged; which in that medly and confusion of
both armies, without any exception or distinction of persons, ouerthrew both friends & foes,
B and did more harm perhaps among the Turks themselues, than among the Persians: for at the
first thundring noise therof the prince with all speed retyred; after whom presently followed
al the rest: so that the Turks which remained behind, were more anoyed with the deadly shot
than were the Persians, who flying away could not feel the damage, but that the Turkes must
first be wel payd for their labor. The Turks pursuing the flying Persians, made shew as if they
would gladly haue ouertaken them; but night comming on, they feared to proceed any far-
ther than they might without danger returne. In this battel of Sancazan were slaine 20000 *20000 Turks slain.*
Turks, without any notable losse of the Persians.

Among the rest, in the same place died the Visier *Osman*, General of the late dreadfull, but *Generall Osman dieth.*
now desolat army, not by the hand of the enemy, but consumed with the vehemencie of an A-
C gue and flux of bloud. Whose death notwithstanding was kept secret from the whole Army,
euery man verily thinking, that it was but only the continuance of his sicknesse, because the
chariots wherein he lay were still kept close: and in his name *Cicala Bassa* (for so he had com-
manded in his wil) gaue out answers and commandements to the whole army. Neuertheless
it was disclosed to the Persians by means of three yong men, who in the life of *Osman* hauing
charge of his jewels and treasure, were with the best thereof and the fairest of his horses fled
to the Persian King, to whom they reuealed the Generals death. The Persians (who before
had thought it not possible for so great cowardise and dishonorable kind of fighting & orde-
ring an army to haue proceeded from the vertue and valor of *Osman*, of whose worth they had
too manifest a trial and experience in times past) now vnderstanding of his death, were therby
D incouraged to attempt the vtter ouerthrow of the Turkish remnant, and so to giue them an
honorable farwel. Wherupon the Persian Prince with 14000 men followed the Turks, who
had now raised their camp, and were remoued to a certain riuer of salt water, not far from San-
cazan, where the prince caused a few tents to be pitched, about four or fiue miles distant from
the Turks camp, the aforesaid brook running in the midst between the two armies. Now the
Prince had purposed to assail the Turks in the morning, whilst they were loding their carria-
ges, hoping in that confusion to haue wrought them some notable mischiefe: which his de-
signement was reuealed to the Turks by one of his spies whom they had caught; and therfore
did neither rise so early in the morning as their maner was, nor load their stuffe vntil such time
as they were all armed, and on horse-back ready to receiue their enemies. By which their wa-
E ry and vnusual manner of rising the Persians perceiued that their purpose was by some means
discouered. And yet considering, that if they should lose this occasion, they should finde no
other good opportunity to anoy them before the next spring, they vtterly resolued to aduen-
ture the assault: and hauing obserued that the enemies Artillery was on the right side of the
army, they in the sight of euery man began to enter on the left: but the Turkes presently so
vncouered and vnbarred their artillery against the assailants, as was to their great losse & dan-
ger. Howbeit they were so nimble and so quick to shroud themselues vnder the enemies Ar-
my, and to auoid the mischieuous tempest, that being come very neere the Turkes squadrons,
they must needs join battel with them. The Persians had purposed before, as soon as they saw
the Turks begin to stir, to retyre, and so to draw them on into a very filthy and deepe marish;
F which being then dry, was not feared or doubted of any, but only by those that were acquain-
ted therwith, or born therabouts. Which their policie the rebel *Maxut Chan*, and with him
Daut Chan (as being well acquainted with those places) perceiuing, gaue notice therof vnto
Cicala Bassa, who presently caused a great compassing wing to be made, commaunding them
to set vpon the Persians, and to charge them home: which was forthwith put in execution, so
that

that their forefront opened it self with very large and spacious wings vpon the Prince. Who no sooner saw this their vnwonted order of comming on, but by and by he perceiued that his purpose was discouered: and therupon without any stay he began to retyre, calling his people after him: which could not so suddenly be don, but that 3000 of them remained behind, all miserably stifled, ouertrodden in the mire, with very little losse to the Turks. And this onely battel, of fiue that were fought vnder Tauris and in those quarters, was lesse hurtfull to the Turks than to the Persians.

The Prince returned to the King his fathers camp, recounting vnto him the whole action, together with the departure of the enemy. And so the Turks came to Salmas, where the death of the General was published. From Salmas they went afterwards to Van, where they tooke a surucy of their army, and found wanting therin about eighty fiue thousand persons, or as some say more. At Van all the soldiers were dismissed; and *Cicala* from thence gaue notice to *Amurath* at Constantinople, of all that had hapned. Where first was published the death of *Osman* the General (for whom were made many signes of great sorrow) and together with his death were blazed the bloudy and mortal actions that were in that expedition performed: so that the whole city seemed to be greatly discomforted, and in many places were heard much secret railing vpon the king, many curses of this war, and insolent maledictions of these manifold mischiefs. After that, was dispersed the great fame of the new fortres erected at Tauris, of the sacking of the city, and of all the losse that had hapned therin; and a general edict published in the Kings name, That through all the Cities of his Empire they should make solemn feasts, with other expresse tokens of ioy and reioycing: Which was accordingly done both in Constantinople and other places. There was also word sent to the Embassadours of Hungary, of France, of Venice, and of other Countries, That they should do the like: but they all with one accord answered, That it was neuer the custom of Embassadors to make any such signes of rejoicing, but onely when the King himselfe in person returned from any the like victories.

The Turks army discharged at Van.

In the mean time consultation was held at Van, for the sending of succours to Teflis in Georgia. Vnto which important seruice *Daut Chan* to deserue some reward at the hands of *Amurath*, offered himself: Vnto whom *Cicala Bassa* deliuered thirty thousand Cecchini to be conueyed to the fort at Teflis. Which piece of seruice the Renegat performed, and without any trouble relieued the souldiers in the fort. Which was so well accepted of *Amurath*, that he for the same good seruice honored him with the dignity of the Bassa of Maras. *Maxut Chan* also the other Persian Rebel, that guided the Turkish Army to Reivan, and afterward to Tauris, was in like manner by the same *Amurath* honoured with the great rich office of the Bassa of Aleppo.

The miseries the Turkish army indured in this expedition for Tauris, beside the losses before rehearsed, were wonderfull: for as the Sanzack of Aman (a city of Soria in antient time called Apamea) present in all this action, reporteth in a letter which he wrot vnto *Ali Bassa* of Aleppo, There was such a dearth in the Turkes Army, that they were inforced to giue their camels bisket and rice, and when that failed they gaue them pack-saddles to eat, and after that pieces of wood beaten into pouder, and at last the very earth: which dearth indured vntil they arriued at Van. And at Tauris whilst the fortres was in building they were of necessity constrained to giue their horses their dung in very dry pouder. By reason whereof there followed a grieuous mortality of horses, camels, mules, and men; and the stink that grew of this mortality was so great, that euery man was faine to carry a piece of a strong smelling Onion vnder his nose, to auoid the heauinesse therof.

The misery of the Turks army at Tauris.

The fort so lately built in the royal city of Tauris exceedingly grieued the Persians in generall, but especially the King and the prince his son: to let it alone they reckoned it too great a shame; and how to demolish it they wel knew not, finding themselues not only destitute of artillery, but also of such sufficient strength as was requisit for performance of so great an enterprise: yet prickt on with the desire of glory, & the necessity of the cause, they determined euen in the depth of Winter to gather new forces, and with trenches of earth to approch the ditch, and to try if they could aduance a countermure as high as their wals, & so to attaine to the conquest therof. But in the gathering of their men they discouered new difficulties, for, to hire any souldiors either from Heri or Gheilan, was denied them by *Abas* and *Amet Chan*; and

and their Turcoman nation, which might haue bin the readiest and the neerest at such a need, for the late death of *Emir Chan*, and for the succession of *Aliculi*, were growne very contumatious: so that neither the King, nor the Prince, nor the Presidents and Gouernours of that kingdome, could tell which way to turne themselues. At last for the common safety, they determined to draw the Turcomans to a reconciliation; hoping that by promising them any honest satisfaction for the wrong wherewith they challenged themselues grieued for the death of their captain, they would become more tractable to do them seruice in their common necessities. Wherupon the king sent kind letters to the heads and captains of those nations, and principally to *Mahamet Chan*, and to *Calife* the Sultan; declaring plainly vnto them the perils of his state; and of the liberty of the whole kingdome, with the confidence he had in their valor: and that therefore forgetting all that was past, as done not in shame or scorne of their nation, but only for zeale and loue to the kingdome, they would demand such satisfaction as they desired, and that he would be ready to agree to any just request they should make. To which letters they readily answered, that they would come vnto him, to put in execution whatsoeuer he should for the common necessity or honour of his State command. Now they had craftily amongst themselues already concluded not to suffer any other to sit in the room of *Emir Chan* their late Gouernor, but only young *Tamas* the kings third son. Which conclusion they had plotted to themselues, with a resolution in the end, to cause him to be accepted for king at Casbin, in despight of the King himselfe and of the Prince *Hamze*: nothing regarding, that by this action far greater troubles would arise in Persia than euer were yet heard of; but only being wholly bent to reuenge the death of one only *Emir Chan*. With this malitious and fraudulent resolution, they to the number of ten thousand (vnder the conduct of two captains, *Mahamet* and *Calife*) went to the king, in all reuerence offering themselues with all readinesse to be emploied in the enterprise whereunto they were called. The old credulous King, not suspecting any mischiefe plotted by these secret rebels, was greatly comforted at their comming: and although by some of his Sultans that had felt some inckling of this conspiracy, he was aduised to deale circumspectly and warily with them, and not commit any matter of importance to their trust; yet did he thinke euery houre a thousand vntill he had offered them satisfaction: promising them, that what captain soeuer they would desire in the room of *Emir Chan*, if it were possible, they should haue him. Wherunto the dissembling *Mahamet Chan* made answer, That their desire aboue all things was to do him pleasure and seruice; not doubting but he would appoint them such a chieftain, as should be valorous, noble, and acceptable vnto them. The king could stay no longer, but franckly declared vnto them, That to assure them of his good will, and to giue them an hostage in pawn therof, he had made choice of young *Tamas* his son, to succeed in the roome of *Emir Chan* their late Gouernor. As soone as *Mahamat Chan* heard this resolution of the king, who beside all expectation, voluntary of himselfe yeelded them the means to put in execution what they had maliciously before contriued against the peace and liberty of the kingdome: he became more jocond than he was wont to be, and outwardly shewed himselfe ready for whatsoeuer the king should command him; and in the names of the rest, yeelded also large promises of fidelity and obedience, so that the matter might be performed for which he had now giuen his word.

Ten thousand Turcomans offer their seruice vnto the Persian King.

The king, who desired nothing more than to see the fort of Tauris rased (which could hardly be done without the helpe of those Turcomans) contrary to the aduise of the wisest of the Sultans, and of the Prince, secretly, and as it were by stealth, gaue his yong son *Tamas* into the hands of *Mahamet*, as chiefe of all the Turcomans. Who to nourish the good opiuion and credulity of the king, and to secure the prince and the Sultans, gaue a lusty beginning by the help of his followers, with trenches and rampiers to approch the fort. Neither was there any great time spent therein; for they had now almost made their trenches and mounts euen with the enemies wall, and the ditch it selfe was almost filled vp with earth, so that there wanted but little more labour to begin the desired assault: when contrary to all mens expectation, the false and wicked traitor *Mahamet Chan* with all his Turcomans, leading away with them the childe *Tamas*, departed in the night time, and vpon a sudden, from so noble and honourable an enterprise: and blinded with desire to put in execution his ill hatched purpose, couertly & without any noise remoued from the besieged wals, and put himselfe on his way towards Casbin: still tearming *Tamas* by the name of the King of Persia, and sundry wayes abusing and mocking the

The Turcomans forsake the siege and fall into rebellion.

the poore old king and the prince. This so sudden and so dangerous a rebellion, whereby not only so honourable and so necessary an enterprise was to be abandoned, but the whole state of the kingdome like to be indangered, exceedingly grieued all good men, but most of all the old King and the Prince his son: who no lesse carefull of his rightfull succession, than was the aged king of his present estate, both now hazarded by this rebellion; wholly insenced with griefe and anguish of mind, began to cast a thousand deuices in his troubled head, what course to take, and what to resolue vpon. To abandon the siege it grieued him aboue measure, and to suffer so pernicious a rebellion to go forward, seemed too dangerous for the state of Persia: and to prouide for both these mischiefes at once, was altogether impossible. In these huge waues of contrary thoughts, he resolued at last to turne himselfe against the Turcomans, and to suppresse that rebellion, as most dangerous to the State. And so with twelue thousand soldiers, and a part also of the kings ordinary guard, all couragious and hardy men, he followed after the rebellious Turcomans; and marching directly toward Casbin, he ouertooke them at a place called Calisteza, a daies journy on this side Casbin, and there joyned battell with them. Wherein many of them being sorry for that they had done, would not so much as draw their swords against the Prince: many others fled also away for feare, so that he easily obtained a wished victory ouer them. The seditious *Mahamet Chan* was taken prisoner; and by the Princes commandement presently beheaded: so was also *Calife* the Sultan, and diuers other captains of this pestilent conspiracy. Yong *Tamas* was also taken, & by the direction of the Prince sent to the castle of Cahaca. Fiue thousand Turcomans of the late followers of the rebel *Mahamet*, fled out of the battell towards Babylon by the way of Siras, and yeelded themselues to *Solymun Bassa* of that city; who afterwards repenting themselues of their folly, sought to returne againe into the fauor of their king, but all in vaine: so that being become rebels to the one, and suspected to the other, they did at one time lose their country, their liberty, their honor, and the fauor of all men as well friends as foes. The Prince after this victory held on his way to Gasbin, and there staying, laboured to gather the dispersed Turcomans, especially those that (moued with the honesty of the cause) would not beare armes in so vnjust an action; intending afterwards to returne to Tauris, to attend the besieging and conquest of the fort. This was the end of this dangerous rebellion, the chiefe cause that Tauris was not againe recouered out of the hands of the Turks, to the great weakening of the Persian kingdome.

The Turcomans discomfited, & Mahamet Chan and Calife the Sultan beheaded.

Now *Giaffer* the Eunuch Bassa Gouernour of the Castle of Tauris, fearing lest the Persian Prince would with a greater army again return to the siege; perceiuing himselfe to wax euery day weaker and weaker, by reason that many of his men secretly fled from him, beside them that perished with sickenesse, and others slain in aduenturing too boldly to go abroad to seeke for victuals; sent oduertisement thereof to *Cicala Bassa* at Van: signifying further vnto him by writing, That if the Prince should again return to assault the fort, he should of necessity be enforced to yeeld it: and that therefore as he tendred the honor of his Sultan, he would be carefull to send him succour, whereby he might be able to maintaine the fort: adding moreouer, That now it was most easily to be done, because there were no forces of the enemies in those quarters, sauing onely a few which remained about the King, lying 12 miles off from Tauris. *Cicala* moued with the importance of the enterprise propounded, and withall desirous to gaine some credit of glory and renowne with his king, entertained the aduices of *Giaffer*, and getting him to horse with a traine of three thousand harquebusiers and good store of munition, set forward toward Tauris. The Persian king aduertised therof, sent out spies to learn what way they held, meaning to meet them and to set vpon them: but these spies comming neere to Salmas, were apprehended by the forerunners of *Cicala*, and being put to torture, reuealed at last, how that their king was in atms, and on his way towards Sancazan. At which news *Cicala* was greatly astonied, as well for the danger whereinto the forces and munition which he had with him were likely to fall, as also for that by any losse which his troups should sustaine in this expedition, the city of Van (being indeed the greater and most noble frontier town in all those countries) must needs be in hazard to be lost, hauing left in it but his lieutenant with a very few soldiers. Whereupon he determined to relinquish this dangerous enterprise, and to withdraw himselfe backe to the defence and preseruation of the city committed to his trust and gouernment. But although these expected and desired succours were not conueyed to Tauris as was intended, yet had *Giaffer* as good fortune as he could wish: for the preparations of the Prince

Giaffer Bassa writeth to Cicala for aid.

Prince were so long and troublesome, and his returne so much prolonged, that there was time enough yeelded vnto the Turks great Generall now newly chosen (as by and by shall be declared) to go with a strong army into those quarters, and so to preserue all that which the only expedition and celerity of the enemy might haue put in great hazard, and almost haue brought to a desperat case.

In the mean time, *Amurath* the Turkish Emperor was greatly troubled at Constantinople in making choice a new Generall: on the one side, *Osman Bassa* hauing by his last will left *Siman Cicala* to be his successor, as a man of approued valor; and the many dangers he had run thorow in the late seruice about Tauris, with the great fauours he had in the Court, did not a little encline the King to his election: on the other side, he heard of a publike rumor spread amongst the soldiers, that they could by no meanes endure to be commanded by so young a captaine; and that some in plaine termes should say, That they would not obey him: Which caused *Amurath* to doubt, that some dangerous discord might thereof ensue in the army, if he should proceed to make choice of him. Then there was also *Ferat Bassa*, the same man which had already sustained that charge before *Osman*, who now very ambitiously sought againe for this honour, hauing of late performed some good seruice to the good liking of the King. Of any other to make better choice he had none, so that he stood in great doubt what to do. In the end, because he was in good time to prouide for his affaires, he made choice of *Ferat Bassa*, the same man whom he had before made proofe of: a man of great fidelity, of an honourable carriage, and already experienced in the leading and commanding of such an army; to whom he granted the ordinary authority, to mannage at his pleasure such affaires of the empire as concerned his journey. Vpon this resolution, generall precepts were sent out to all cities within the kingdome, to the Bassaes & other Gouernors, with speciall commandement, that all their soldiers, together with their taxes, tenths, munitions, victuals, armor, artificers, and to be short, all their necessary furniture and prouision should be ready and in order, vpon the first warning should be sent them the next Spring. Great prouision of money was made, and in Soria (besides the ordinary sum that is bestowed vpon the yearely pay of souldiers in Reiuan, Erzirum, Lori, Tomanis, Teflis, and Chars, which swallow vp all the reuenue of that country, and of the city of Tripoli, amounting to the sum of six hundred thousand duckats) there was taken vp in in prest of priuat merchants in the city of Aleppo only, the sum of threescore thousand Cecchini, to be repaid vnto them with the first monies that should be receiued by the officers of his custome houses. A matter that moued an extraordinary grudging among the people, for that it seemed to euery man a very strange and intollerable exaction, beside so many grieuances laied vpon them, for corne, for carriages, for pioners, and for workemen, to endure this burden also of lending their mony, without hope of restitution thereof: yea, and indeed euery man did greatly wonder how they were thus ill aduised, to make it knowne to the Christian Princes what scarcity and want of mony they had. The Generall had also with him foure hundred pieces of artillery, and did beside so worke the matter, as that *Maxut Chan* (who was appointed Bassa of Aleppo) was granted vnto him to be the guide of his army, as he had been of *Osmans*; and that *Cicala Bassa* of Van (scarce his good friend) was remoued from thence and sent farther off out of his way as Bassa to Babylon.

The returne of Soria six hundred thousand duckats.

And thus hauing put all things in readinesse, he departed from Constantinople in the month of Aprill, in the yeare 1586; and passing ouer the streit into Asia, came to Siuas something later than he should haue done, being hindered partly by the Plague which then raged exceedingly in Constantinople, and partly by other occasions incident to such actions. At Siuas he staied so long for the comming together of his army, and in mustering men, that it was the later end of Iuly before he departed thence; staying indeed the longer at Siuas, by reason of the exceeding dearth and want of victuals at Erzitum: which dearth was also so great in Aleppo, that a Venice bushell of wheat was sold for twelue Cecchini. 1586

Ferat departeth from Constantinople, and commeth to Siuas.

Ferat yet making his abode at Siuas, but ready to depart, was aduertised by certaine Posts sent from *Giaffer* the Bassa of Tauris, how that the Persian Prince was hourely expected with a great army, and that if he did foreslow to send succours, and to preuent the comming of the Prince, and so giue him time & leisure to assault the castle, he doubted greatly how he should be able to hold the same. Vpon which aduertisement *Ferat* presently remoued, and so hasted his journy, that about the beginning of August he was at Erzirum: and still hearing more and

more of the Princes comming, staied not there, but hasted to Van: where hauing gathered together all his souldiers, and taken a new suruey of his army, he departed thence, and being presently come into the open and large champaignes, to make proofe of the readinesse of his soldiers, he marshalled them in such sort as if he should forthwith haue joyned battell with the enemy, and so in seemely order marched on. G

The Turkish Generall continually feared, lest the Persians should come vpon him with some sudden assault: besides that, The constant report of the princes comming to Tauris with his army, much increased his troubled thoughts. But on the other side, he reposed great confidence in the conspiracy that was now plotted against the life of the Prince, with the priuity of *Aliculi Chan* the protector and champion of *Abas Mirize* of Heri: who vnder colour of accompanying the Prince to assist his forces, had resolutely concluded with himselfe, and absolutely promised *Abas* (hauing also giuen intelligence therof to the Turkish General) to rid the Prince *Hamze* of his life; or at least (which he thought might more easily be brought to passe) in the sundry reuolutions and variable changes of the battell, at some time or other to make him fall into the hands of *Ferat*, and so to settle his lord and master *Abas* in his estate. Vpon these trecheries *Ferat* grounding himselfe, began with greater confidence to dispose his designements, and somewhat lesse to feare the fame of the huge preparations of Persia against him. Which preparations in truth, as by most wicked deuises and malitious conspiracies they were turned quite contrary from that end whereunto the Prince *Hamze* had continually appointed them; so if they had bin emploied with such faith and fidelity as so righteous a cause required, without all doubt the writers of our time should haue had matter enough in this 86 yeare to shew and represent vnto the World such accidents as should be nothing inferior to those of the yeare before going. But forasmuch as rebellion and discord, the two infernall ministers of the diuell, haue for the vtter vndoing & ouerthrow of the glory of the Persia, continually fauored the Turks army, no maruell it is that the Persian nation cannot vaunt of any reuenge taken for the indignities offered them by their enemies; and that our Writers cannot chuse but write of the true and vndoubted victories of the Turks, and the bare shadows of the Persian exploits; which notwithstanding many Christians vainly beleeue, because they most earnestly desire them to be true, although they do see to the contrary, by the manifest prospering and euident conquests which the Turks haue in diuers their States and countries. H I

The glory of the Persian kingdome ouerthrowne by rebellion and discord.

The Persian Prince about the later end of Iuly arriued at Tauris with the greatest part of his army, where he (contrary to the opinion of all men) staid not, for what cause is vncertaine. But vnderstanding that *Zeinel Bassa* of Salmas, by nation a Curdo, lay encamped before the city, who of a Persian was become a Turke, and had done great harme against the State of Persia; he determined suddenly to set vpon him, and to chastise him for his rebellion. According to which resolution, being accompanied with twelue thousand souldiers, he rode to Salmas, where finding *Zeinel* with all his people encamped as he had beene before informed, he gaue him the assault. *Zeinel* more ready to fly than to fight, and his soldiers as ready as he, fled presently, and fell before the Persians, so that the Bassa himselfe with a few others had much adoe to escape and saue themselues in the closest corners thereabouts, leauing the city committed to his charge, for a prey vnto the angry enemy: who entering into the same, sacked and spoiled it, exercising thereon all such cruelty, as partly the naturall desires of souldiers vse to practise, and partly such as the Turks themselues shewed vnto them in that miserable and most lamentable sacking of Tauris the last yeare. The like spoiles did the Persian army in all those quarters round about, and so would haue peraduenture returned to Tauris, but that certaine spies arriued vpon them with aduertisement, That the Bassa of Reiuan being issued out of his fortresse with fiften hundred harquebusiers, had committed the like outrages in the villages and fields thereabouts, as the Prince had done about Salmas. With which newes the Prince was greatly moued; and immediatly rising with his army, and marching towards Reiuan, not far from the city encountered the Bassa: who discouering the enemies forces afar off, began in great disorder to fly and retire into his fort, leauing the greatest part of his soldiers (making not so much speed in flight as himselfe) to the fury of the Prince, who put them all to the sword, and did what harme he possibly could in all the places thereabouts. K L M

At the very same time great troubles arose in the Drusian country: for *Man-Ogli* the valiant Drusian (of whom we haue before spoken) in reuenge of the injuries done vnto him and his people

A ple by *Ebrain Bassa*, and by a valiant kinde of restitution to recompence himselfe of all those bribes and presents which by so many shifts and subtilties were by the couetous Bassa wrung from him (as is before declared) had now taken vp armes, and hauing wasted and sacked all the territory of *Ebne-Mansur* and of his other enemies who had yeelded their obedience vnto the Turks, without let forced all that country with sudden inuasions and inrodes, euen very neere vnto the cities of Balbecke and Tripoli, and did there exceeding harme. For redresse whereof, *Amurath* was glad to dispatch away from the court *Ali Bassa* borne at Aleppo, with the title of the Bassa of Damasco, and with authority to muster fresh souldiers, and so wholly to attend the vtter subuersion of *Man-Ogli*. But comming thither, he found all againe quiet, so that his presence in that country serued rather for a reconciliation and peace making amongst them, B than for the prosecuting of any further warre; which at that time was most necessary for the Turks to be auoided, as well for want of mony in the common treasury, as for the exceeding scarcity of victuals.

Now the Persian Prince hauing made an end of the outrodes and spoiles before mentioned, retired himselfe to Tauris, and so towards his fathers campe, where the rest of his army was now arriued, to the number of about forty thousand: of whom the Prince dispatched away the soldiers of Heri to the number of eight thousand, vnder the conduct of the traiterous *Aliculi Chan* their Generall: and part also of the Turcomans, vnder the leading of *Emanguli Chan*; with speciall charge, That they should by the way in places of most aduantage, meet and receiue the enemies army; and in those narrow and troublesome passages to do them what mis- C chiefe they possible could. Which the Prince thus appointed, thinking by this means to weaken the enemies forces, and so at their arriuall at Tauris, to come vpon them with all his power, and so vtterly to destroy them.

Both these captains departed accordingly, making shew that they would with all affection accomplish the commandement of their Prince: yet neuer was there heard any seruice of moment put in execution by them: for *Aliculi* ful of treason, after their departure began to alledge many forced reasons & excuses, Why they should surcease from meeting with the Turks: and *Emanguli* as yet vtterly ignorant of the wicked purposes and mischieuous trechery of *Aliculi*, suffered himselfe to be misse-led by him also. By the delaies and negligence of these two Persian captains, the Turkish General took leisure without any losse or hinderance at all, to arriue D at Tauris, and to put the desired succors into the fort: at what time the Persian prince by good hap had got knowledge of the trechery of *Aliculi*, and of the designements which many of the Sultans had lately contriued, for the betraying of him aliue into the hands of the Turkish Generall. Of which suspition he being greatly afraid, durst not only not trust himselfe to performe those battels that he had before determined to haue performed; but quite abandoning this noble and honorable enterprise, wholly emploied all his care and study for the safety of his own person, and so left the triumph of the matter in the power of the Turks. And thus those great hopes and expectations which the Persians had conceiued of great exploits to heue bin done against the enemy, did not only proue vain and come to no good issue, but contrariwise by this discouery were conuerted into most strange disturbances, and all Persia ther- E by endured sundry alterations and reuolutions of most important consequencies. For both *Aliculi Chan* and his complices were pursued by the Prince, as rebels and traitors: and also *Abas Mirize* of Heri was manifestly discouered for a wicked and trecherous contriuer of his brothers death: whereby the common mischiefes were encreased more than euer they were before, and the publike calamities yeelded greater hopes vnto the Turks than they had euer before conceiued in all the course of these wars.

Aliculi and Emanguli Chan perform nothing against the Turks, as was by the Prince expected.

Ferat putteth succours into the fort at Tauris.

When *Ferat* had thus relieued them in the castle of Tauris, leauing for the custody thereof *Giaffer* the Bassa with his former companies, hee returned towards Erzirum: hauing first caused a fort to be erected at Curchiue Tauris, a place neere vnto Tauris; another at Coy; and the third at Cum: in euery one of which forts he left a conuenient number of souldiers, with F all things necessary and sufficient for their maintenance, and defence of the places they were to keepe. He sent also succors to the fort at Teflis in Georgia, which they had long expected, and now most joyfully receiued. But the Persian Prince hauing hunted *Aliculi Chan* out of the quarters of Tauris, thought himselfe now wholly deliuered from the great feare of treason and rebellion, wherein he of late liued: and therefore in as great hast as he could, put himselfe on

on his journey towards Genge: in which place hauing gathered together a good number of G
souldiers, he determined to remoue thence, to intercept the succors that were by the Turks to
be brought to Teflis. Now he had alwaies found *Emanguli Chan* to be both faithfull and wise,
and in him he reposed an assured confidence to performe any enterprise that he had in hand,
and communicated with him euery deuice that he had conceiued in these wars. And therefore
he made head and joyned with him; and lodging most familiarly in his city, he staid there for
the setting in order and disposing of his aforesaid designements, being very desirous not to let
such an opportunity to ouerslip, without signification vnto the World of some notable nouel-
ty, which might be correspondent to the fame that of matters passed and performed the yeare
before, was now spread and published abroad ouer all the World. But when he was euen at
the very fairest to haue put this his desire in execution, and least of all feared any trechery or H
treason, vpon a sudden in the night time as he slept vpon a pallet he was miserably strucken
through the body, by an Eunuch of his that attended vpon him: and so the most resplendent
and bright lustre that euer shined in Persia, was vtterly extinguished. What was the occasion
thereof, and who procured his death, diuers and sundry are the opinions of men. Some thinke,
that his brother *Abas Mirize* of Heri, who had before conspired to haue had him betraied into
the hands of the Turkish Generall, had now by force of money and gifts enduced the wicked
Eunuch thereunto. Others deemed it not to haue beene done without the priuity of his fa-
ther, as more desirous to prefer *Abas Mirize* his other son vnto the kingdome. Diuers others
do diuersly reason of the matter: so that to affirme of a certainty, that thus or thus the death
of so worthy a Prince was procured, were great rashnesse: and therefore we leaue it, with the I
further processe of the Persian State, vnto the further discouery of time, the antient mother of
Truth.

The Persian prince slain by one of his Eunuchs.

Notwithstanding the league betwixt the Christian Emperour *Rodolph* the second and *Amurath* the great Turke, many sharp skirmishes oftentimes fell out betwixt the Christians and the Turks vpon the frontiers of their territories and dominions, especially in Hungary, Croatia, and Stiria: as now in the later end of this yeare 1586 in the month of December, the Turks, after their insolent manner making an inrode into the borders of Croatia, receiued a notable ouerthrow by the Christians being in number much fewer: where amongst others, the Bassa of Bosna with his brother was slaine; whose head with certaine prisoners was sent to Vienna to *Ernestus* Archduke of Austria, the Emperors brother. This Bassa of Bosna and his brother, K
slaine in this conflict (as we haue said) are reported to haue beene the sons of *Muhamet* the late great Visier, by one of the daughters of *Selymus* the second, *Amurath* his sister. For diuers yeres following, *Amurath* did no great matter worth the remembrance, contenting himselfe (as it should seeme) with that he had already got from the Persians; and holding his league in some reasonable sort with the Christians: yet not so, but that many a bloudy broile, tending at last euen to the breach of the league, passed betwixt the Turks and the Christians; which for the continuation of the History we will briefely set downe, as they are vnto vs by the Writers of our time reported.

1587 In February the yeare following, which was the yeare 1587, the Christians prouoked by the
often outrages of the Turks, setting vpon the castle of Koppan, not far from the lake of Bala- L
ton, being then frozen, by good fortune surprised it. There were at that time in the castle three
of the Turks Sanzackes, and about a thousand Turks, of whom an hundred and ninety of the
better sort, with seuenty women, besides diuers of the meaner sort, fell into the hands of the
Christians; the rest sauing themselues by flight, or by creeping into secret corners: an hundred
horses for seruice were there taken also, and so much booty as was esteemed to be worth forty
thousand duckats. Of the three Sanzackes that were there present, *Alis* Sanzacke of Koppan
was taken, and brought first to Vienna, and afterward presented to the Emperor: Another of
them standing vpon his defence in a vault vnder ground, was there smothered: the third esca-
ped by flight, but was afterwards the same yeare taken with diuers others, as shall be forth-
with declared. M

The Castle of Koppan in Hungary surprised by the Christians.

The eight of August following, foure of the Turks great Commanders in Hungary, *viz.* the Bassa of Ziget, the Sanzackes of Mohas, of Quinque Ecclesiæ, and the new Sanzacke of Koppan, with fiue thousand souldiers brake into the borders of the Christians, and in most cruell manner destroyed seuenteene countrey villages about Limbach: carrying away with them

A them all the miserable countrey people, with the spoile of the countrey. Whereof *George* County *Serinus* (sonne to that most valiant County *Nicholas Serinus* slaine at Ziget) commander of the garrison of Canisia, vnderstanding, with as much speed as was possible raised such forces as he was able out of his territory betwixt the riuers of Dranus and Mura, and calling vnto his aid the County *Nadasti*, the Lord *Bathianius*, and some other valiant Captaines that had the charge of those frontiers; with such diligence tooke the streits and passages whereby the Turks must needs returne among the marishes, that the Turks comming backe again that way with a very rich prey and many prisoners, being in the breake of the day hardly charged by those most expert and resolute souldiers, in those streit and troublesome passages about a mile from Canisia, were at length discomfited and put to flight with such a miserable slaugh-
B ter, that many of them yeelded vp their scimitars, pittifully crying for mercy; other some fled backe into the woods and forrests; and many running headlong into the marishes, there perished, or sticking fast in the deepe mud, cried together for mercy and helpe of their enemies. In this conflict *Muhamet* the Sanzacke of Quinque Ecclesiæ (son to *Haly Bassa* slaine in the battell of Lepanto) was taken prisoner. *Sinan Beg* Sanzacke of Mohaz, thinking to escape through the marish, stucke fast with his horse, and was shot through the head with a small shot and there died. The Bassa of Ziget, with *Chasan* the new Sanzacke of Koppan, seeing all desperat and lost, fled betimes out of the battell: but he of Koppan wandering vp and downe in the woods, was the next night after the battell with others taken: the Bassa of Ziget almost spent with hunger and griefe of minde, escaped on foot seuen daies after to Bresenza. There
C were taken of the Turks a thousand three hundred, of whom many died afterwards of their wounds. In this battell there were slain of the Turks, with them that perished in the marishes and woods, about 2000, and of the Turks horses were taken aboue 1500. All the prey before taken by the Turks, with the miserable captiues was againe recouered. The number of them that performed this notable seruice, was in all but fifteen hundred foot & fiue hundred horse, of whom there was but eleuen slaine, but most of the rest wounded. Foure hundred heads of the slaine Turks were (after the manner of those bordering souldiers) carried for shew to Canisia, with fiue hundred prisoners. The Christian souldiers with the helpe of the countrey people, ceased not for certaine daies to hunt after the Turkes that were fled into the woods, as after wilde beasts, of whom they found a great number: diuers others also seeing no meanes
D to escape, came forth of their lurking places and yeelded themselues.

Amurath vnderstanding of all these troubles that had so happened, commanded *Aly* the Bassa of Buda to be strangled, for that he had broken the league, and not restrained the insolency of the Sanzackes, whom he might haue commanded: and in his stead placed *Sinan Bassa*, whom before in disgrace, hee had now at the request of his wife againe receiued into fauour, and restored to his former dignity. About this time also *Sigismund* (the King of Sweden his sonne) now after the death of King *Stephen* chosen King of Polonia, and *Maximilian* the Emperours brother rejected; euen in the beginning of his reigne sought to renew the league which *Stephen* his predecessor and other the Polonian Kings had before made with *Amurath* and his predecessors the Turkish Sultans. And to that purpose writ vnto him as fol-
E loweth:

Aly Bassa of Buda strangled by the commandement of Amurath.

Sinan Bassa againe receiued into fauour.

Sigismund the third, King of Polonia, vnto *Amurath* the third, Emperor of the Turks, sendeth greeting.

Sigismund the Polonian King his letter vnto Amurath.

THe Almighty long keepe and preserue your Majesty in health and honour. Most Mighty Prince, our best beloued friend and neighbour, after that we by the grace and goodnesse of God were chosen to gouerne the kingdome of Polonia, and the Embassadours of that kingdome had signified so much vnto vs; we prouiding vs of necessaries, came to Danske the eighteenth of October, from whence we sent Iohn Zamogil *our Secretary, to giue your Majesty to vnderstand of this our comming: For being told by the*
F *Polonian Embassadors, That we were chosen vnto the gouernment of that kingdome, vpon condition, That according vnto the custome of our predecessors the Polonian Kings, we should keepe loue and friendship with the most Excellent* * Mussulman *Emperors; we promise vnto your Souereigne Majesty, That we are willing with the like or greater zeale and deuotion, to continue that amity and friendship with your most excellent Majesty and the* Othoman *Emperors your Successors. For confirmation whereof so soone as*

* *The Turks desire to be called Mussulmen, which in their language signifieth a true beleuer.*

as we shall come vnto Cracouia the regall city of Polonia, and there be crowned, we will forthwith send our great Embassador vnto your Majesty. In the meane time we most earnestly request your Majesty, that our kingdome may on your Majesties behalfe rest in safety and peace: which we persuade our selues you will easily grant. So wishing vnto you all health and happinesse, we bid you farewell. From Danske the eighteenth of October, in the yeare 1587, and of our reigne the first. G

Vnto which the Kings request and letters, *Amurath* not long after returned this answer in writing:

Amurath the third, Emperour of the Turks; vnto *Sigismund* King of Polonia, greeting. H

Amurath his answer vnto the letters of Sigismund.

I *Take it well, and as a token of your loue, that your Embassador* Iohn Samogil *came with your letters vnto our most high and glorious Court, the refuge of distressed Princes: wherein you haue giuen vs to vnderstand, how that in stead of the most excellent and famous King* Stephen, *of worthy memory, late King of Polonia; you, discended of the same noble stocke and race of the Polonian Kings, are by the free election of the whole State of the famous kingdome of Polonia and the great Kingdome of Lithuania, chosen King of Polonia: and being sent for by lawfull Embassadors, by the fauour and goodnesse of God, to be come vnto the city of Danske, and from thence to be about to go vnto Cracouia, the chiefe city of the kingdome of Polonia. And when you are there arriued, to send your Embassador vnto our most high and glorious Court, to confirme, preserue, and establish the league and amity commodious and necessary* I *for both our Kingdomes, honoured and kept by your antient predecessors, with our grandfathers and great grandfathers; yea, and that with greater zeale and deuotion than any your noble Ancestors. And therefore your Embassadour in your name requesteth, That no inuasion on our behalfe be made into the borders of the Kingdome of Polonia, or any harme there done: and that the most noble Tartar Prince* Isban Gerai, *(whom God blesse) should be warned, that he neither make nor suffer any incursion to be made into the confines of the Kingdome of Polonia. All which things in your letters contained, with the rest which your Embassadour hath by word of mouth deliuered, are with speed orderly by vs conceiued. Know you therefore, our most stately and magnificent Court to be alwaies open vnto such as resort thereunto, and that from thence neuer man had repulse, neither shall hereafter haue: wherefore it beseemeth you, as soone as these our letters shall be brought vnto you, to open your eies, and to beware that nothing be on your part* K *done against the Majesty of our Court, and the league; and that our peace and amity be neither in much or little disturbed, but as best beseemeth, well and sincerely kept: and so persuade your selfe it shall be on our part also be most inuiolately obserued. Our Letters are also directed vnto the most excellent Tartar Prince* Isban Gerai *(whom God blesse) strcitly charging and commanding him, not to make or suffer any incursion to be made into the borders of Polonia. In briefe, the league and amity shall be on our part religiously kept: and whosoeuer shall presume to do any harme vnto the kingdome or confines of Polonia, shall therefore without faile receiue from vs due punishment. So on your part also it is requisite that the same be done, and that in declaration of your loue, you forget not oftentimes to intimate vnto our most high and glorious Court, such certaine occurrents and newes as shall happen in those parts: which shall be vnto vs a signe of your sincere loue and friendship. So know you and giue credit vnto this our scale. From Constantinople.* L

Neither was King *Sigismund* vnmindefull of this his promise before made for the sending of his Embassador; but being possessed of the Polonian kingdome, sent *Christopher Dziercius* (his secretary) Embassador vnto *Amurath*, for the confirming of the league: which hee hath euer since so firmely kept with the Turke, that he could neuer by any entreaty of the Emperor, or of the Princes Electors, or others, or in respect of the common danger, be drawne into the fellowship of this long and religious war, so hardly maintained by the Emperor and some few other Christian Princes his confederats; first against *Amurath* whilest he liued, and euer since against *Mahomet* his son, which now reigneth; the issue whereof, God grant it proue not as well vnto the Polonians as others farther off, in fine lamentable. M

1588 The yeare following, *Ferat* (yet the Turks Generall in Persia) tooke the city of Genge, being before for feare of the Turks quite abandoned & forsaken by the Inhabitants; who yet vpon his faith giuen for their safety, returned againe, yeelding to pay vnto the Turke a yerely tribute

Genge taken by Ferat.

A but of fiue thousand ducats. But when he would haue gon farther into the enemies country, hauing part of his army cut off by the way, he was by his mutinous souldiers soulely entreated, wounded and enforced to retire. *Cicala Bassa* also passing ouer the riuer Euphrates, had in those quarters diuers bloudy skirmishes with the Persians, sometime carrying away the better, and sometime the worse, as the fortune of the field serued. Vntill at length *Amurath* himselfe no lesse weary than his people of that long and chargeable war, and the Persian King also inclining to peace; he by the persuasion of *Sinan Bassa* (but lately before receiued into fauour) was now contented to be entreated to hearken vnto the same: moued thereunto as well by reason of new troubles then in other places arising, as for the great famine and plague then raging in Constantinople. And considering withall what a great Territory he had won from B the Persians, and how necessary it was for him by peace to confirme himselfe in those his new conquests, and by the building of certaine strong forts for the succour of one another, and by the placing of the Timariots therein, to assure the same vnto him: all which without peace he could not possibly do, as the old Bassa right wisely told him. For which reason he yeelded to peace; and so Embassadours passing to and fro, a peace was at length agreed vpon betwixt these two great Mahometan Princes: the Turke couenanting to keepe vnto himselfe the places he had already gained; namely, Tauris, Genge, Siruan, and Chars, with all the profits thereof arising, for the maintenance of his garrisons and Timariots there. Whereof it was thought new stirres would eftsoones arise; the Turks growne insolent of their late victories, being not able to content themselues with the conditions of the league; and the Persians not C willing to liue in continuall feare of the Turks, especially seeing themselues to be dayly by them more and more oppressed; and withall doubting lest the Turks after they had taken fast footing in those new conquered Countries, and so growne strong, and gotten better knowledge of the passages, should (after their ambitious manner) seeke to possesse themselues of the rest; not keeping the couenants agreed vpon betwixt them, nor at all regarding the capitulations of the league. Which was neuertheless (as we said) on both sides for the space of ten yeres orderly confirmed with all due circumstances and ceremonies, in like occurrents by the great Potentats of the World vsed: and for the more assurance thereof, one of the Persian Kings sons, or as some others say, one of his nephews, giuen vnto the Turke in hostage, as *Amurath* required.

D These long wars thus ended, shortly after a great sedition was raised at Constantinople by the souldiers of the court, which returning out of Persia, with great insolency demanded their pay. For the satisfying of whom, by the consent of the great Sultan himselfe, the value of the coine was inhaunsed, and a new kinde of subsidie for leuying of mony imposed vpon the subjects in generall, none excepted; who standing vpon their antient liberties and priuiledges, refused to pay it, especially the Ianizaries and other soldiers of the court. Wherefore their Aga or captaine was commanded to appease them, and to persuade them to pay the demanded tribute: in attempting whereof he was in danger to haue been slaine by the insolent Ianizaries; and yet neuertheless for preuailing no more with them, was in displeasure thrust out of his office, and another placed in his roome that should haue married *Amuraths* daughter; of whom E for all that, the Ianizaries would not accept in any case, but threw stones at him, and threatned to kill him. The next night a great fire arose in the city; for the quenching whereof, the Ianizaries were commanded (as their duty was) to put to their helping hands: which they not only most obstinately refused to do, but also kept backe others that brought water for the quenching thereof, and together with the other soldiers of the court, did what they might to make it burne the faster. With the rage of this fire were consumed seuen of their Temples, 25 great Innes, fifteene thousand houses, with many warehouses and shops. To appease this dangerous stirre, and to preuent further mischiefe, commandement was giuen to the Beglerbeg of Grecia and *Dauid Passy* a Iew (the first authors of this new imposition) that they should either gather the aforesaid tribute by them deuised, and pay the soldiers, or by some other meanes to F giue them contentment. But here began the Priests publikely to dissuade the people from paiment of this new tribute, or any other such like; persuading them in any case to defend their antient liberties and customes: wherupon the churches were by the Priests shut vp, publique praiers for the health of the Sultan intermitted, the Bassa's houses assaulted, and all the city on a new hurley burley. For the appeasing whereof *Amurath* was glad to yeeld vnto the Ianizaries,

The Ianizaries in a tumult at Constantinople.

Great harme done by fire in Constantinople.

Ianizaries, to pay the souldiers out of his owne treasure, to reuoke his mandates giuen out for the exaction of the new tribute, and to deliuer the two persuaders thereof to the pleasure of the Ianizaries; who drew them vp and downe the streets at horses tailes, and afterwards cutting off their heads, in scorne tossed them from hand to hand one to another, as if they had bin tennise balls.

Sinan Bassa of Buda inuadeth the vpper part of Hungary.

About the latter end of September, *Sinan Bassa* of Buda, hauing with the assistance of the Sanzackes about Fille, raised an army of eleuen thousand soldiers, with purpose to haue spoiled all the vpper part of Hungary, came the sixth of October before the castle of Putnoc, and gaue thereunto summons: but finding them in the Castle better prouided and more resolute than he had before supposed, he departed thence, and passing the riuer Schayo, came to Sixo, a towne of about fiue hundred houses, which after a sore battery he tooke, and burnt it downe to the ground. In the meane time *Claudius Russell* Generall for the wars in that part of Hungary, hauing assembled his forces, came vpon him, and after a hard fight put him to the worse, when he had slain of his Turks about two thousand fiue hundred, besides three hundred other drowned in the riuer Schayo. Shortly after, the Christians in like manner breaking into the frontiers of the Turks, tooke from them the castles of Blauestein, Gestes, with some other small forts thereabouts in the vpper part of Hungary.

Sinan ouerthrowne.

1589 *Sinan* for that he had contrary to the league, and without the commandement of *Amurath*, so vnfortunately attempted war in Hungary, was the next yeare in great displeasure sent for to Constantinople, and *Ferat Bassa* of Bosna (late General of the Turks army against the Persians, and now but newly come home) placed in his roome at Buda.

Amurath before not ignorant of the great preparation that *Philip* the King of Spaine had made, and of the inuincible Armado (as it was termed) by him set forth for the inuasion of England (the fame whereof had of long before filled a great part of the World) as also of the euill successe thereof the last yeare, *viz* 1588; and of the purpose her Majesty of England had for the troubling of his rich trade, especially vnto the West-Indies, and for the relieuing of *Don Anthonio*, by him driuen out of Portugall: wrot vnto her about this time concerning those and such like matters as had beene moued by her Agent, as followeth:

Nicholaus Reusnerius Epist. Turcic. lib. 12. pag. 42.

Amurath the third, Emperor of the Turks, vnto *Elizabeth* Queene of England, France, and Ireland, greeting.

Amuraths Letters vnto the Queen of England.

Most honourable Matrone of the Christian Religion, Mirror of chastity, adorned with the brightnesse of souereignty and power amongst the most chaste women of the people which serue Iesu, Mistris of great kingdomes, reputed of greatest Majesty and praise among the Nazarites, Elizabeth *Queene of England, to whom we wish a most happy and prosperous reigne. You shall vnderstand by our high and Imperiall letters directed vnto you, how that your Orator resiant in our stately and magnificent Court, hath presented vnto the throne of our Majesty a certaine writing, wherein he hath certified vs, how that about foure yeares ago you haue made wars vpon the King of Spaine, for the abating and breaking of his forces, wherewith he threatned all other Christian Princes, and purposeth to make himselfe the sole Monarch both of them and all the World beside. As also how that the same King of Spaine hath by force taken from* Don Anthonio *(lawfully created King of Portugall) his kingdome: and that your intention is, that his ships which go and come into the Indies, may from henceforth be imbarred and strayed from that nauigation: wherein are yearely brought into Spaine, pretious stones, spices, gold, and siluer, esteemed worth many millions, wherewith the aforesaid King as with a great treasure enriched, hath meanes to molest and trouble all other Christian Princes: which if he shall still proceed to do, he will make himselfe dayly stronger and stronger, and such an one as may not easily be weakened. After that, your aforesaid Orator requested our Highnesse, in the beginning of the next Spring to send out our Imperiall fleet against him, being assured that the King of Spaine could not be able easily to withstand it, for that he had now already receiued a great ouerthrow by your fleet: and being scarce able to withstand you alone, if he should be on diuers parts inuaded, must needs be ouercome, to the great benefit of all the Christian Princes, as also of our Imperiall state. Besides this, that whereas the aforesaid* Don Anthonio *is by force driuen out and deprived of his kingdome, that we (to the imitation of our noble Progenitours of happy memory, whose graues the Almighty lighten) should also giue the aid and succour of our magnificent state, as did they, vnto all such as had recourse vnto their high Courts and palaces for reliefe. In briefe, all these things, with many others*

others which your aforesaid Orator hath at large declared vnto our Imperiall throne, we haue well vnderstood and laid them vp in our deepe remembrance. But forasmuch as we for many yeares past haue made wars in Persia, with a full resolution and intent vtterly to conquer and subdue the kingdome of that accursed Persian heretike, and to ioyne the same vnto our antient dominions; and now by the grace of God, and helpe of our great Prophet, are vpon the point of the satisfying of our desire: that once done, due prouision shall be assigned vnto all such things as you haue of vs requested or desired. Wherefore if you shall sincerely and purely continue the bond of amity and friendship with our high Court, you shall not find more secure refuge or safer harbour of good will or loue. So at length all things shall go well and according to your hearts desire in your wars with Spaine, vnder the shadow of our happy throne. And for as much as the King of Spaine hath by fraud and deceit got whatsoeuer he holdeth, without doubt these deceitfull deceiuers shall by the power of God in short time be dispatched and taken out of the way. In the meane time we exhort you not to lose any opportunity or time, but to be alwaies vigilant, and according to the conuentions betwixt vs, fauourable vnto our friends, and vnto our enemies a foe. And giue notice here to our high Court, of all the new wars which you shall vnderstand of concerning the said King of Spaine, for the behoofe both of your selfe and vs. To be briefe, your Embassador after he had with all care and diligence dispatched his Embassage, and here left in his place one Edward Bardon *his Deputy and Agent, now by our leaue maketh his returne towards your kingdome, being for the good and faithfull seruice he there did, worthy to be of you esteemed, honoured, and before others promoted: who when he hath obtained of you all those his deserued honours and preferments, let him or some other principall Embassador without delay be appointed to our Imperiall Court, to continue this office of legation. This we thought good to haue you certified of vnder our most honourable Seale, whereunto you may giue vndoubted credence. From our Imperiall palace at Constantinople, the fifteenth of this blessed moneth * Ramazan* 1589.

* September.

Yet for all these faire shewes, it may seeme vnto him that looketh more neere into the state of the Turkish affaires at those times, and that which hath ensued since, that *Amurath* glad of the discord of these two so great Christian Princes, and not well assured of his new conquests in Persia, had no great mind to the inuasion of Spaine, as too far from the strength of his Empire, an enterprise not to be so easily managed by sea, as were the wars he shortly after vndertooke against the Christian Emperor *Rodolph* by land: wherwith for all that (God be thanked) he found his hands full all the remainder of his life, as did his sonne *Mahomet* that reigned after him.

The Polonian Cossacks inuade the Tartarians and Turks.

About this time also the Polonian borderers (whom they call Cossackes) a rough and warlike kinde of people, after their wonted manner making an inrode vpon the Turks and Tartarians, vpon the sudden surprised Koslaw a port towne within a daies journey of Cassa, where they had the spoile of many rich warehouses of the Turks merchants, and the rifling of certain ships lying there in harbor; and hauing taken their pleasure, burnt the rest, and so with a great booty returned to their lurking places. With which injury the Tartars prouoked, and set on by the Turks, to the number of forty thousand brake into Podolia and the prouinces neere vnto Polonia, and resting in no place, but burning the country before them, slew the poore country people without mercy, and making hauocke of all that they light vpon, besides the spoile, carried away with them many thousands of most miserable captiues: the greatest part whereof for all that, the Polouians rescued, with the notable slaughter of the enemy, surprised in their returne. Whereupon such vnkindnesse rise between the Turkish Emperor and *Sigismund* the Polonian King, that it was thought it would haue broken out into open wars, had not the Polonian by his Embassadors and the mediation of the Queene of England, wisely appeased the angry Turke, and so againe renewed his league.

1590 *The reasons wherwith the Visier Bassa persuade Amurato to make war.*

Amurath now at peace with the World, from which he by nature abhorred not, and sitting idle and melancholy at home, was persuaded by the Bassa's his Counsellors, to take some new war in hand: for that great empires (as they said) could not without the continuall vse of armes long stand or continue: as appeared by the Roman state, which so long as it was at wars with Carthage, or their great Captaines and Commanders occupied in armes against their neighbour Princes, still remained triumphant, and commanded ouer a great part of the World; but giuing it selfe to ease and pleasure, and the martial men not after their wonted manner imploied, it in short time by ciuill discord fell, and of the Mistresse of the World, became it selfe a prey euen vnto the basest nations. Which old *Cato* in his great wisedom foresee-ing, cried out in the

the Senat, That the souldiers and men of warre were to be kept still busied in armes far from home, for that in so doing, all should go well with the State, and the glory thereof increase. Whereunto the *Othoman* Emperours, his noble progenitors, hauing respect, propounded not peace as the end of their wars (as do other weake Princes hauing their owne forces in distrust) but as inuincible conquerors, still sowed wars vpon wars, making one victory the beginning of another: whereby they not onely brought that their Empire vnto that greatnesse it was now of, but by such continuall imploiment made their souldiers more couragious and ready, and also kept them from rebellions and tumults; whereunto in time of peace, and liuing at ease, these martiall men are most commonly inclined, learning (as all others do) by doing nothing, to do that is euill and naught. Euery thing (as they said) was by the same means to be maintained, whereby it was at the first increased; and that therefore great Empires, as they were by wars begun and augmented, so were they by continuall wars also to be from time to time established; whereas otherwise the souldiers liuing in peace, and forgetting their martiall prowesse, would for most part grow cowardly, as giuing themselues ouer to the loue of their owne dwellings, of their wiues, and of their children, and other pleasures; or else conuerting their studies to Merchandise, or other profitable trades, would in time forget the vse of armes, and be thereunto againe hardly drawne: vnto the great weakening of his strength both by sea and land, and the diminishing of the number of his great commanders and expert captains, not to be had without the continual vse of war. With these and such like reasons, the great Bassa's of the Court persuaded *Amurath*, That he must of necessity take some new expedition in hand, and not to suffer his valiant souldiers, but now lately returned out of Persia, to grow lazie or insolent for lacke of imploiment. Which they did not so much for the loue of their Prince, or zeale vnto the State, as for their owne particular profit; especially the two old Bassa's *Sinan* and *Ferat*, the enuious competitors the one of the others honour: who although they both, much and almost all commanded both in peace and war, yet was their honours greater, and their profit far more, in commanding of the Turks great armies abroad, than in sitting in the Diuano at home: vnto which no lesse honourable than profitable preferment they both with like ambition aspired, accompanied with the hot desires of their great and many fauories both at home and elsewhere. These persuasions well pleased *Amurath*; who although hee were himselfe no souldier, yet was he desirous of new conquests, and to increase his name: accounting it no lesse honour vnto himselfe, by his seruants at his appointment to performe great things, than it was vnto his Ancestors to do that they did themselues in person. But in this so serious a matter, and of so great consequence, *Amurath* at the first could not tell what best to resolue vpon; not for that he was not desirous of warres, but because as yet he certainely knew not against whom he might with greatest profit and least difficulty & danger conuert his forces: vpon which point his Counsellors agreed not, but for diuers reasons were of diuers opinions. Which forasmuch as they containe matters of greatest importance of all things then in the World don, but especially concerning the profit of the Christian commonweale, I shall not thinke it vnworth my labour, to set them downe in such order as I finde them credibly reported; hauing moreouer in them many letters and most weighty matters not yet come to all mens knowledge: as also opening the deuises of the Turkish Tyrant against the Christian Princes; a motiue not only for them to joyne in counsell together how to withstand him, but for the common Christian Commonweales sake to forget and forgiue all their priuat displeasures, and with their vnited forces and power honourably and couragiously to make war vpon him, and so at length by the mercy of God to ouerthrow him, together with his tyrannicall Empire, the greatest terror of our time.

The causes why Amurath would not suddenly resolue vpon war.

Eight seuerall opinions of the Persian Bassaes, concerning the war to be taken in hand.

The great Bassa's concerning the intended war were of eight sundry opinions: whereof the first was, That the wars against the Persian should be renewed: the second, for the inuasion of the King of Morocco and Fes: the third, for war to be taken in hand against the king of Spain: the fourth for the besieging againe of Malta; the fift was, to set vpon the Venetians: the sixt, for the inuading of some part of Italy: the seuenth, for the King of Polonia: the eighth and last was, for warre to be made vpon the Emperour and the kingdome of Hungary. With all the which aforesaid Princes, except the Spaniard, although the Turke were then in league, and could not with all or any of them make warre, without the notable breach of his faith and honour: yet was that neuer made question or scruple of, but onely, Which might best stand

stand with the profit of his state for him to set vpon. His barbarous law allowing him that liberty, for the more assuring of his state, and inlarging of his empire, to break all faith & promise, especially with the Christians; not more in any thing to be pitied, than in reposing any credit or confidence in the faith of such a miscreant.

The reasons the great Bassa's alledged for the renuing of the Persian war, were, for that the Persian King was of himselfe like to break the league so lately with him concluded, so soone as he should know the Turks intangled in any other war; moued thereunto as well for the recouery of his country, to his great dishonor lost, as also in reuenge of so many and so great injuries to him of late don by the Turkish Emperors. Besides that, the Christian princes would persuade him and prick him forward therunto; especially the Spaniard, who for the neernes of India might without his great charge procure him so to do, and also conueniently furnisht him with great Ordnance and Cannoniers, which it was wel known he of late did. The countries also but lately conquered, were not yet, as they said, in quietnes or safety; and the fortresses therin but of late buile, together with the garrisons therin, to be in great danger, being for the length of the way, and difficultie of the passage, not to be still speedily relieued: insomuch that if the Persians did them no other harm, but only to forrage and wast the countrey about them, they should bring the inhabitants into such distres, as that those new conquered countries were again by the defendants to be forsaken, or else they must themselues with hunger perish. True glory, they said, consisted not so much in conquering, as in the vse of the conquest, and the prosecution of the happy victory: And that therfore *Amurath* should take heed that he prouoked not the wrath and indignation of the great Prophet *Mahomet* against him; who hauing by his good fauour and guid obtained mo victories than any his predecessors, against the enemies of his religion, ought as a religious and deuout prince seuerely to reuenge the wrong by them done both to God and man. Vnto which religious Warre *Vibeg Han* the Tartar King, as also the Prince of Gheilan, offered their ready help. As for the euent of the victory, now as good as in his hand, he was to iudge by the succes of his former Wars. Neither that he need to fear the Persian horsemen, although they vsed Arabian horses, beeing by his men many times shamefully put to flight: or yet to doubt lest the Georgians in fauor of the Persians should take vp arms, for that many of them were already vnder his obeisance, and subiect to the Bassa of Teflis and other his commanders; the rest were his vassals, or els such as following the fortune of their princes *Simon* & *Alexander*, sought after no greater matter, but contenting themselues with their own countrey, although but small, thought themselues wel if they might keep and defend the same, by nature and scituation so strong, as that there is scarce any way vnto it, by reason of the high and broken mountains, the thick woods, and streit passages.

The first opinion and reasons to haue the Persian wars renued.

The second opinion which was deliuered, was for the transportation of his Wars into Affrick against the King of Morocco, commonly called the Seriphe; and that for these causes most: It would be a great shame and reproch (as they said) vnto the *Othoman* Empire, that it was not yet able to subdue those Moores and people of Africke, in number but few. Neither was it lesse shame or dishonour to the *Othoman* Emperours to haue so small a territory in Africa, being the third parte of the world, which by reason of the neerenesse vnto Italy, had a long time held wars with the Romans. Besides that, Algiers and Tunes could neuer be safely kept by the Turks: neither that the subiects and pyrats which inhabited those Cities, would euer be content or at quiet, vntil they had again got that kingdome into their hands. The promontory of Aguero, and port of Larace (two ports without the streits) were, as they said, to be taken, as places very commodious for the Turks friends, seeking in those seas after booty; and for the securing of their trade. And although the Seriphe were himselfe a Mahometan, and held his kingdom as a Tributary vnto the *Othoman* Empire, yet had hee secret intelligence with the Spaniard and the Knights of Malta, whereby they not long since had vpon the sudden almost surprised Tripolis, he in the mean time as it were winking therat. And that although the Spaniard possessed in Africke, Marasche bit, Oran, Pegnon, Tanger, Arzilla, Mazaga, Ceute or Septa, place whereby he might help and assist the Moors; yet might his forces and attempts by a strong diet be easily hindered, and Spaine it selfe infested. Besides that, The Spaniards had yet in such fresh remembrance the losse of Tunes and Guletta (places by them thought inexpugnable, and yet by *Sinan Bassa* to his immortall praise taken) as

The second opinion, for war with the King of Morocco.

that they would not for the Moors sake easily seem to attempt any great thing against the vi- G
ctorious Turks.

The third opinion, touching the conquest of Malta.

The third opinion was concerning the war to be made against them of Malta, which was by a strong fleet to be performed; for that the gallies of Malta did daily great hurt as wel to the Turks merchants, as vnto such as for deuotions sake trauelled by sea to Mecha. And that therefore the war was thither to be transferred, not only for religions sake, and to assecure the passage thither from the incursions of the Maltese, but in reuenge of the old & late iniuries by them don; and especially to blot out the infamy and disgrace which the great Sultan *Solyman* had incurred, at such time as he had in vain besieged that Island, and to requite the losse by him there sustained. Beside that, they also alledged the common complaints of the subjects, for that there were many which pitiously lamented the misery and calamitie, some of H
their friends, some their kinsfolk, whom they knew to liue in most woful seruitude with those Knights, and whom they most earnestly desired to haue now set at liberty: Complaining, his subiects to haue bin so far from suffering any such things from those Knights in the time of his ancestors, as that contrariwise they themselues were by them driuen out of the Island of Rhodes, the strongest bulwark of the Christian commonweal toward the East. Being moreouer worthy also to be chastised, for that they had holpen the rebellious Moors with all kind of munition, and had themselues attempted to haue surprised Modon.

The fourth opinion, for war to be made against the Spaniard, and the reasons why.

In the fourth place were they which were of opinion, That it were best for him to make war vpon the king of Spain. These men alledged it to be impossible for the Turkish empire to attaine to the monarchy of the whole world (whereunto all the Turks actions and deuises I
were alwaies as at a certain mark directed) except the Spaniard his great strength and power were first weakned, wherin he seemed to surpasse all other the Christian kings and princes: and that there was no fear lest he should besiege Algiers, which hee knew to be now much better fortified than it was in the time of the Emperor *Charles* the fift. And that although the Spaniards without ceasing besought their king for the vndertaking of that expedition, by reason of the new losses and harmes which they daily receiued from the Pyrats of Africa, yet would he not hearken vnto their request, for feare of the danger imminent both to himself & his subiects from the enemies fleet, which he should in so doing draw into the Spanish seas: neither would the Spanish gallies easily come into the Turks countries in the East, for being too far from their own country, which for most part stood in need of their help. And that the king of K
Spain was with the multitude of his busines and other his vrgent affairs still so hindred, that he could not suddenly put in execution what his Councell for the Wars should decree. And also how much it was to be gathered by that which hapned not long since at Preuesa & Navarinum, that the Spaniard shunned the *Othoman* forces: and also how warily the king dealt in all his affairs, lest at length against his will he should be inforced to enter into warre with the Turk, was most manifest; as was to be seen when as of late about the end of the Persian war, he refused to aid the Persian King, whom hee might haue holpen, and was so before wont to doe. And in case that he would stand vpon his gard, and by force seek to repel force, yet should he scarse haue so much strength, as (beside those wars which he now maketh in diuers places) to be able to vndertake also a new war, and to find so many souldiers, and so much coin, & other L
things necessary for so great a war. It stood him in hand (they said) to defend the low countries, and to recouer againe the prouinces there lost, which of themselues wonderfull strong, both by reason of the sea and the multitude of the Riuers, were also with wonderfull courage and pertinacy defended by the inhabitants, for their liberty and religions sake. Whereupon the English (at deadly hatred with the Spaniard) might many waies giue great help, if they should inuade Portugal, or with their ships lie in wait for his Indian fleet, or make incursions into other his kingdoms, as they did not long since at the Groin and Cadez: neither should it fail to trouble Spain, and to hinder his traffique into the Indies or other places. Besides, he was at that time so intangled with his wars in France, as that he could scarce tell how to dispatch himself thereof, without the losse of his honor and credit. And that he should make M
peace with the aforesaid Princes, in such sort that he should not seem thereby to receiue any harme; yet were other meanes to be sought and taken in hand for his further disturbance, as by troubling his rich Trade for Spices and other merchandises, whereof hee reapeth great profit, as also if need were, by driuing his ships out of the Persian gulf, by the help of

A of those gallies which still lie at rode at Possidium, which we now cal Suez. And that the fortresses and strong holds he there possesseth, were to be set vpon, and if it might be taken from him, as was once attempted against the Portugals at Diu and Ormuz. The like wherof *Alphonsus Albuquercius* (the king of Portugals Viceroy in India) attempted, when as with his light horsmen running thorow that country, he thought vpon the sudden to haue spoiled Mecha, and to haue robbed the sepulchre of *Mahomet*, as had hapned vnder the empire of the Sultans, and as *Trajan* the Emperor had long since in like maner attempted to rage and spoile. Those places which he possessed in Africk were (as they said) to be set vpon, and the coast of Spain toward the Mediterranian to be infested: so at length to gratifie the Moors his subiects, who stil instantly requested the same, that so they might more safely trafique and trauell; and that
B so the Moors might at length be deliuered from the imperious commaund of the Spaniards. Of which exploit Sultan *Selymus* lately before dead, was in his life time well persuaded; but might now at this time be much more commodiously don, for that the Moorish Nation was now greatly increased, and much oppressed by the Spaniards, and hauing got great wealth by trade of merchandise, euen by nature or Religion had conceiued a mortall hatred against the Spaniards: wherunto might not a little auaile the ports in Africke, wherein into the Turks fleet might at all times in safety retyre. And in briefe, that which was of greatest importance for the better succes of this war, the French King and the Queen of England had of their own accord promised the continuation of their wars, & that the French King should inuade Nauar, and by force of arms recouer the right he pretended to that kingdom: whilst in the mean time
C the Queen of England should not only trouble him in the West Indies, and other places of the Ocean toward the North and West, but might also stir vp new broils in the kingdome of Portugal, where most of the people with great impatience did bear the proud commaund of the Spaniard; as persuaded (and that truly) all their prosperity and quietnes to haue bin lost together with their last king their true and lawfull soueraign. For he at peace with the kings of France and England, exceedingly thereby inriched his subiects by trafique, whereas since they fel into the hands of the Spaniard, they daily complain of their new losses and dangers, by reason of his perpetual wars. Moreouer, That there was to bee found great store of exiled Spaniards dispersed here and there, which being male-content, and weary of the Spanish gouernment, were fled not only out of Portugall, but euen out of Aragon and other parts of his
D kingdom: which now liuing in France, England, and Constantinople, both secretly & openly offered great helps: the like wherof many of the Moors also promised. All which together seemed to promise a most easie expedition and certain victory, if any should vpon the sudden inuade Spain, for that there was almost no vse of arms, the inhabitants at home seldom times exercising themselues therin: neither in places needful hauing any ordinary garisons, and but few horses fit for seruice. And that in fine it was to be considered, Spain to be greatly bared of men which knew how valiantly and couragiously to mannage Armes, by the often choice they make of them; which were almost daily transported into the Indies, Italy, and the Low-Countries. Wherby the strength of his Countrey must needs bee exceedingly impaired: so that if he should be inuaded with any strong and mighty Army, they might seem hardly able
E to be holpen and defended by their owne people, but should need the helpe and aid of other neer Prouinces that were subiect to his kingdom. Which if they should be either letted, or stay to come in good time, they should then leaue so much the more easie victory vnto their Enemies.

The third opinion for inuading the Venetians, and the reasons why.

In the fifth place were they which went about to persuade *Amurath* to breake his league with the Venetians; vsing reasons rather probable than true, although they might seeme lesse doubtfull to the Turkes, for that men easily and willingly beleeue such things as they themselues desire. These men went about to proue no expedition to bee lesse difficult than this, as iudging of things present by the euent of former wars passed; wherin the Turks had alwaies taken something from the Venetians; who to redeem their peace were diuers waies inforced to
F satisfie the Turks. That the Venetian Commonweal was afraid of the Turks, and abhorred war, was manifest, they said, in that, that in all actions it had propounded vnto it self peace, as the end thereof; and after the manner of their ancestors, neuer entred into wars, but enforced thereunto; and would haply vpon the first denouncing of Wars, willingly part with certain places, for feare of greater harme, or to bee vtterly ouercome, as it appeared they did in the

yeelding vp of Cyprus. The power and force therof was not so great, as that it could alone stand against the great Sultan: and to confederat it self with others would require no smal delay, for the great and many difficulties which commonly vsed to arise in making of Leagues; not being now so conjoined with the Spaniard as in times past, of whose aid it being of late destitute, was constrained to make a hard peace with *Selymus*: and if so be the Spaniard would needs join himself vnto the Venetians against the Turks, yet that he could by no means afford vnto them such aid and supplies as were of necessity to be required vnto so great a War, hee himself being in his Wars otherwise so intangled. As for all other confederation they could make without him, to be but weak and to no purpose. That which the Pope could do herein to be but little; for albeit he should (according to his duty) exhort other Christian princes to giue aid, and to stir them vp vnto this war; yet that beside some little supply of mony hardly drawn out of his own coffers and the Ecclesiastical reuenues, he could scarse performe any thing more: or when he had don his vttermost deuoir, could but joine fiue gallies of his owne vnto the Venetian fleet, which with the gallies of the duke of Savoy, of the knights of Malta, and of the Florentines, could but make a fleet of some 20 gallies, which was but a smal matter. Besides that, the Turkes were persuaded, that betwixt the Venetian state and the other Christian Princes was no such friendship and good agreement, as the greatnes of the imminent danger of that War, and as the necessity of the cause would require: And that hitherto their treasures had bin so exhausted in paying the debt they were run into in the last war, and in building of fortresses, that haply they were not now so furnished with coin, as was requisit for defraying so great a war. And vnto this War against the Venetians consented almost all the Visier Bassa's; differing only in this, Where, or against what place of the Venetian Territory this war were to be first begun: some naming one place, some another, for diuers reasons them therunto leading, which for breuity we passe ouer.

The sixt opinio for attempting Italy, and the reasons therof.

Other some of the Bassa's in the sixth place, rejecting all the former opinions concerning the war to be taken in hand, would haue had all the forces of the *Othoman* Empire, as well by land as sea, to haue been conuerted against Italy, for that otherwise the Turks should neuer come vnto the monarchy of the whole world, wherunto as at a mark they had directed al their actions, except they did first subdue Italy. For that this country, as the centre of the whole world, was wont to giue both counsel and aid vnto the rest of the limbs, whereby the deuices of others were crossed: and that the Romans had at length commanded ouer all the World, especially for that they held in possession this country. Herat did the Hunnes, the Alani, and Goths, the Vandals, the Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Sarasins direct all their thoughts and cogitations. In fine they concluded, That no expedition could be taken in hand more honourable and profitable than this: for that Italy was a Queene amongst other prouinces, for commodious scituation, the wholsomnes of the aire, the plenty of all things necessary for mans life, for great, fair, and rich cities, for the antient glory and majesty of the Roman Empire, and many other causes also. Neither that this expedition was to be deemed of much difficultie, for that Italy was vnder the rule of diuers princes, vnto whose command most of the subjects vnwillingly obeyed. As also for that the inhabitants of that country had now for many years liued in continual peace, and were therfore the more effeminat and fearful, and so vnfit for the wars. And that if that expedition were in one or diuers places taken in hand, before the corn were full ripe, the Turks in that so fruitfull a Country could neuer want necessaries for them to liue vpon; whereas the inhabitants in great number wanting the same, and shut vp within the wals and fortifications of their Cities and strong towns, should be brought into extream wants. Which was the more euidently to be seen, for that at this time wherein they were at peace, they had not corn sufficient in the Countrey for so great a multitude of people to liue vpon, but were glad to haue it brought vnto them from other places, especially from Peloponesus, Constantinople, and the Cities vpon the coast of the great Ocean. Furthermore, that it was to be considered, That most part of the Italians liued by no other meanes but by their handy labour or the trade of merchandise; of which means if they should be depriued, they should in short time be brought to that point, as to be glad to accept of such conditions as the victor should propound vnto them, or as tributaries to submit themselues vnto the *Othoman* gouernment. Neither that the soldiers would vnwillingly be drawn vnto that War, for that they were not to passe through barren regions of the enemy, frozen with ice, or desolate, either

neither by rough woods or inaccessible mountains, but were all the way thither to trauel thorow their own country, and as it were in the sight of their own houses: and if the Turks could ostentimes enter so far, when as they had their confines more remote, and their passages more difficult, that the same might now much more easily be effected, when as they had a far greater opportunitie, and their enemies so neer at hand.

The 7. opinion, for wars with the Polonian.

The seuenth opinion was theirs, which thought it best to haue the war transferred into Polonia, and from thence into Hungary and Germany: for which they alledged these reasons; first, For that they thought it a disgrace vnto the majesty and reputation of the *Othoman* Empire, That the king of Polonia had somtime refused to pay his tribute due (for so the Turkes account of all such presents as are vnto their Sultan vsually sent by their neighbor princes, of curtesie) and that therfore he was by force of armes to be compelled therunto. Which they thought would the more easily be obtained, for that there was much secret hatred and heart-burning amongst the Polonian nobility. Neither that it would be any difficult or dangerous war to be taken in hand, forasmuch as Polonia was confined with Moldavia, the Tartars, and the Sanzack of Acherman, Bendera, and Vosia: and moreouer, for that the Turks could neuer haue any assured or full possession of Moldauia or Valachia, except the insolencie of the Polonians were repressed; the Vayuods of which Countries, when they had inriched themselues with much wealth, vsed stil to fly into the kingdom of Polonia. Besides that, they should therby reuenge themselues for the injuries don them by the Cossacks; and haue more free & safe traffique into Muscouy, and bring a terror vpon the Duke of Muscouy, by reason of the nighnes of the country: which great Duke was an impediment to the *Othoman* Emperour, that hee conquered not the whole kingdom of Persia. And when he had by this means by little & little drawn vnto Germany, haply it might so come to passe, that the Christian emperor should therby receiue some notable losse, his empire being stil more & more exposed and inuironed with the Turks forces and garisons. Polonia they said to be a plaine and open countrey, neither to haue any strong places for to withstand them; and the inhabitants to haue small skill in martial affairs, for that they had now long liued in peace. For as for the war that they had with *Maximilian* the Archduke of Austria, it continued not long: and king *Stephen* in the late wars he had with the Muscouit, vsed for the most part the Hungarian soldiers, & ended those wars rather by besieging than fighting.

The eight opinion, for war against the emperour, and the reasons therof.

They which in the eighth and last place deliuered their opinions concerning the intended war, persuaded to haue it conuerted vpon the Christian Emperour, whom the Turks call the King of Vienna. The causes they alledged for the beginning of this War were, For that the Vscocchi were grown so insolent, as to make good prise of the Turks both by sea and land, in such sort, as that not onely for the harms they did, but euen for the majesty and honor of the *Othoman* Empire, their insolencie was not longer to be suffered. By whose injuries it chiefely came to passe, that the merchants to their great hinderance in priuat, and the Sultans great losse in common, hauing left the town of Narenta or Narona in the Turks dominion, had remoued their mart to Salona (now called Spalato) a town of the Venetians; and that yet for al that was not so sufficiently prouided for the security of the said merchants, although there were peace betwixt the Emperor and the Venetians: for that these vnruly men for most part liuing vpon the spoile, troubled all both by sea and land with their robberies, driuing away mens cattel, burning the villages, and taking away the young babes out of the mothers armes and laps. Whereby it was easily to be seen what mind they were of, and that it was not to be doubted, but that if occasion should serue for them to surprise any of the Turks strong holds vpon the frontiers, they would with all their power attempt the same: which what a dishonor and infamy (not to speak of the losse) it would be vnto the whole *Othoman* Empire, euery man may easily ghesse. Neither that it was vnknown, how little the Christian Emperor had esteemed of the Turk, at such time as he was in war with the Persian, paying his tribute too late at his pleasure; an euident signe rather of violating than of establishing the league. And that the good succes of this war was not to be deemed either difficult or doubtful; for that the attempt might be giuen both by Croatia, Hungary, and Austria, Countries abounding with all things necessary for the maintenance of a great army; as also for that they were almost to trauell all the way in the Turks own territory. Beside that, the chiefe fortresses of Hungarie, namely Belgrade, Buda, & Alba-Regalis, with many other strong places, were already holden by

by the Turks garrisons, whither their Armies in all cases of extremity might in safety retire, or out of the same garrisons repair their losses, if any should be. The Roman empire (as they said) was more desirous of peace than of war; & the princes of nothing more careful, than how to heap vp and preserue their treasures: and the people of Germany, for that of long time they had had no wars, to be lesse fit now to bear armes, and worse to be commanded by their Captains; alwaies hauing in distrust the Hungarians, the Italians, and Spaniards, for that those nations are not beloued, but rather hated of the Germans, beeing not at vnity amongst themselues, but diuided, especially about matters of religion. Neither that it was to be feared, lest forrein princes should aid the Emperor in this war: The Polonian and Transylvanian to liue now in peace with the Turk, and therfore would by no meanes turn the heat of this War into their own bosoms; as also for that the Polonians were afraid, lest in so doing they should be driuen out of their country, and inforced to remoue themselues toward the frozen sea: and the Transylvanian hauing receiued his soueraignty from the Turke, no lesse in feare (if he should so doe) to be of him again stript and spoiled of the same. As for the king of Spaine, although he were of such power as might afford vnto the house of Austria great aid, yet that he was in other places now too much busied: and that the Bishop of Rome could not be ready in all places to serue his turn: the princes of Italy would not spend their subiects and treasures to pleasure another man: and that the Venetian State would not rashly stir vp the Turkes armes against themselues, but rather at ease expect the euent of the war, than to intangle themselues with other mens dangers.

These were the chief opinions of the great Bassa's, concerning the war to be taken in hand; not so much proceeding from any ripe or sound aduice (as commonly they doe) but rather from a certain barbarous insolencie and contempt of others; wherwith they moued, do oftentimes vainly persuade them of the easie performance of many expeditions, which in proofe they find to be not only most difficult, but vnto themselues also most pernicious.

Amurath resolues to make war with the Emperor.

In this so great diuersity of opinions stood *Amurath*, of long in doubt what to resolue vpon: desirous he was in all places to shew his power, and if it were possible, to exceed the glory of his predecessors, as he thought himself to haue already don in Persia; hauing, as he boasted, by his seruants there performed more than they could themselues in person with their mighty armies: wherfore contenting himself with that he had already don in the East, he resolued now to turn his forces against the Christian Emperor toward the West. And that for diuers respects: first, it grieued him to see the honor of the house of Austria, and that it durst make head against him. Besides that, to make war with a country confining vpon his own, would be a thing of far lesse difficulty than was the Persian war; where his armies were now still to be led thorow his own peaceable countries, from whence they were to be at all times plentifully relieued with victuals and whatsoeuer els they needed. In which opinion he was also confirmed by *Sinan Bassa*; who hauing in vain persuaded him to haue made war against the Venetians, furthered now this war, in hope therby to recouer his credit and reputation (before greatly impaired abroad by the little he did in Persia; as also at Constantinople, by the discord betwixt him & *Ferat Bassa*, commonly called the black Serpent) as also to increase his wealth and riches. Which shortly after sorted to his desire, being by the great Sultan *Amurath* appointed General for those Wars. But aboue all others, *Hassan Bassa* of Bosna furthered this matter, in hope therby to haue gained great riches (as the Turks maner is) together with the greatest honours of the field, as he was most vainly persuaded by his cold prophets, to whom he gaue no small credit. He therfore daily certified *Amurath* of the harms which the Vscocchi and other the Archdukes subiects and seruants did vpon the frontiers of his territories; telling him of their burnings, spoilings and robbings, inciting him to begin his war in Croatia, and so to continue the same either against the Emperour or the Venetians, or els vpon the sudden that way to break into Italy, as had somtime the like been done in the time of *Mahomet*, *Bajazet*, and *Solyman*, his noble progenitors: whereby to bring a great terrour vpon all the princes of Italy, and to inrich his soldiers with great spoiles. By which importunity he (as a most mortal enemy not only to the house of Austria, but vnto all Christendom) got leaue to begin those stirs in the frontiers of the empire, which were first fatal vnto himself, and did afterwards notably exercise the armes of the two *Othoman* Emperors, *Amurath* and *Mahomet*; as also the Christian Emperour, with others his friends and confederats. Yet vnto this leaue granted

granted to the Bassa, was this condition at the first anexed, That he should not seem to doe it by *Amuraths* commandement, but of himself, vnder colour to restraine the Vscochi; who as well by land as by sea (as he pretended) spoiled both the Christians and Turkes, by the great liberty of the princes of Austria, hauing small care to chasten them.

Now was it no great matter for *Hassan Bassa* to do what *Amurath* his great Lord & Master had commanded, for the disturbing of the peace betwixt him and the Christian Emperor: the Turks leagues with their neighbor princes being seldom so religiously kept, but that as well their souldiers in garrison vpon their frontiers by land, as their aduenturers by sea, might to keep themselues doing, vpon a military insolencie (as the Turks term it) now & then at their pleasure make incursions for booty both by sea and land: which being answered with the like from their neighbors so molested, there neuer wanted new grieuances, and iust causes of complaint, to the stirring vp of greater troubles euen among the greatest princes. The Venetians thus wronged at sea, and their merchants robbed; by their Embassadors complained at Constantinople, of the injuries don them by the Turks pirats, requiting to haue them called home and justice don vpon them. In like maner the Emperor also, seeing many things both this year and the next, attempted by *Hassan Bassa* in Croatia, and the other Turks in Hungary, contrary to the league; to the great disturbance of his subjects in both those countries; by his Embassador then lying at Constantinople complained of these outrages, desiring to know whether they were don by the consent & knowledge of *Amurath*, or not; and if not, then to require that order might be taken for the restraining therof. Which was accordingly don, and those incursions for a while staied, and the former peace continued. *Amurath* still making shew, as if the league agreed vpon for eight years, should not be in any wise on his part infringed. At which time the Persian Kings son (the league not long before concluded) died in the Turks court, where he lay in hostage: whose dead body *Amurath* caused to be honourably sent home to his father into Persia, with an apologie in defence of himself, against the suspition conceiued by some, That he should haue bin the cause of the vntimely death of the yong prince; still vrging withall the confirmation of the league; which by the death of the prince had like enough to haue bin broken. Wherof *Amurath* was the more desirous, for that persuaded by his Bassa's (as is aforesaid) to make wars with the Emperor (although he notably dissembled the same) he was in hope therby to adde vnto his empire the reliques of Hungary, with some good part of the territory of the house of Austria also, and so to open himselfe a way into the heart of Germany. For which purpose he now caused very great preparation to be made, and a strong army to be raised, and at the same time put a great fleet of gallies into the Archipelago, for the safety of his Islands in that sea.

1591.

The Persian hostage dieth in the Turks Court.

According to these designements, the Bassa of Bosna by the commandement of *Amurath*, with an army of fifty thousand entred into Croatia, and without resistance burnt and destroyed the country before him, sparing nothing that came in his way. And not so contented, laid siege to the city of Wihitz, being the metropolitical city of that country, strongly scituat as it were in an Island, compassed about with the riuer Vna. Which city, after he had sore battered, and twice assaulted, was by the distressed defendants (now dispairing of reliefe, and not able longer to hold it out) yeelded vnto the Bassa, vpon composition, That the German souldiers there in garrison might in safety with bag and baggage depart; and that such of the Christian citizens as would, might there stil remaine without hurt from the Turkes either in body or goods. Which conditions the Bassa faithfully performed vnto the garison soldiers, whom in number but four hundred, he sent with safe conuoy into their own territory: but afterwards contrary to his faith and promise, exercised all maner of Turkish tyrannie vpon the poor citizens. The Emperour troubled with this vnexpected inuasion of the Turkes, sent the Lord *Petzen* (whom he had many times imployed in embassages to the Turk) to craue aid of the German princes against the common Enemy. Who according to the greatnesse of the danger, in large terms promised their helpe. The first that made head was *Ernestus* Archduke of Austria the Emperors brother, who with fiue thousand souldiers came from Vienna to Savaria, commonly called Greis, the metropolis of Stiria: to whom repaired daily more strength out of Carinthia.

1592.

Wihitz in Croatia yeelded to the Turks.

In the mean time the Turks army daily increasing in Croatia, inclosed six thousand foot-men

The Christians ouerthrown.

men and fiue hundred horsmen of the Christians (who had taken the mountaines, woods, and streit passages) and so hardly beset them, that of all that number few escaped with life: among whom many valiant souldiers and expert Captaines were slaine, namely *Iames Prants*, *George Plesbach*, and *Iohn Weluerdurff*. The Bassa after the barbarous maner of the Turks, to make his victory seem more famous, laded six wagons with the heads of the slain Christians.

The Turks thus raging in Croatia, brought a general fear vpon all Hungary, Bavaria, Bohemia, Stiria, Carinthia, Silesia, and the rest of the prouinces therabout. Wherupon the emperor calling together the States of Silesia and Moldavia, declared vnto them the iminent danger; persuading them to joine their forces with the rest, for the repulsing of so dangerous an Enemy.

After long delay, *Ernestus* the Archduke the tenth of August came to the Emperour his brother, with the embassadors of Hungary; and the seuenth day after were called together the Embassadors of the kingdoms and prouinces of the Empire; where it was throughly debated, how the Turks were to be resisted, and their attempts infringed; as also from whence forcemony, and other warlike prouision was to be raised. For now it was manifestly seen, that longer to delay the matter was dangerous: and the rather, for that the Beglerbeg or great Commander of Grecia, with threescore thousand select soldiers both horse and foot, of long time exercised in the Persian war, was ere long expected, who joining with the rest of the Turks army, might do great matters both in Hungary and the places adjoining. For preuenting of which so great and manifest dangers, they sate daily in councel at Prague, yea oft times euen from morning vntill night: for the Hungarians, and especially the Lord *Nadasti*, a most Noble and valiant gentleman amongst them, instantly vrged to haue succors sent into Hungary, forasmuch as the Turkish Emperor, if he should get into his hands the rest of the townes and castles yet holden by the Christians in Hungary, it was to be feared lest he should in a short time after indanger the whole state of Germany; the strength whereof the Turks feared not so much, as he did those poor reliques of Hungary. Others were no lesse carefull of the dangers of Croatia and Styria, as more proper to themselues, the enemy there now raging. In these so great dangers, the Hungarians with the rest of the distressed cried vpon the Emperor for help; and he likewise called vpon the Princes of the Empire. Diuers assemblies were made in Bohemia, Hungary, Moravia, Silesia, and other the Emperors prouinces; and Embassadors sent from almost all the German princes, to the Emperor. All was full of consultation, but as for help, that came in very slowly: yet such as was to be had was forthwith sent into Croatia, to defend the fortresses thereagainst the further attempts and proceedings of the furious Enemy.

certain vain attempts of the Turks.

The 18 of September, the Turkes with all warlike prouision vpon the sudden by night assaulted the strong castle of Toccay in the vpper Hungary, in hope to haue surprised it. But finding it a matter of more difficulty than they had before imagined, they departed thence, & attempted the lesser Comara, which standing in a marish ground, was also easily defended. At which time also the Bassa of Buda with his power entred into the frontiers of the Christians; but hauing wel viewed the cities, towns, castles, and forts vpon those borders, & finding nothing for his purpose, he without any thing doing returned again to Buda.

The 26 day of September *Hassan* the Bassa of Bosna incamped with his army betweene the riuers of Kulp and Savus, and in the darknesse of the night passing ouer part of his army into Turopolis, with fire and sword most miserably spoiled all that pleasant and fertile Island, the Lord of Bonny, to whom the keeping therof was committed, labouring in vain to defend the same.

Turopolis spoiled by the Turks.

About the end of this moneth, the Bassa of Ziget, with the Sanzackes of Mohas, Koppen, and Quinque Ecclesiæ, and other Turks of great name, came with a strong Army, and incamped between Ziget and Rodesto. And shortly after, newes was brought to the Emperours Court, That Canisia (a City of Stiria not far from the riuer Zala) was hardly besieged by the Enemy; and that the Turkes in comming thither had taken many Christians Captiues, whom they had sent to be sould at Constantinople; and that there was in the Turks Army about an hundred and sixty thousand men. But forasmuch as the Christian Army daily increased also, and was now growne to the number of threescore thousand, men began to hope well,

A wel, that the enemies rage would be staid from any further proceeding. About the same time *Ernestus* the Archduke appointed General of the Army, with the Marquis, sonne to *Frederick* the Archduke, his lieutenant, came both vnto the army.

In these preparations, about the beginning of October heauy newes was brought vnto the Emperors court, how that 7000 men, whom he but a little before had sent into Croatia, vnder the conduct of *Thomas Artelius Bean*, *George Gleichspacher*, and *Dionysius Denke*, to hinder the course of the Turks proceedings, being incamped betwixt Wihitz and Carolstat, and hauing the twelfth of September discouered from an high hil certain companies of the Turks (which were indeed of purpose come thither to view the Christian army) sent out fifty horsemen to discouer the Turks army where it lay, and what it attempted. Who finding no moe of the B Turks than those they had before seen from the mountain, returned again vnto the army with such simple intelligence. Wherto the Christians giuing credit, became secure in their tents as men out of fear of the enemy, and so kept but negligent watch. But in this so great security the enemy on a sudden came vpon them, and with 100000 men brake into their trenches: where the Christian footmen for all that for the space of foure houres maintained a notable fight, wherin many were on both sides slain but the poor Christians being beset round, & oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, were slain almost all; yet the Captaines seeing the danger, by speedy flight saued their liues: for which their cowardise and carelesse negligence they were afterwards apprehended and beheaded. Almost all the common souldiers were there slain; yea such as fell aliue into the hands of the enemy, were most cruelly cut in C pieces. The spoil also of the tents of the Christians fell vnto the enemy; wherein besides aboundance of other things, they found sixty thousand Dollars, brought but two daies before from Lutz for the soldiers pay. The Turks after their barbarous maner, in ostentation of their victory, laded 14 wagons with the heads of the slaine Christians, which they sent into diuers of their places therabouts. This was indeed a great victory, but gained by the Turkes with much bloud: for the Christians fighting as men desperat, slew of their enemies aboue twelue thousand; and died themselues as men rather with number oppressed, than with true valour vanquished.

The castle of S. George surprised by the Turks.

The night following, the Turkes vpon the sudden in the dead time of the night surprised the castle of S. *George*, and without respect of age or sex, cruelly put to the sword al that were D therin, except 150 persons, whom they caried away captiue: and so setting the Castle on fire, departed. At the same time diuers companies of the Turkes were seen about Siseg, who led away with them about six hundred Christians into most miserable captiuitie. And that nothing might be wanting vnto the calamities of this so miserable a wasted Countrey; three hundred Waggons charged with all manner of prouision, sent out of the prouinces there by for the relieſe of the garrison soldiers in Croatia, were all intercepted by the Turkes, and so carried away.

The Emperour vseth a gaine of the Germã princes

The Emperor considering these proceedings of the Turkes, and that their strength daily increased, gaue notice by writing to all the Princes and States of the Empire, what incursions the Turks had of late made into Croatia and the frontiers of Hungary, with other places neer E vnto them: and that the Beglerbeg of Grecia, with the Bassa's of Bosna, Buda, and Temeswar, without regard of the league yet in force, had taken diuers Cities, Towns, Castles and strong places, & so extended the bounds of their dominion aboue forty Germãn miles, hauing slain or caried away into captiuitie the poor inhabitants of those countries; & now to be grown to that hight of pride, that except their further proceedings were with like force repressed, they would in short time set foot into Germany it self, and possessing themselues of Stiria and Carinthia, would from thence daily more and more incroch vpon the empire. Which to hinder, was not in his power only, but required their help in generall. Wherfore he requested them, now at length in so publike a danger to open their coffers, and to send out their forces against the common enemy. Which request of the Emperor, with the due consideration of so great a F danger, moued not only the Princes and States of the Empire, but others also farther off, to yeeld liberal contribution to so necessary and general a Cause.

The Turks now hearing of the great preparation of the Christian Princes, beside the army which was already in the field, and that they had made a strong bridge ouer the riuer of Dranus, which they had also fortified; therby in safety at their pleasure to transport their Army; with-

without further delay furnished such places as they had gotten, with strong garrisons, and so withdrew themselues into their own territory, which they did the rather, for that the Plague then raged sore in Constantinople, insomuch that there died a thousand a day. Which contagion had also taken hold of the Turkish Army; so that the Christians for feare of infection slew what Turk soeuer fel into their hands. And thus ended the troubles of this year, beeing as it were an introduction for greater to insue the year following.

1593. *Diuers incursions of the Turkes vpon the christians.*

The Turks together with the beginning of the new yeare began also their wonted incursions into the frontiers of the Christians. They of the garrison of Petrinia (a strong fort but lately and contrary to the League built by the Turkes vpon the Riuer Colapis or Kulp, for the further inuasion of Croatia) made daily incursions out of that new fort, and entring into the Island Turopolis, spoiled and burnt the town and castle of Beck-Vocobinam, and hauing made a great slaughter, carried away with them 400 prisoners. And in Hungary the Turkish garisons to supply their wants, made diuers inrodes vpon the Christians, and did exceeding much harm; of which adnenturers, 600 passing ouer the frozen lake, were all drowned in the midst therof. In another place three thousand of them neer to Nuhuse diuiding themselues into two companies, the one shewed it self in the sight of the townesmen, the other still lying close in ambush. They of the town vpon the sight of these Turks sallied out, and causing them to retyre, followed them so far, that they were past the place where the rest of the Turkes lay; who presently starting vp, ran with all speed toward the town in hope to haue surprised it and wanted not much of that they desired; for there was scarce a hundred of the Germans there in garison left in the towne, who had scarce so much time as to draw vp the bridge. Which don, they with the great ordnance from the wals inforced the Turks to retyre and forsake the town. About the same time also, the Turks in garison at Petrinia sallying out vpon the sudden, took the town Martenize, which they spoiled; and hauing slain and taken about 700 persons, set fire on the town and so returned, hauing lost in this exploit not past a hundred & fifty of their own men. Not long after, the same garrison soldiers of Petrinia took another castle three miles distant from the riuer of Kulp, wherinto the Christians dwelling round about had for feare of the enemy conueyed all their wealth, with great store of victuals: all which the Turks took, and hauing slain 600 men in the castle, returned with an exceeding rich booty to Petrinia: which they bought with the liues of 500 of their fellowes slain in taking the castle. With like insolencie did all the other garisons of the Turks rage in al the other parts of Hungary. About Sassovia in the vpper Hungary they caried away about three hundred Christian captiues. And in the nether part of Hungary they took the strong castle of *S. Hedwig* vpon the lake of Balaton, which they spoiled and burnt: and so likewise the Castle of Issa; but attempting the lesser Comara, they were by the garrison soldiers valiantly repulsed. They also fortified the Castle of Stock, which they had but a little before taken, that so it might serue as a safe refuge for their aduenturers. Which their manifold outrages contrary to the league euidently declared the desire they had to begin that bloudy war which presently after insued: and was indeed the more suspected, for that at the same time the Emperors Embassador *Frederick Corcowitts* was by *Amuraths* commandement shut vp close in his house at Constantinople, and not suffered to speak with any man, neither to write or to send any messenger vnto the Emperor. Which caused him the more to suspect some great matter to be by the Turke intended, and therfore began to raise new forces. The Hungarians and Bohemians also seeing their Townes and Castles thus taken, their Prouinces spoiled, infinite numbers of people led away into captiuitie, and the enemy daily increasing in strength; at length agreed vpon their own charges to maintaine a certaine number both of horse and foot, for the repressing of these the Turkish iucursions.

Now although the Emperor knew right wel, al these outrages of the Turks contrary to the league, could not be don without the knowledge and good liking also of *Amurath*, (as before informed therof by his Embassadour from Constantinople) yet to shew himselfe willing to haue the league on his behalf kept, as also to make a further proof of *Amuraths* resolution for peace or war, he wrot vnto him as followeth:

Rodolph

Rodolph the second, Emperor of the Romans; Vnto *Amurath* the third, King of the Turks.

The Emperors Letters to Amurath.

WHereas nothing is hitherto on our behalfe omitted, for the preseruation and continuance of the League and amity betwixt your most excellent Maiesty and vs, by the renued capitulations of peace; and that we haue with all sinceritie and loue performed, and are herafter ready to perform whatsoeuer is on our part to be performed and done; and as we haue hitherto, so for euer herafter also make offer of the same: we most assuredly promise vnto our selues on your Maieſties behalfe, that you in like manner will not suffer any thing on your part to be wanting, but gladly and willingly to do all things which shall be meet and needfull for the preseruation and keeping of this mutuall loue and friendship. Vpon which good hope grounding our selues, to declare our plain meaning and sinceritie indeed, we will cause our most honorable present (which is now ready) to be brought to your most royal Majesty, at such time as shal be agreed vpon betwixt our Embassador and you: vnto whom in all such matters as he by our commandement shall haue to deal with your most excellent Maiesty, your Visiers, or seruants, wee request you to giue full credence. In the mean time your Excellencie shall do well to prouide, that as we haue now seuerely commaunded our subiects to keep the peace vpon our frontiers, so that your souldiers also make no incursions as Enemies into our territories, nor to do in them any harm, but to indeauor themselues also to peace and quietnes: and especially, that all such things as contrary to the capitulations of the league haue bin there of late taken from our people, or otherwise vniustly possessed, may be again restored, the losses recompenced, the new fort of Petrinia demolished, and the Bassa of Bosna and others the authors and breakers of the league punished and displaced: wherby we shall gather your royall Maieſties most noble and kind affection toward vs and our State; which as it shall bee a thing most iust, so shall it be a singular confirmation of our league. But concerning these matters, and others to the same belonging, our Embassadour is to declare our mind more at large, that so our prest desire for the continuance of our league and friendship with your Majesty may be more plainly known. So wish we all health and prosperity vnto your most royall Maiesty.

From Prague the 8 of March, 1593.

The Emperor also at the same time and to the same purpose writ to *Sinan Bassa* in this sort:

Rodolph the second, Emperor of the Romans; To *Sinan Bassa* the chiefe Visier, Greeting.

The Emperors Letters to Sinan Bassa.

WE write at this present vnto your most excellent Emperor our most honored friend and neighbor, concerning such matters as we thought fit for the preseruation of the peace & league between vs, least haply we might seem to haue forgotten our duty. Now it shall well beseem your vprightnes and good will, which we haue at other times proued, for the high place and authority which you hold (and which we rejoice to be again restored vnto you) to giue vnto these things such easie passage before his Maiesty, as that we may acknowledge you kindnes and fauor, and haue occasion therfore to shew our selues vnto you thankfull. First, we offer our selues most ready to continue the peace, and to performe whatsoeuer is according to the conuenions of the renued peace on our part to be performed: as also to send the honourable present, as yet not sent, whenas our embassador shal haue with you appointed any certain time wherin it may be sent. And we also assuredly hope, so to preuail with your Emperor, that on your part the places within our Territory by your people forcibly possessed, together with all such things as haue bin wrongfully taken away, may be again restored, and the fort of Petrinia rased. The Bassa of Bosna also (who we thinke would haue bin kept within the compas of duty, if you at that time had held the place of chiefe Visier) and whosoeuer els, guilty of the wicked breach of the league, to be worthily according to their deserts punished and displaced; and your soldiers seuerely charged, not to make any further incursion, nor to do any thing that may tend to the breach of the league. As we likewise shall with streit commaunds most carefully restraine our garison soldiers vpon our frontiers, from all such incursions and enemies actions. But of these things our Embassador is more fully and at large to intreat with you; vnto whose speech wee desire such credence to be giuen as vnto our own, and we will so prouide, that you shall haue good proof of our great good will toward you.

From Prague the 8 of March, 1593.

Vnto which the Emperors Letters *Sinan* returned answer as followeth:

Sinan

Sinan Bassa, chiefe Visier to *Amurath* the third; Vnto *Rodolph* the second, Emperour of the Romans, Greeting.

Sinan Bassa's letters to the Emperor.

BY these we give your Majesty to vnderstand, That two of your Majesties Letters were brought hither before we were chosen and confirmed chief Visier in this most royall Court; wherein your Maiestie excuse your selfe, and show causes why the sending of the wonted Presents hath him so long deferred, by laying the fault vpon the insolencie of our garrison souldiers in Bosna; and the breach of the publick peace. Which your letters being by vs read before our most mighty Emperor, his Highnes in choler burst out into these words; And thy son the Beglerbeg of Buda hath stil hitherto writ, and given vs to vnderstand, That the vsuall Presents would certainly come, and that the King of Vienna would not in any case consent to the breach of the league, or of the amity betwixt vs and him. And yet for all that, the presents are not hitherto come: wherefore thy sons writings and relations are not true. *But now the Bassa of Bosna hath sent word to the Court, That your Maiesty will not send them, and all your doings to be but meer deceit and fraud. For which cause our most mighty Emperour hath removed my son from his place in Buda, and rewarded the Bassa of Bosna with honorable germents; wher as my son is for your sake displaced. Now on our behalf nothing is don against the peace, but our soldiers as with a bridle kept in: wher as on your Maiesties behalfe, excursions and harms into the territories of our Emperor never cease, especially in Bosna; wherinto your soldiers have of late in warlike manner broken, although they were by our garisons overcome, their great ordnance taken and brought hither to the Court. Wherfore seeing the cast so standeth, your Maiesty is to resolve vs vpon two points; whereof the first is, Whether you be minded to keep friendship with vs as beseemeth, and to send hither the two last years presents or not? And the second, Whether you will set at liberty our captiue Sanzacks or no. Now if your Maiesty shall be content to keep the legue, and within these two months next to send the two years presents, as also to dismisse our Sanzacks; the league shall on our part be likewise vndoubtedly kept, your territories shal be in no case molested, such Christian Captiues as your Maiesty shall require, be inlarged, and a most firm and sure friendship by vs continued. Wher as if you shall vpon any cause or excuse longer delay to send those honorable presents, and vnto these our demands send vs nothing but vain and windy answers; let God on high be therfore for euer praised: for now our most mighty and victorious Emperor, who wanteth neither ability nor power, hath commanded, That we our self should in person go in this war, and putting our confidence in the Highest, with the army of the right beleeuing Turkes to come into these parts. And therfore assure your Maiesty we will not fail there to incounter you; at which time shall appear vnto the world, what is by God our Creator (whose holy name be for euer praised) in his deep wisdom preordained and set down for vs. Wherfore seeing that all which concerneth the League, together with the safety and quiet of our people on both sides, is vnto your Maiesty thus declared, you are to consider the end, and follow our good advice: Wher as if otherwise you shall be the cause of the breach of this so wholsom a peace and vnity (which we hitherto have so sincerely and firmly kept) the excuse therof both in this world and in the world to come, shall lie vpon your self. Now we request of you no more, but forthwith to send vs answer of these our letters. As for the rest, well may he speed that taketh the right way.*

From Constantinople the last of the moneth *Giumaa Zulcuel*, in the yeare of our holy Prophet *Mahomet* 1001

*which is the 16 of March, An. Dom. 1593

Yet for all these fair offers of peace thus by *Sinan Bassa* made in his letters, was his purpose nothing lesse than to have performed the same: seeking onely to have drawne the two yeares presents from the Emperor, amounting to a great summe of mony, and so neuertheless to have prosecuted the intended war. The Emperor being the only man, of whom *Amurath* his great master had amongst all the Christian princes made choice to exercise his force vpon. Of all which things the Emperor was not ignorant, being therof (as we said) fully before by his embassador aduertised from Constantinople.

These troubles of the Spring thus past, ensued the Summer much more troublesome, for *Hassan* Bassa of Bosna, chiefe author and deuiser of these broiles, ceased not for the increase of his credit, to worke what mischiefe he could against the Christians that inhabited vpon him. This

A This great Bassa mortally hated the Gouernour, or as some call him the Abbot of Siseg, a strong castle scituate vpon the borders of that part of Croatia, yet holden by the Christians, where the riuer Kulp falleth into the famous riuer of Savus or Saw (and was indeed the very bulwarke of that countrey) the cause of which his hatred is reported to haue beene this. The yeare before, the Bassa had sent a messenger to this Abbot, to require him to deliuer the castle or monastery vnto him: which messenger for certaine daies the Abbot entertained with many honourable speeches, learning in the meane time of him so much as he possibly could of the Bassaes intention, with what power, in what place, and with what engines he had determined to besiege the castle. In the meane time it was discouered, that his steward had long before plotted with the Turke to haue betraied the castle, and had for certaine yeres past receiued of
B him a yerely pension. Vpon which occasion, the Abbot caused both the messenger & his own steward to be apprehended, and so fast bound hand and foot, to be cast out at a window of the castle into the riuer of Saw. The Bassa seeing his messenger not to returne, sent another to the Abbot, grieuously threatning him, if he did not send him back again his messenger: wherunto the Abbot answered, that he had dismissed him certaine daies before, and therefore maruelled if he were not as yet returned: neuertheless concerning his demand, that he was resolued to yeeld the monastery vnto the Bassa, against whose forces he saw himselfe vnable to hold it: requesting only, that it would please him to send some men of account to receiue it at his hand, for that it would be no small dishonour vnto him to deliuer it vp vnto common soldiers. The Bassa glad of this message, sent forthwith certain principall men of great account, hoping now
C without any losse to haue that strong place yeelded vnto him, which had so long time stood in his way. Three daies after, certaine tronps of horsemen sent from the Bassa, came to the monastery as was appointed, and finding the gates open, entred, first the noblemen, and after them fiue hundred others or thereabouts: who were no sooner within the gates, but that the porculleis was let fall, & certain murthering pieces (secretly placed in the court for that purpose) discharged; with the violence whereof, the Turks that were already entred, were most miserably rent in pieces, their heads, armes, and legs, flying in the aire; when presently the garrison souldiers starting out of their lurking places, made a quick dispatch of all them that had escaped the fury of the great artillery. The rest of the Turks shut out, hearing the noise and cry of them within, turning their horses, betooke themselues to speedy flight. The great Bassa hea-
D ring of this slaughter of his men, and how he had beene deceiued, swore in great rage by his *Mahomet*, to rase this monastery downe to the ground, and to plucke the Abbots skin ouer his eares: and so by threatning letters gaue him to vnderstand as followeth:

Hassan Bassa of Bosna, vnto the Abbot of Siseg.

The threatning letter of Hassan Bassa of Bosna vnto the Abbot of Siseg.

IT is not to thee vnknowne, how often we haue sent vnto thee our messengers with letters, declaring vnto thee our loue and good will; requesting thee in friendly sort, and without further resistance to yeeld vp vnto vs thy fortresse of Siseg, not longer to be by thee holden. Vnto which our request thou hast hitherto most wilfully at thy pleasure opposed thy selfe, not without the slaughter of our men; and in so doing,
E *hast giuen cause vnto the great Sultan to ouerthrow and rase that thy fortresse, whereof thou for the Emperour wilt needs be the chiefe. Thinkest thou it will be for thy good, or yet well taken, that thou hast so shamefully and perfidiously circumuented and slaine our Embassadors and seruants sent vnto thee? Nay assure thy selfe, that if* Mahomet *grant vs life, we shall neuer giue ouer the siege of that thy fort wherein thou so much trustest, vntill I haue before thy face ouerthrowne it, and (if thy God shall giue thee aliue into my hands) haue plucke thy skin ouer thine eares, to the great reproch and shame of the Christians: for I am fully resolued, not to depart from this place, but to continue the siege thereof vntill I haue it. Let a little time yet passe, and thou shalt see thy selfe on euery side besieged, thy fort with moe and greater pieces of artillery than euer, battered, and our power strong enough to constraine thee. Thou hast hitherto put thy greatest hope and comfort in the* Banne* Erodius, *for whom by the help of* Mahomet *we are too*
F *much strong. In briefe, we are of nothing more carefull than how to get thee into our power: which if we do, looke not for any mercy at our hands.*

* The Hungarian Bannes are Noblemen, in power much like vnto the Turks Bassaes.

Neither was the Bassa vnmindfull of his promise, or of the losse he had receiued, but now in the beginning of Iune with an army of thirty thousand horse and foot, came and besieged the

Hassan Bassa inuadeth Croatia.

fortresse of Trenschijn, which with continuall battery and often assaults he at length tooke, G
sacked the towne, slew most part of the inhabitants, except 800 or thereabouts of the younger
sort, which he carried away with him into captiuity. And being proud of this victory, remo-
Siseg besieged by Hassan Bassa uing thence by a bridge which he had made, passed ouer the riuer, and so the twelfth of Iune
came and incamped before the monastery of Siseg: and after vain summons giuen to the same,
the next day caused his great ordnance to be planted, and with great fury thundering against
the wals, in short time ouerthrew the new tower, in the fall whereof two of the Christian cano-
niers perished. This furious battery he maintained by the space of ten daies without inter-
mission, giuing no time of rest to the besieged; so that it seemed not possible for the monaste-
ry to be any long time defended, if it were not with speed relieued. The Bishop of Zagrabia,
and *Rupertus Eggenberg* Generall of the Emperours forces that then were at Zagrabia, gaue
knowledge thereof to *Andrew* lord *Auersberg* Gouernor of Carolstat, crauing his aid and coun- H
sell: who calling together his owne forces, raised a good number of good horse and foot, and
called also vnto him the bordering horsemen of Karnia and Carainia: who the seuenteenth
day of Iune met all together not far from Instawitz, and there tarried that night. The next day
passing ouer the riuer Savus neere vnto Zagrabia, they joyned themselues with the Emperors
forces, and marched the nineteenth day in good order to Sceline, where they expected the
comming of County *Serinus*. The twentieth day *Peter Herdelius* with his Hussars, and the lord
Stephen Graswein came into the campe, with many of those light horsemen whom the Hunga-
rians called Vscocchi. The one and twentieth day they lodged at Gradium, still expecting
the comming of the County *Serinus*, who otherwise busied, could not come. The next day af- I
ter, a souldier sent out from the besieged, came into the camp, who gaue the captains to vnder-
stand, that except they made haste that day to relieue the distressed monastery, it would vn-
doubtedly be lost, for that the enemy had made it sautable, and would that night giue the as-
sault; and the defendants doubting how they should be able to maintaine the place, began be-
fore his departure thence to think of composition with the enemy. Vpon which news the cap-
tains forthwith began to consult among themselues, what course to take in so doubtful & dan-
gerous a case: where *Auersberg* was of opinion, that it were best to march on, and to giue the
enemy battell; with whom also agreed the lord *Rederen*: the rest of the captains being of a con-
trary mind, for that the strength of the Christians compared to the Turks, was too weake; and
therefore they thought it better in time to retire whiles they yet might, than to hazard vnto K
most manifest perils the liues of so many valiant men, at so great ods. At which counsel *Auers-
berg* was at the first much moued, but afterwards (as he was a man of great eloquence) plainely
set before them the necessity of the cause, & with liuely reasons cheered vp the fearfull Croa-
tians; notably persuading them all in generall, to put their whole trust & confidence in God, to
whom it was as easie to giue victory by few, as by many: and to fight like valiant men, for their
religion, their country, their liues, their wiues, their children and friends, and whatsoeuer else
they held deare; against that cowardly enemy, whose valour neuer brought him into the field,
but only the vaine trust he had in his multitude; and would therfore no doubt easily be put to
flight, if he should contrary to his expectation find himself but a little hardly laid vnto. With
these and other like reasons he preuailed so much, that they all yeelded to his opinion, & with L
one consent resolued to go against the enemy, and to do what they might to relieue their be-
sieged friends. So vpon a signe giuen, the whole army (in number not aboue 4000) forthwith
remoued, and with great speed hasted towards the enemy; and being come within a mile of
the camp, put themselues in order of battell. The Turks by their espials vnderstanding of the
approch of the Christians, brought all their horsmen ouer the riuer of Kulp, by a bridge which
they had made, and hauing put themselues in order, came to joyne battell with the Christi-
ans: who had in their vauntgard placed the Croatians and Hussars, in the left wing them of
Carolstat, and the Harquebusiers of Karnia; in the right wing the borderers of Carainia, all
A great battell betwixt the Turks and the Christians. horsemen; in the maine battell the rest of the soldiers, with the horsemen of Silesia, vnder the
conduct of *Sigismund Paradise*; the rereward was inclosed with three companies of the Empe- M
rors souldiers. The Croatians and Hussars in the vantgard gaue the first charge vpon the enemy: but hauing for a good space made a great fight, they were about to haue retired, and dis-
couraged with the multitude of the enemies, were euen vpon the point to haue fled: when
Auersberg (Generall of the Christian army) came on with his squadron, and not only restored
the

A the battel, but so resolutely charged the main battell of the Turks, that the Bassa was constrai-
ned at the first to retire, and afterwards to fly; after whom all the rest of the army followed.
The Christians still keeping their array, pursued them with great speed; and comming to the
new made bridge before them, tooke from them that passage, to the great discomfiture of the
Turks; who seeing the miserable slaughter of themselues, and no way to escape, ran headlong
some into the riuer Odera, some into Kulp, and were there for most part drowned; the rest were *Siseg relieued.*
all slaine by the Christians, before determined not to take any prisoners. In the meane time,
the Turks that remained at the siege, vnderstanding of the ouerthrow of their fellows, set fire
on their powder and other prouision, and so in great feare betook themselues to flight. Whose
tents the Christians immediatly after tooke, and in them nine great pieces of artillery, and
B good store of great shot of 44 and 45 pound weight a piece, with the sumptuous pauilion of
the Bassa, and much other rich spoile, which was all carried to the monastery of Siseg. The
number of the Turks slaine in this battell, and drowned in the riuers, is of diuers diuersly re- *Eighteen thousand Turkes slaine.*
ported, but most agree vpon eighteene thousand. And amongst them was *Hassan Bassa* him-
selfe, found in the riuer neere vnto the bridge, known by his most rich and sumptuous apparell;
and neere vnto him *Mahomet-Beg*, and *Achmat-Beg*. In other places were also found the dead
bodies of *Saffer-Beg*, the Bassaes brother, of *Menibeg*, *Haramatan-Beg*, *Curti-Beg*, *Operd-Beg*, and
Goschus, the Bassa's chiefe counsellor, and master of his houshold. But of all others, the vntime-
ly death of *Sinan Beg*, *Amurath* his vnephew, his sisters only sonne, sent thither to haue learned
the feats of armes vnder *Hassan* the great Bassa, was of the Turks most lamented. Of twenty
C thousand Turks that came ouer the riuer Kulp, scarcely two thousand escaped. This so great
a victory obtained, all the army of the Christians went thrice about the Monastery, and euery
time falling all downe vpon their knees, gaue vnto God most hearty thanks for the same, as by
him miraculously giuen, and not by themselues won; and afterwards made all the shew of joy
and gladnesse they could possibly deuise.

Siseg thus deliuered, and the Turks army ouerthrowne, the Christians with all speed laied siege to Petrinia the strong new fort of the Turks, which they for the space of fiue daies most furiously battered: but hearing that the great Gouernor of Græcia (whom the Turks call the Beglerbeg of Romania) was with a great power comming to the relieſe of the fort, they raised their siege, brake vp their army, and returned euery man to his wonted charge.

D ....Whilest these things were in doing at Petrinia, a Post came from Constantinople to Buda, *Newes of the ouerthrow of the Turkes at Siseg, brought to Buda.*
who brought thither the first newes of the ouerthrow of Siseg, for the report thereof was not
as yet come to Buda; wherfore the Bassa called vnto him the messenger, author of so bad news,
and diligently examined him of the truth thereof: who told him, that at his departure from
Constantinople, nothing was there knowne of that losse, but that vpon the way as he came,
he met with diuers horsemen but lately escaped from the slaughter, who told him of a certain-
ty, that the Bassa was slain, and his army destroied. Wherunto the Bassa of Buda replied, That
he was happy in his death, for that if he had by chance escaped, he should for his indiscretion
vndoubtedly haue suffered some other more shamefull death at the court.

When newes of the aforesaid victory was brought to the Emperor at Prague, he comman-
E ded publike prayers, with thanksgiuing to almighty God to be made in all churches: and sent
a messenger with letters to *Amurath*, to know of him how he vnderstood these insolent proce-
dings of his souldiers, and especially this late expedition of the Bassa of Bosna and his com-
plices, contrary to the league yet in force betwixt them. After which messenger he sent also the
lord *Popelius*, with the yerely Present (or rather tribute), he vsed to send vnto the Turkish Em-
peror at Constantinople; yet with this charge, that when he was come as far a Comara in the
borders of Hungary, he should there stay vntill the returne of the aforesaid messenger: who
if he brought tidings of peace from *Amurath*, then to proceed on his journey to the Turkes
Court; otherwise to returne againe with his Present: as he afterwards did. For *Amurath*
enraged with the notable losse receiued at Siseg, and prickt forward with the teares and
F prayers of his sister (desirous of nothing more than to be reuenged for the death of her sonne)
the seuenth of August caused open war to be proclaimed against the Christian Emperor, both
at Constantinople and Buda. The mannaging whereof he committed to *Sinan Bassa* the old
enemy of the Christians, his Lieutenant Generall, and persuader of this war: who departing
from Constantinople with an army of forty thousand, wherein were 5600 Ianizaries, was by

Amurath himselfe and the great men of the court brought a mile on his way: hauing in charge from the great Sultan, by the assistance of the Beglerbeg of Græce, the Bassaes of Buda and Temesware, and other his Sanzacks and commanders in that pars of his Empire, to reuenge the death of his nephew, and the dishonor receiued at Siseg. G

This war *Amurath* with great pride denounced vnto the Christian Emperour and the rest of the Princes his confederats in this sort.

Amurath the third, by the grace of the great God in Heauen, the only Monarch of the World, a great and mighty god on earth, an inuincible *Cæsar*, King of all Kings, from the East vnto the West, Sultan of Babylon, Soueraignof the most noble Families of Persia and Armenia, triumphant Victor of Ierusalem, Lord possessor of the Sepulchre of the crucified God, subuertor and sworne enemy of the Christians, and of all them that call vpon the name of Christ. H

The proud and blasphemous denunciation of war giuen out by Amurath against Rodolph the Christian Emperour.

WE denounce vnto thee Rodolph *the Emperour, and to all the Germane Nation taking part with thee, vnto the great Bishop also, all the Cardinals and Bishops, to all your sounes and subjects: we earnestly (I say) by our crowne and Empire denounce vnto you open war. And giue you to vnderstand, that our purpose is, with the power of thirteene King domes, and certaine hundred thousands of men, horse and foot, with our Turkish armes, yea, with all our strength and power (such as neither thou nor any of thine hath euer yet seene or heard of, much lesse had any proofe of) to besiege you in your chiefe and metropolitical cities, and with fire and sword to persecute you and all yours, and whosoever shall giue you helpe, to burne, destroy, and kill, and with most exquisite torments we can deuise, to torment vnto death and slay such Christian captiues as shall fall into our hands, or else, to keepe them as dogs, captiues in perpetuall misery; to empaile vpon stakes your fairest sons and daughters: and to the further shame and reproch of you and yours, to kill like dogs your women great with childe, and the children in their bellies: for now we are fully resolued to bring into our subjection, you which rule but in a small country, and by strong hand and force of armes to keepe from you your Kingdome, as also to oppresse, root vp, and destroy the keyes and See of Rome, together with the golden scepter thereof: and we will proue whether your crucified Iesus will helpe you and do for you as yours persuade you. Beleeue him still and trust in him, and see how he hath holpen his messengers which hath put their confidence in him: for we neither beleeue, neither can we endure to heare of such incomprehensible things, that he can helpe, which a dead so many Worlds of yeares ago, which could not helpe himselfe, nor deliuer his owne country and inheritance from our power, ouer which we haue so long time reigned. These things, O yee poore and miserable of the World, we thought good to signifie vnto you, that you with your Princes and confederats may know what you haue to do and to looke for. Giuen in our most mighty and Imperiall city of Constantinople, which our ancestors by force of armes tooke from yours, and hauing slaine or taken prisoners all their citizens, reserued such of their wiues and children as they pleased, vnto their lust, to your perpetuall infamy and shame.* I K

Sinan with his army thus setting forward, kept still on his way towards Buda, but the Beglerbeg of Græcia with a farre greater power marched towards Croatia, as well to relieue the forts distressed by the Christians, as againe to besiege the strong castle or monastery of Siseg: which he with his huge army at his first arriuall compassed about without resistance, & with continuall battery ouerthrew the wals thereof, giuing no time of rest vnto the defendants. Which breaches they for all that valiantly defended, & with restlesse labour notably repaired, the very fearfull women bringing tables, stooles, and whatsoeuer els came to hand, that might any wise helpe to keepe the enemy out, of whom a great number was in the breaches slain: but what was that handfull against such a multitude? At length the 3 day of September the Turks by maine force entred the Monastery, and put to sword all the soldiers therein: among whom were 200 Germans, of whom the Turks cut some in pieces, and the rest they threw into the riuer Kulp. One religious man there found among the rest, they did flea quicke in detestation of his profession, and afterward cutting him in small pieces, burnt them to ashes. So taking the spoyle of all that was there to be had; and leauing a strong garrison for the keeping of the place, they passed ouer Savus, burning the country before him, and carried away with them about L M

Siseg taken by the Turks.

A about a thousand poore Christians into perpetuall captiuity. These inuasions of the Turks caused the Emperor to craue aid both of the States of the Empire, and other forreine Princes further off: which was by some easily granted, but not so speedily performed.

About this time *Peter* surnamed *le Hussar* (for that he commanded ouer those horsemen which the Hungarians call Hussars) captain of Pappa, by the appointment of *Ferdinand* county *Hardeck* Gouernour of Rab, lay in wait for the Turks Treasurer in Hungary, who had the command of 5000 Turks: him this Hungarian tooke at aduantage, as he was mustering and paying certain companies of his souldiers, mistrusting no such danger, and desperatly charging him, slew him with diuers of his men, and put the rest to flight, and so with the spoile and some few prisoners he returned againe to his castle, carrying with him the Treasurer.

B Now *Sinan* the Generall being come with his army to Buda, resolued with himselfe to begin his wars in that part of Hungary, with the siege of Vesprinium. This Episcopall city was by *Solyman* the great Turke taken from the Christians in the yeare 1552, and againe by them recouered about foureteene yeares after, about the yeare 1566; since which time vntill now it had remained in the hands of the Christians. *Sinan* without delay marching with his army to Vesprinium, compassed the city round, and encamping as he saw good, planted his battery, wherewith he continually thundered against the city. The Christians there in garrison easily perceiuing that the city was not long to be holden against so great a power, placed diuers barrels of gunpouder in certain mines they had made vnder the wals and bulwarkes of the towne, with traines that should at a certaine time take fire. Which done, they departed secretly out C of the city in the dead time of the night, hoping soon the darke to haue escaped the hand of the enemy: which they did not so secretly, but that they were by the Turks descried, and most of them slaine. *Ferdinand Samaria* Gouernor of the city, after he had for a space valiantly defended himselfe, fell at last into the enemies hand, and so was taken aliue, together with one *Hofkirke* a German captain. The Turks entered the city the sixth of October, striuing who should get first in, for greedinesse of the prey, when suddenly the pouder in the mines tooke fire, and blowing vp the very foundations of the wals and bulwarkes, slew a number of the Turks that were within the danger thereof, and wonderfully defaced the city.

Sinan Bassa besieged Vesprinium.

From Vesprinium the Bassa remoued with his army to Palotta, and gaue summons to the castle: but receiuing such answer as pleased him not, he laied siege vnto it with all his power. D Which at the first *Peter Ornand* captaine of the castle cheerfully receiued: but being afterward without any great cause discouraged (the castle as yet being but little shaken, & but one man slaine, and the rest of the soldiers ready to spend their liues in defence thereof) he sent vnto the Bassa, offering to yeeld the castle vnto him, so that he with his souldiers might with bag and baggage in safety depart. Of which his offer the Bassa accepted, and granted his request. But he was no sooner come out of the castle with his souldiers, and ready to depart, but the faithlesse Turke contrary to his oath and promise caused them all to be cruelly slaine, except only the captaine and two other. After that, the Bassa without any great labor tooke in all the country thereabouts neere vnto the lake of Balaton.

Palotta yeelded vnto the Turks.

Now at last, though long first, about the middle of October the Christians began to muster E their army, in number about 18000, all good and expert souldiers; with which power they shortly after passing ouer Danubius, at the first encounter with the Turkes, put them to the worse, slew a great number of them, and rescued a number of poore Christian captiues.

In the later end of this month, county *Hardeck* Gouernor of Rab, and Generall of the Christian army in that part of Hungary, departing from Comara with all his power, came and laid siege to the strong city of Alba Regalis, which by the force of his artillery he in short time made faultable; but in assaulting the breaches, was by the Turks there in garrison notably repulsed. So hauing made sufficient proof both of the strength & courage of the defendants, and perceiuing no good could be done without a long siege, for which he was not as then prouided; after consultation had with the rest of his captaines, he resolued to raise his siege: which F he did the second of Nouember; remouing that day but halfe a mile from the city, because he would be sure of all his army. But as he was about the next day to remoue, news was brought him by his espials, that the enemies power was at hand, and euen now almost in sight: which proued to be so indeed. For the Bassa of Buda by the commandement of *Sinan Bassa* the Generall, was come forth with thirteene Sanzacks, and twenty thousand souldiers, thirty field pie-

Alba Regalis besieged by the Christians.

ces, and fiue hundred waggons laded with victuall and other warlike prouision, to raise the siege, and to relieue the city; and was now euen at hand, comming directly vpon the Christians: whereupon the county, assisted by the county *Serinus*, the lord *Palfi*, the lord *Nadasti*, *Peter le Hussar*, and other valiant captains of great experience, with wonderfull celerity put his army in order of battell, and so couragiously set forward to encounter the enemy. The Bassa seeing the Christians marching towards him, tooke the aduantage of the higher ground, and from thence discharged his field pieces vpon them; which mounted too high, by good hap did them little or no hurt at all. The Christians for all that desirous of battell, & nothing regarding the disaduantage of the ground, but calling vpon the name of the Almighty, mounted the hill, and joyning battell with the Turks, by plaine force constrained them to fly. In this army of the Turks, being for most part horsemen, were about fiue thousand foot, and many of them Ianizaries, who in flying oftentimes made stands, and wounded many, and yet neuertheless were almost all there slaine, with many others: amongst whom were three great men, the Sanzackes of Strigonium, Setchine, and Nouigrade; seuen Chiaus, & many other men of mark, the most valiant captains of the Turks borderers. The lord *Nadasti* with some others taking view of the Turks that were slaine and lost in this battell, deemed them to haue bin at the least in number eight thousand: few prisoners were saued, all being put to the sword: which caused *Sinan* to sweare by his *Mahomet* neuer more to spare any Christian. All the Turks artillery, wagons, and prouision became a prey vnto the Christians: many ensignes were there found, and weapons of great value. It is hardly to be beleeued how much this victory encouraged the Christians, and daunted the Turks. Whereupon the county, with great joy brought backe his army to Alba-Regalis, and encamped neere the bulwarke called Stropach, where the Turks most feared to be assaulted. *Palfi*, *Nadasti*, and some others, earnestly perfuaded with the county, not to depart from the city before he had won it: but he considering the hard time of the yere, the strength of the city (which was now full of souldiers, by reason of them that were fled in thither from the late ouerthrow) with the want of things necessary in the army to maintaine a longer siege; and fearing also after long lying to be enforced with dishonour to forsake it, would not hearken to their persuasions, but calling a counsell, resolued to raise his siege, and to content himselfe with the victory he had already gotten; which was afterward imputed vnto him for more than an ouersight. So setting fire vpon the suburbs of the city, he rise with his army, and departed thence the fifth of Nouember, and returned to Rab.

Sabatzka taken by the Lord Teuffenbach.

Not long after, *Christopher* Lord *Teuffenbach*, the Emperours lieutenant in the vpper part of Hungary, who lay encamped at Cassouia, with his army of foureteene thousand souldiers removed thence, and marching along the country two daies, came and laid siege to Sabatzka, one of the Turks strongest castles in those quarters, out of which they vsually did much harm among the Christians. This castle *Teuffenbach* battered in three places; and hauing at length made it saultable, tooke it by force the nineteenth of Nouember, and put to the sword all the Turkes there in garrison, in number about two hundred and fifty, and in stead of them left a strong garrison of his owne: whereby all the Country thereabouts was restored to great quietnesse.

Filek besieged by the Christians.

Sabatzka thus taken, the Christian Generall removed with all speed to Filek a strong city of the higher Hungary, which *Solyman* the Turkish Emperor tooke from the Christians in the yere 1560, and placed therein a Sanzacke, vnder the command of the Bassa of Buda. The Generall incamping before this city, the next day after planted his battery, and in most terrible manner without intermission thundered against the wals and gates of the city. The Sanzacke Gouernour thereof, considering the power of the Christians, got out secretly by night with a few souldiers, to acquaint the other Turkish Sanzackes his neighbours with the comming of the Christians, and the number of their army; and further to consult with them, how the city might be relieued. The Bassa of Temeswaie, with the Sanzacks of Giula, Hadwan, Scantzag, and Scirme, vndertooke the matter: and thereupon the Bassa sent for eight hundred Ianizaries, of late left by *Sinan Bassa* in garrison at Buda and Alba-Regalis; who all flatly refused to goe to this seruice; saying, That they would not be led as beasts to the slaughter, as were their fellows but a little before at Alba-Regalis: Neuertheless they enforced the Armenians, whom *Sinan* and his son had brought thither, to go; but of Buda, Alba-Regalis, and Scamboth, were sent only fifteene hundred common souldiers. For all that, the Bassa with the

A the Sanzackes his followers, firme in their former resolution for the reliefe of the distressed city, hauing made great preparation, and raised an army of 18000 strong, with many field pieces, by night drew neere vnto Filek, and staied within two miles of the city. But the Generall of the Christians, with *Stephen Bathor* and the other captaines, vnderstanding of their comming, with 7000 good souldiers chosen out of the whole army, went out presently against them, and the one and twentieth of Nouember suddenly assailing them in their tents, ouerthrew them and put them all to flight, whom the Christians fiercely pursued with a most terrible execution. In this fight and flight there were slaine 6000 Turks, and but few or none taken. The Bassa himself, with the Sanzacke of Filek, and many others of great name, were found amongst the bodies of the slaine Turks. This victory gained with little or no losse, yeelded vn-
B to the Christians a rich prey, many gorgeous tents and faire ensignes, much cattel, and 20 field pieces, with 200 waggons laded with victuall and other prouision; all which they carried into the campe at Filek, and so more streitly besieged the city than before. The same day the Lord *Palfi* and *Martin Lasla* came to the campe with six thousand souldiers; and forthwith three Trumpeters were sent to them of the city, That if without further resistance they would forthwith yeeld the city, they should haue leaue in safety to depart with life and goods, although the Tuks had of late in like case broken their faith with the Christians at Palotta: but if they refused his grace, and would needs hold it out to the vttermost, then to denounce vnto them all extremities. For all this, the Turks nothing dismaied, refused to yeeld: whereupon the battery began afresh, and in more terrible manner than before; so that though the City was most
C strongly fortified both with walls and rampiers, yet had the Christians in three daies space with continuall battery made a faire breach into it, whereby they in despight of the enemy entred without any notable losse the foure and twentieth of Nouember, ransacked the city, and burnt a great part thereof. The same day they also tooke the vttermost castle, wherein the Sanzacks palace stood. This castle standeth vpon a very high hill, strengthened both by art and nature, and had in it a strong garrison of valiant soldiers, who spared not lustily to bestow their shot amongst their enemies, of whom they slew a great number. Neuertheless the Christians after they had for the space of two daies and two nights with a most furious battery shaken the walls, by plaine force entred the castle the 29 of Nouember, and put to sword all the garrison souldiers, except such as had in good time forsaken this castle, and retired themselues in-
D to another more inward. Who being in number eight hundred with their wiues and children, without hope of reliefe, and seeing the cannon now bent vpon them, set out a white ensigne in token of parly: which granted, it was agreed that they should depart with life, and so much of their goods as euery one of them could carry. Vpon which agreement the castle was yeelded the eight and twentieth day of Nouember, and the Turks with a safe conuoy brought vnto the place they desired. In this castle was found a great booty, many pieces of artillery, and much other warlike prouision, but of victuals small store. The Generall with the rest of the Captaines entring the castle, fell downe vpon their knees, and with their hearts and hands cast vp to heauen, thanked God for their victory, and for the recouery of that strong city; but especially for the deliuery of so many Christians out of the Turkish thraldome: for it is re-
E ported, that there were aboue eight hundred country villages subject to the jurisdiction of Filek, the poore inhabitants whereof were now all freed from the Turkish seruitude, by the taking of this only city. The Christians forthwith repaired the wals, bulwarkes and trenches, and strongly fortified euery place against the enemy: and so leauing a sufficient garrison in the city and castles, departed with their army, now in number about twenty thousand, towards Sodoch, six miles from Filek. But as they were vpon the way, newes was brought vnto the Generall, how that the Turks had for feare abandoned the castles of Dijwin and Somoske: whereupon he sent out certaine companies of soldiers to take in both those places: who comming thither, found them indeed forsaken by the enemy, but yet many pieces of artillery and other warlike prouision there still left.

Filek taken by the Christians.

F In the later end of Nouember the Generall marched with his army towards Setschine, a strong towne in the Diocesse of Agria; but the Turks in that place had two or three daies before prepared themselues to fly, and sent their wiues, their children, and the best of their substance, some to Hatwan, some to Buda; and now hearing of the approach of the Christian Army, set fire on the towne and fled. The Christians immediatly entring, did what they could to

Setschine, Blanesteine, and Sallek abandoned by the Turks.

to quench the fire, and saued a great part of the Towne: so leauing there a conuenient garri-
son, he hasted with speed to Blauestein, which the Turks did also set on fire, and betooke them-
selues to flight. The Christians comming thither the next day after, namely, the fourth of
December, found a great part of the towne yet vnburnt, wherein they left a strong garrison,
and from thence marched to Sallek, which towne they also tooke, being forsaken by the ene-
my, and put thereinto a good garrison. The Generall was of nothing more desirous, than to
haue prosecuted this so happy a course of victory: but such was the foulenesse of the Winter
weather, that he could not trauell with his great artillery, without which no great matter was
to be done against the enemy, still keeping himselfe in his strong hold. And his Army in the
wasted and forsaken country began now to feele the want of victuals; so that many had with-
drawne themselues out of the army, vnto their dwelling places.

At the same time also the Lord *Palfi* going to Dregel and Palanka, and finding them forsa-
ken by the enemy, furnished both places with garrisons of his owne men. Certaine other
strong places were also this moneth recouered from the Turks, as Ainacke, Sollocke, Wesike,
and others, and so much territory gained by the Christians, as was in circuit thought equall
with the lower Austria. The joyfull newes of the aforesaid victories, with the recouery of so
much of the country, and so many strong towns and castles, made great rejoycing both at Vi-
enna and Prague: for which cause publike praiers with thanksgiuing to Almighty God were
made in both places, with many other tokens of joy & triumph both there and in diuers other
places of the Empire. Yet were not the dead bodies of the Turks slaine at Alba Regalis bur-
ried; whereof rose such a loathsome and noisome smell thereabout, that no man could abide
to come nigh the place, to the great trouble of the inhabitants thereabout. At length certain
Turks out of Buda and Alba Regalis, to the number of three hundred and fifty, met together,
to haue buried those loathsome carkasses. Vpon whom it chanced a captaine of the Hussars to
light with his horsemen, who fiercely assailing them, left most of them there dead for others
to bury, and carried away the rest prisoners.

The Turks in burying their dead, slain by the Christians.

The Bassa of Buda had caused *Murat* Sanzacke of Pajorza to be strangled, for that he suspe-
cted him to haue had intelligence with the Christians: in whose room he placed another, who
comming with 600 Turks to take possession of the preferment, was by the way set vpon by *Pe-
ter le Hussar* with the garrison soldiers of Pappa & Thurne, and slain, with most part of his fol-
lowers: thirty fiue of them were taken aliue, with all the Sanzacks rich furniture. To end this
yere withall, the Turks in garrison at Petrinia, Sisec, Castrowitz, and other places thereabouts,
met together in number about 3000, who the 19 of December passing ouer the riuer Saua,
began to spoile the frontiers of those countries. But before they were gon far, they were so in-
countred by the Lord *Graswin* and the borderers thereabout, that fiue hundred of them were
left dead vpon the ground, diuers of good account taken prisoners, & almost all the rest drow-
ned in the riuer: so that of all them that came ouer, few escaped with life. In the later end of
this moneth great numbers of souldiers were taken vp in Saxony and other places of Germa-
ny; whereof some were sent to Prague, and some to Vienna in Austria: and in Hungary the
Christians encreased their strength with new supplies. In Austria also a new army was raised,
and two and twenty great pieces of artillery sent down the riuer of Danubius to Comara, and
new preparation made in euery place for the next yeares wars.

1594 *Amurath* the Turkish Emperor going out of the city of Constantinople the 11 of Ianuary,
to muster the army he had prepared against the Christians for this yere, was suddenly ouerta-
ken with such a tempest of wind and raine, that it ouerthrew his tents, his chariots, yea, his hor-
ses and men had much ado to withstand it. Wherewith he being (as with an ominous prodigy)
exceedingly troubled, returned with his army into the city, and oppressed with melancholy,
cast himselfe downe vpon his bed as a man halfe sicke. Where falling asleepe, he dreamed he
saw a man of exceeding stature, standing with one of his feet vpon the tower of Constanti-
nople, and the other ouer the streit in Asia, who stretching out his armes, held the Sun in one
of his armes, and the Moone in the other; whom whiles he wondred at, the Monster with his
foot strucke the tower, which forthwith fell downe, and in falling ouerthrew the great Tem-
ple, with the Imperiall Palace. *Amurath* awaked (as he thought) with the noise, and much
troubled with the dreame (for the Turks are in such vanities very superstitious) sent for all his
Wisards and Interpreters of dreames, to know the meaning of this his so strange or rather so
melan-

A great tempest at Constantinople.

Amurath dreameth.

melancholy a dreame, Who hypocritically answered him, That forasmuch as he had not with
all his force as a tempest impugned the Christians, their great Prophet *Mahomet* threatned by
that dreame to ouerthrow the tower, the temple and the Imperiall palace, that is to say, the re-
ligion and Empire of the Turks. Which vaine and feigned interpretation so much moued
the superstitious Tyrant, That he swore from thenceforth to turn all his forces vpon the Chri-
stians, and not to giue ouer war vntill he had done what he might to subdue them. This the
Turks dreame, with the interpretation thereof, and the solemne vow he had made for the de-
struction of the Christians, was publiquely read in the churches of Transyluania, and many
godly exhortations made vnto the people, to moue them, by prayer and all other good means
to auert that so threatned thraldome.

Of the fleshspoile taken from the Turks in the late victory neere vnto Alba Regalis, the
Christian Captaines made a present for the Emperor and the Archduke *Mathias* his brother,
which they sent by the Lords *Gall* and *Brun*; and were by them presented vnto the Emperour
and his brother the eleuenth of Ianuary at Vienna, in order as followeth. First went the Ma-
ster of the ordnance of Rab, on both sides attended vpon with the other officers of the artille-
ry; after them were drawne thirty great pieces of ordnance taken in the battell. After these
pieces followed three Turkish horses with rich saddles and furniture studded with gold, the
stirrups and bridles being of siluer, gilt and most curiously wrought: after them were carried
22 of the Turks ensignes, three of them were very rich, and the other right faire. Then follo-
wed the two Embassadours aforesaid, with each of them a glie mace in his hand, such as the
Turk Bassaes vse to carry: after them were brought many instruments of war, gilt scimitars,
glaiues, bowes and arrowes, targets, and ten of the Ianizaries drums. Two of the aforesaid
horses were presented to the Emperor, and the third to the Archduke. The field pieces brought
to the castle gate, and orderly placed vpon the plaine, were all, at such time as the rest of the
Bassaes entred the castle, forthwith by the canoniers discharged; and there for certaine daies
left vpon the plaine for the people to feed their eies vpon. The Embassadors discharged of
their Present, and rewarded by the Emperour with chaines of gold and other gifts, returned to
the campe. Notwithstanding that it was now deepe Winter, yet many sharp skirmishes daily
passed vpon the borders betwixt the Turks and the Christians. The fifteenth of this presen
month, 2000 of the Turks assembled together, were making an inrode into the country about
Filek: whereof the Lord *Teuffenbach* hauing intelligence, lay in wait for them, and setting vp-
on them, fearing no such danger, slew and tooke of them fifteen hundred.

A faire present of the spoile of the Turkes sent vnto the Emperour.

Mathias Archduke of Austria, now Gouernor of Stiria, Carinthia, and the countries there-
about, by the departure of *Ernestus* his brother, but a little before by *Philip* King of Spaine
made Gouernor of the Low countries) was now also by the Emperor appointed Generall of
the Christian army against the Turks: who to be neerer vnto the enemy, and to further the
new war, departed the 14 day of February from Vienna to Rab; after whom dayly followed
the forces newly raised in Silesia, Morauia, and Hungary, with others also sent from Prague
and Vienna. He considering to what small purpose it would be to haue the last yeare taken
so many strong townes and castles, except the same were also well manned and furnished with
all needfull prouision, by the persuasion of the Lord *Teuffenbach*, sent County *Schlike* with a
thousand horse to Filek, for the more safety of that place and the country thereabout so lately
gained from the Turks.

It fortuned that about this time, a souldier of the Turks taken not far from Dregel, & brought
into the campe; among other things whereof he was examined, confessed that in Nouigrade
(a strong towne and of great importance, but one mile distant from Vacia, and three from Bu-
da) was left but a weake garrison of about eight hundred souldiers, who there liued in great
feare to be besieged; and that the Turks doubting such a matter, had brought thither much
prouision for the better fortifying of the towne. Vpon which intelligence the Christians be-
gan to remoue with their army, and being come betwixt Dregel and Nouigrade, vnderstood
by the country people, that it was true that the Turke had reported: wherefore they resolued
that night to lay siege vnto the towne. So forthwith some were sent to Dregel, to fetch thence
certaine pieces of Artillery, whom certaine troups of German horsemen went to meet: who
vsed such diligence, that the eight of March a little before the rising of the Sun, the whole ar-
my with the great ordnance was come before Nouigrade. That day the Christians spent in
pitching

Nouigrade besieged by the Christians.

pitched their Tents, and incamping themselues: yet before night they had planted certaine great pieces vpon an high hill, from whence they might see into the castle: whereof the master of the ordnance caused three of the greatest about the going downe of the Sunne to be discharged against the castle, to giue the Turks to vnderstand that they wanted nothing for the siege. The same night also the Christians cast vp a great mount in the vally, from whence they presently sent six great shot into the castle: but early in the morning the Sun being yet scarce vp, and all things now in readinesse, they began to battend the castle, at that day onely fourteen great pieces discharged 300 great shot against the castle: but to small purpose, for the Castle was built vpon a most strong rocke, fortified with high and thicke walls, and a deepe ditch hewen out of the maine rocke, which compassed the castle round, and for the more strength thereof was so fortified with pallisado's made of strong timber, as that there was no access into the wals: yet by the commandement of the Generall, certaine companies of the Christians prepared themselues to assault the breach, such was, in was: who besides their weapons, carying with them dry faggots, and setting them on fire, burnt the pallisado in diuers places, and so opened the way vnto the walls: and encouraged with the successe, approched neerer, and slew diuers of the Turks vpon the rampiers. Who discouraged with their owne weaknesse, and the forwardnes of the enemy, faintly defended themselues, and yet slew diuers of them, beating them downe from the wals with stones, timber, fire works, and such like. This assault giuen in the night, was continued vntill foure a clocke in the morning, and so gaue ouer. Shortly after came the Archduke with 1000 horse into the campe, and caused the battery to be againe renued; whereby it chanced that the chiefe canonier in the castle (being a renegat Gallia) was taken with a great shot and slaine, whose death so dismaied the rest of the defendants, that they presently set forth three white flags in signe of parley, which but all that the Christians seemed not to regard, but still continued their battery. The Turks then piteously reuiled, and named two captaines, whom they desired to haue sent vnto them, with whom they might treat some reasonable composition. So for a while the battery ceased, and those Captaines being sent vnto the Towne, brought nine of the best of the Turks in the City with them vnto the Archduke, who by their Interpreter declared, That they well considered the force of the Christians, and seeing no relefe to come from the Bassa of Buda, as he had promised, thought themselues to haue already discharged the parts of good souldiers, and seeing no other remedy were contented to yeeld the castle, yet so, as that with bag and baggage they might in safety depart. Whereunto the Lord *Palfi* (taking vpon him the person of the Archduke, for that he himselfe would not be knowne) answered, That forasmuch as they had not yeelded at the first summons, but holden it out to the losse of many of his mens liues, and his great charge, they were vnworthy any fauour; yet of his owne clemency he would receiue them, if they would absolutely without any further condition yeeld themselues to his mercy. This answer being reported to the Sanzacke Gouernor of the Towne, pleased him not, and therefore said he would still stand vpon his defence. Whereupon the Christians were about to haue begun a fresh assault. But after a new parley, it was at last agreed, That the Turks yeelding the towne vnto the Archduke, should in safety depart with their apparell and scimiters only. With which agreement two of the Turks were sent backe into the castle, and the rest detained. Foure houres the Turks in the castle delaied the time, as men doubtfull what to do: but being earnestly called vpon for a resolute answer, and seeing the Christians ready againe to assault them, they for feare yeelded: and so 450 of them came forth, amongst whom was the Sanzacke Gouernor of the Towne, with his wife and daughter, the Sanzacke of Selendre (sent thither to haue aided him) and one Chiaus lately come from the Court. These great men brauely mounted, were commanded to alight from their gallant horses, and had in their steads other bad jades giuen them to ride vpon: and as they passed by, as well the women as the men, were searched, that they carried with them nothing more than their cloathes; if any thing els were found, it fell vnto the souldiers share for good booty. This strong towne of Nouigrade had continued in the possession of the Turks about 60 yeares, and serued as it were for a bulwarke to Pesth and Buda, which now recouered out of their hands, opened a way vnto their further harmes. The keeping of this towne was by the Archduke committed to the Lord *Rebei* A nobleman of Hungary and kinsman to *Palfi*, with a strong garrison and certaine troops of Hussars.

Nouigrade yeelded vnto the archduke.

The Sanzacke of Nouigrade, after he had lost the towne, comming to Buda, was presently apprehen-

apprehended by the Bassa, and laid in prison: who although he excused himselfe, by alledging that the towne was not possibly to be holden with so small a garison against so great a power; and that if any fault were, it was to be imputed to them of Buda, for not sending relefe in time; and therefore appealed to the further hearing of *Amurath* himselfe: yet all serued him not, but was by the Bassaes commandement in the night hanged vpon a tree neere vnto the gate of the city, and afterwards cut in pieces.

The Sanzacke of Nouigrade hanged at Buda.

Whilst these things were in doing, the Emperor sent his Embassadors to the great Duke of Muscouia, the King of Polonia, and the Prince of Transyluania, to proue how they stood affected towards those his wars against the Turke, and what aid he might procure from them. Into Muscouie was sent one *Warkuteh* a gentleman of Silesia; who cumming to Musco, found in that Court the Embassadors of the Tartar, the Turke, the Persian, the Polonian, and the Dane. Of all these, the Embassadors of the Tartar and the Turke could haue no audience, but were with contumelious words rejected as miscreants. The Emperours Embassador was honorably entertained, and after the manner of that countrey, a large proportion of wine, mede, aquavitæ, flesh, fish, and fowle of sundry sorts allowed him dayly all the time of his abode. At length hauing audience, he declared vnto the great Duke the cause of his comming, and in the name of his Master requested his aid against the Turke. Whereunto the Duke answered, That he would giue the Emperor towards the maintenance of his wars against the common enemy, 500000 duckats, and allow him yearely 400000 during the time of that war; requesting him not to make any peace with the Turke, and promised to send him aid also of men in this war, if he should so need. The Persian Embassador also honorably feasted the Emperors Embassador, and had with him great conferance concereing the wars of the Christians with the Turks, and in his masters name promised the continuation of his wars against the Turke, so that the Emperor would likewise promise not to haue any league with him, so to giue him leisure to turne all his forces againe into Persia. This Embassador after he had almost foure months tarried in Muscouia, returned to the Emperor. At which time Dr *Wacker* the Emperors Embassador into Polonia, returned also with joyfull newes, how that the Polonians with an army of eight and twenty thousand had stopped the passage of an hundred thousand Tartars whom the Turke had sent for against the Emperour; and that if he needed, he should be aided with the Polonian Cossacks: but vnto the rest of his requests he could haue no answer of the States of that Kingdome, for that the King was then absent in Sweden; and was therefore referred to be further answered at his returne.

At the same time, County *Serinus* with three hundred Harquebusiers and certain troops of horsemen, and the footmen of Stiria and the countries thereabouts, assembling to the number of ten thousand, departed from Canisia, to besiege Bresenza a castle of the Turkes. But they vnderstanding before of his comming, conueied away the best of their substance, and setting the castle on fire, departed the three and twentieth of March. The Earle comming thither, tooke the forsaken castle, and put therein a garrison of his owne souldiers. In like manner he tooke also Sigesta, forsaken of the Turks, where he also placed a garrison of the Christians. And so going on to Babostcha, besieged it; which castle although it was strongly scituated in a marish, and could not easily haue beene woon, was for all that, for feare abandoned by the Turks, and so taken by the County: by recouery of which places, there was a safe and easie way laid open euen to Ziget, the Bassa whereof stood in no small doubt to haue bin euen then besieged.

Certain Castles of the Turkes vpon the borders of Stiria taken by the County Serinus

Amurath intending by all meanes he could to vex the Emperor, had determined to send his fleet into the Adriatique, to besiege Zegna a city of the Emperors scituate vpon the sea coast, in the bay Quernero, called in antient time Flanaticus Sinus. Which the better to effect, he sent one of his Chiaus Embassador to the Venetians, to request them, That his fleet might by their leaue passe alongst the Adriaticke, and haue the vse of their ports and harbours, as need should require. Which his request the Venetians hearing, refused in any case to yeeld thereunto: fearing (and not without cause) the vnfaithfulnesse and treachery of the Turkes, whose oathes and promises are no longer strong, or by them regarded, than standeth with their owne good and profit: neuertheleſſe they most honourably vsed the Embassador, and so sent him away without obtaining of that he was especially sent for.

In

Hatwan besieged by the Christians.

In the vpper part of Hungary *Christopher* Lord *Teuffenbach* the Archdukes Lieutenant having gathered an army of twenty thousand soldiers, the sixteenth of Aprill laied siege to Hatwan a strong towne six miles from Buda, fortified with a triple ditch and bulwarkes of exceeding strength. Against which although the Christians could not do much either by mines or mounts, (by reason it was so inuironed with water) yet they so shut vp all the passages thereunto, that nothing could be brought or carried in or out of the town. They of the town seeing themselues thus blockt vp, by secret messengers certified the Bassa of Buda in what case they stood, praying of him aid: who with 10000 chosen soldiers, which he had then in readinesse, and the Sanzacks of Sirnah, Giula, Lippa, Lerwoge, and Tschangrade, with 5000 moe, forthwith set forward toward Hatwan to raise the siege: and the last of Aprill being come within sight of the Christian army, about one of the clocke in the afternoone encamped on the side of the riuer Sagijwa: but when he could not or els durst not, for the deepenesse of the way, the abundance of water and neerenesse of the enemy, aduenture to passe the riuer, he retyred back againe to passe ouer at Iasperin (otherwise called Iasbrin) where the riuet was joyned with a bridge, and not far off a good foord also to passe ouer at; thinking so to haue come vpon the backs of the Christians, and with more safety haue relieued the besieged towne. But *Teuffenbach* perceiuing his purpose, forthwith after his departure passed the riuer with much difficulty, and ouertaking him with his army the next day, being the first of May, about one of the clocke in the afternoone, betweene Zarcha, and Fuscasalua, with his great ordnance disordered the rereward of the enemies battell; and comming on couragiously with his whole army, began a most cruell fight: which the Turks a great while endured with wonderfull resolution; but now destitute of their wonted multitude (their greatest confidence) and hardly laied vnto by the Christians, they in the end turned their backes and fled; whom six thousand Hungarians and Germans fiercely pursued, and had the killing of them almost to Buda. In this battell the Christians tooke all the enemies great Ordnance, with seuenteene ensignes, and also the castle of Iasperin, which the Turks had for feare abandoned; wherein was found good store of victuals, certaine great pieces, with much other warlike prouision. Of this so notable a victory *Teuffenbach* by Letters presently aduertised the Archduke, after he was againe returned to the siege of Hatwan. Which Letters because they containe many particularities and circumstances of this battell, I haue thought it not amisse here to insert.

The copy of the letters of the L. Teuffenbach, to Matthias the Archduke, General of the emperours Army against the Turks.

Although (said he) *I haue by a speedy messenger vpon the very Kalends of May certified your Excellency of the notable victory which God of his great goodnesse gaue vnto vs the same day ouer our hereditary enemy: yet afterward vpon diligent inquisition we vnderstood many particularities, as well of the captiues themselues, as of the inhabitants about Zolnocke, Pesth, and Buda; whereof I thought good to aduertise you. The Captiues themselues confesse, That the Bassa of Buda, with the Sanzackes of Zolnocke, Zarwack, Giula, and Tschangrad, Cippaio, Genne, and others, had with great celerity raised an army of 13000 soldiers, amongst whom were many Tartars, with purpose to haue relieued the besieged Towne of Hatwan, and vpon the sudden to haue oppressed vs in our tents. Filled with which hope, they in great haste came with all their power the last of Aprill towards Hatwan: but forasmuch as they could not passe ouer the riuer Zagijwa by reason of the height of the water, they were the next day being the first of May, conducted by the Captaine of Iasperin to a more commodious passage, so to come the neerer vnto vs, and the next day in the morning to haue surprised vs in our tents. But our most mercifull God hath auerted this so great a mischiefe from vs, and turned it vpon their own heads. For as it is most constantly reported from Zolnocke, Pesth and Buda, and confirmed by the Inhabitants of the same places, there are 2500 of the Turks slaine, and as many wounded, of whom many perished, and are found dead vpon the high-wayes leading to Pesth and Zolnocke: of these we haue sent a thousand heads to Cassouia, and caused many of the Turks to be buried for feare of infection in this so great heate. Verily it was a bloudy battell; so that the old Souldiers say, they haue not remembred or seene the Turks (two moe in number) to haue stood so long in battell, and to haue so fought it out without flying. Many men of great name and place there perished and fell, amongst whom are redeemed the Sanzackes of Pesth, Nouigrade, and Temeske; Genne Calaua, Bogste, Alustafa, Marielaus, and certaine Chiaus lately sent from the Court, with the Bassa his guard, wherein were eight hundred right valiant souldiers, of whom few escaped with life. Many fell, that would haue yeelded great ransome; but it was agreed vpon betweene the Germanes and the Hungarians, not*

to spare any of the enemies, but to put them all to the sword; and that whosoeuer did otherwise, it should be imputed vnto him for dishonor. So that more than sixteen common soldiers, none were taken prisoners; of whom we might learn how things went amongst the Turks, with other circumstances of the battell. Wee tooke thirteen field pieces, whereof four were greater than the rest, which they called Organs, and 24 of the enemies Ensignes. The Bassa of Buda, beside other three wounds by him receiued, was grieuously wounded in the side. Of our men were lost about a hundred, and many of them most expert souldiers; and about six hundred others grieuously wounded, of whom there is small hope, many of them beeing already dead. Neither is the losse small we haue receiued in our horses and armor; for there are few amongst the Germane horsmen, which haue not lost one, two, or three of their horses or seruants, whereby our horsemen are wonderfully weakned. Yet was the victory great, to God be the praise, to him be the glory and thankes therefore. Let vs in the mean time prosecute the siege begun. The last night I commaunded the water to be drawn another way, so that now our trenches may be aduanced many paces, and bulwarks raised within two hundred paces of the wall. We haue already planted fiue great pieces of artillery in one bulwark, and hope the next night to place fiue moe vpon a mount fast by, and will do what shall be needfull for a streit siege: and when time shall serue, vndertake the town with all our power; God grant vs therin good successe and victory.

The Turks in garrison at Zabola a fort there by, discouraged with the ouerthrow of their friends, forsook the fort, which for strength and greatnes was comparable with Tocay or Erla. Which strong place the Christians without any losse now recouered.

Strigonium besieged by the Christians.

Whilst this valiant captain the Lord *Teuffenbach* thus lay at the siege of Hatwan, *Mathias* the Archduke General of the Christian Army in Hungary, incouraged with the good succes he had at Novigrad, came with his Army, being 44000 strong, before Strigonium (sometime the metropolitical city of Hungary, but now of long a sure receptacle of the Turks) and the sixt of May incamped his Army about a quarter of a mile from the Castle, in a most pleasant medow, from whence both the city and the castle were plainely to be seene. Vpon whom the Turks out of the castle, and three gallies that lay vpon the riuer, discharged certain great pieces without any great harm doing. But after the Christian fleet was a little before night come down the riuer, and with their great ordnance began to answer them again, the enemy ceased shooting, and lay stil that night. In the mean time it fortuned, that a Turkish youth taken in a garden there by, and brought into the camp and examined, confessed that there was no garrison in the city more than four hundred Ianizaries, and that a new supply was daily expected from Buda. The Christians laboring that night, were by the breake of day come with their trenches to a hil ouer against the castle, where they placed their battery, and forthwith began to batter the city. The same day (being the seuenth of May) two and twenty Turkes heads were presented to the Archduke, and four men taken aliue, newly sent out of the city to haue viewed the Christian camp. About night certain balls of wilde-fire were shot into the City, wherof one fel vpon the tower called S. *Adelbert*, and set it on fire; wherwith first the church, and afterward a great part of the town fel on fire. The Sanzacks house, with all his horses and armor, and a great quantity of pouder was then burnt, and inestimable hurt done in the City. The next day the Christians had with continual battery made a breach in the castle wall: but adjoining vnto the wall was a high and broad sandy rampier, which could hardly be battered: for all that, the Germans gaue a fierce assault to the breach, hoping to haue entred by the ruines of the wall: but not being able to get ouer the sandy rampier, were inforced with losse to retyre. The day following they began again the battery with eighteen great pieces: When about eight of clock in the morning, the Rascians that were in the old city gaue the General to vnderstand, That if he would at a place by them appointed, assault the greater city, to draw the Turks thither, they would in the mean time deliuer vnto the Christians certain little posterns, and receiue them into the old city; vpon condition that no violence should bee done vnto them or theirs. Which being so agreed vpon, the Christians accordingly gaue the assault the eleuenth of May in the euening, and by the help of the Rascians took the city: who according to promise were al taken to mercy, and the Turks slain, except such as by good hap recouered the new town. The keeping of this city was committed to the charge of two companies of German footmen, and 600 Hungarians, with 300 Rascians and other townesmen,

The Christians recouer the old city.

Thus was the old city of Strigonium gained by the Christians, the suburbs wherof they presently burnt; neuertheleſſe the new town with the caſtle was ſtil holden by the Turks. Wherefore the Christians hauing caſt vp certain trenches and mounts, and placed their artillerie as they thought moſt conuenient, began again to batter the caſtle, and after they had by the fury of the cannon made it ſaultable, with great courage aſſailed the breach, which the Turks valiantly defended; ſo that the Christians were glad to retire, leauing behind them aboue 130 of their fellows, ſlain in the breach. The Turks a little before the Christians comming had fortified an hil, wherunto the caſtle was ſomewhat ſubiect, called of the Christians S. *Nicolas* his hil. This hil ſo fortified, the Christians with continual battery and aſſault gained the 27 of May, and put all the Turks left aliue therin to the ſword: and turning the ordnance, from thence alſo battered the caſtle. The 22 of May a little before Sun-ſet, certain enſignes of foot were drawn out of the Campe, to haue the next day aſſaulted the lower town, who taking the benefit of the night, attempting to haue entred the towne in the dead time of the night, were notably incountred by the Turks ſallying out of the town vpon them. The Christians for all that hauing inforced them to retyre, proſecuted their former reſolution, and with much adoe got ouer the vtmoſt wall: but finding there contrary to their expectation ſuch a deep & broad countermure as was not poſſible to be paſſed, they ſtood as men diſmaid; neither could they in the darknes of the night wel ſee to get back again ouer the town ditch, but diſorderly retiring, ſtuck faſt many of them in the deep mud, and there periſhed. In this aſſault there were about 1000 of the Christians wounded and ſlain: and albeit that they twice or thrice retued the aſſault, yet preuailed they nothing, but were ſtill repulſed with loſſe. Many alſo of the Turks garriſon were ſlain, and the Sanzacke himſelſe hurt with a great ſhot; and many other wounded men ſent down the riuer to Buda, brought thither true news of the aforeſaid aſſaults and of the ſtate of the beſieged.

The Raſcians in arms againſt the Turks.

In the mean time news was brought to the Campe, That *Sinan Baſſa* the old enemy of the Christians, and the Turks great Lieutenant, comming towards Hungary with a great Army, and hauing by boats conueyed ouer part therof, was ſet vpon by the Raſcians (theſe are poore oppreſſed Christians dwelling on both ſides of Danubius, who weary of the Turkiſh thraldom, and deſirous of their antient liberty, haue often taken vp arms againſt the Turks, as they now did, incouraged by the good ſucceſſe of the Christians on the other ſide of Hungary) and that after diuers skirmiſhes they had taken thirteen of the Turkes veſſels, wherein beſides victuals and certain great pieces of Artillery, they found about 2400 weight of pouder, 447 hundred of lead, 46454 bundles of match, 1200 great ſhot, whereof 1005 were of 66 pound weight; and of ſmall ſhot for harquebuſiers 48500, with much other warlike prouiſion; a great part wherof was brought into the Camp at Strigonium, and the reſt reſerued to future vſes. This loſſe ſo troubled the great Baſſa, that he altered his purpoſe before intended for Caſſovia.

The fourth of Iune, about fiue hundred Turks ſent vp the riuer of Buda, conducted by two Sanzacks vnder two red and white enſignes, landed neer to Gokara on the farther ſide of Danubius ouer againſt Strigonium; where after they had a while refreſhed themſelues, and left ſome few for the more aſſurance of the place, all the reſt were conueyed ouer the riuer into Strigonium; where they had bin long looked for, the old garriſon being now ſore weakened by the former aſſaults. Four daies after, the Turkes incouraged with this ſupply, ſallied out vpon the ſudden, and had entred one of the forts of the Christians, but were forthwith againe repulſed, hauing loſt ſix and twenty of their men, and two of their enſignes. Not far off lay a troup of horſemen, if they had in time come in, not one of the Turkes had eſcaped. Long it were to tell, how often and in what manner the Christians aſſaulted this city; but were by the Turks ſo receiued, that in fiue aſſaults they loſt fiue thouſand of their men; amongſt whome were diuers Captains, Lieutenants, Antients, and others of good account: twenty three Cannoniers were alſo ſlain, and ten great pieces of Artillery ſo ſpoiled, as that they were no more ſeruiceable. The garriſon of this city conſiſted for moſt part of the Ianizaries (the Turks beſt ſoldiers) whoſe notable valor in holding out of this ſiege, was both of their owne people and their enemies much commended. Whatſoeuer was beaten down by day, that they againe repaired by night, and ſtill relieued with victual and things neceſſary from Buda, did what was

A poſſible to be don for defence of the City. About the ſame time certain Turks chancing vpon a troup of German horſmen, in fight ſlew aboue fifty of them, and put the reſt to flight: whereupon an alarm being raiſed in the Campe, many ran out to the reſcue of their fellowes, taking with them certain ſmall field pieces. Which the Turks perceiuing, began to fly; whome the Christians eagerly purſuing, were ſuddenly aſſailed by other Turks ſallying out of a fort faſt by, and inforced ſhamefully to retyre, and to leaue their field pieces behinde them. Which the Turks ſeiſing vpon, cloyed them, brake their Carriages, and made them altogether vnſeruiceable.

All this while the Lord *Teuffenback* lying at the ſiege of Hatwan, about this time requeſted aid of the Archduke, for that his power was with often conflicts, hunger, and other difficulties alwaies attending long ſieges, ſo much weakened, as that hee had ſcarſly 6000 found men in his camp. To whom the Archduke forthwith ſent 1200 footmen, being loth to ſpare any more, for too much weakning his own army. *The Archduke ſendeth aid to the ſiege of Hatwan.*

Amurath diſdaining to ſee the frontiers of his empire in ſo many places impugned by the Christians, and daily to receiue from them ſo great harmes, ſought by all meanes to be reuenged. Wherfore beſide the great power of his own which he was now about to ſend with *Sinan Baſſa* into Hungary, he had alſo procured from the great Tartar a wonderful number of thoſe rough & ſauage people to be ſent into Hungary, there to join with his army. Theſe wild people, to the number of 70000, according to direction giuen, breaking into Podolia, Valachia, and Moldauia, gathered together an incredible number of oxen and Kine; to this end & purpoſe, that driuing them before them, they might both be aſſured of victuals, and the ſafer trauel thorow a part of Polonia. But when they were come vnto the borders of that country, and there found the power of *Samoſchie* the great Chancellor and the Polonian Coſſackes in arms, they eaſily perceiued that they could not that way paſſe without great loſſe. Wherfore they placed the aforeſaid herds of cattel, ſome before, ſome behinde, and ſome on each ſide of the army, and ſo incloſed round about with thoſe Cattell as with a trench, marched on. But when they were come neer vnto the Polonians, this rude deuice ſerued them to no other purpoſe than the ouerthrow of themſelues; for the Polonians diſcharging their great Ordnance, ſo terrified the Cattel, that they turned vpon the Tartars, & ouerthrowing whomſoeuer came in their way, did exceeding much harm. Whom the Polonians immediatly following, and hardly charging the confuſed Army, armed only with bow and arrows; after ſome ſmal fight put them at laſt to flight, & obtained of them a notable victory, with an exceeding rich prey. Of the Polonians were loſt about eighteene hundred, but of the Tartars were ſlain thirty thouſand. The reſt retyring into Podolia, and paſſing the Riuer Neſter by the way of Tranſylvania, where they did exceeding much harme, came to Temeſwar; and ſo afterwards further into Hungary: vnto whom the Turkes ſent ſeuen hundred horſemen to conduct them to the army.

But to return again to the ſiege of Strigonium. The 14 of Iune, the Christians betweene eight and nine of the clock in the morning, with great fury aſſaulted the town in three places: which aſſault they moſt notably maintained vntil it was almoſt three a Clocke in the afternoone. Neuertheleſſe the Turks ſo valiantly defended themſelues, that at laſt the Christians were glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and with loſſe to retyre. The Archduke from an high place beholding the aſſault, had one of his footmen ſlain faſt by him with a ſmall ſhot. Many of the Turks were alſo ſlain at this aſſault, & among them one of the three Sanzacks that defended the city. The night following there aroſe a moſt horrible tempeſt, with ſuch raging winde, and abundance of rain, that many thought they ſhould neuer haue eſcaped: with the violence wherof the Archdukes tent was ouerthrown, and diuers other blown down or rent aſunder, were in the air carried from place to place. About the ſame time, the Lord *Palfi* within the ſight of the caſtle caſt vp a notable Fort, with high mounts and ſtrong trenches (euen in the ſelfe ſame place where *Solyman* lay about fifty yeares before, when he beſieged and won Strigonium) by which fort ſo built, the Enemy was embared to conuey any thing vp the Riuer for relief of the City, to the great diſcomfiture of the beſieged. To haue hindered which worke, the Enemy oftentimes ſallied out, but to no purpoſe. This Fort beeing brought to perfection, the Christians tooke alſo another fort in an Iſland on the further ſide of the riuer, which the Turkes had but a few daies before taken from the Christians, and cloyed the great *Strigonium aſſaulted.*

pieces therin: which fort the Christians now again repaired, furnishing it with a sufficient G
garrison, and other great ordnance.

Strigonium fore battered. These things thus don, the castle and the lower town were in fiue diuers places, out of the new built fort, the old town, and the Island, so battered with continual shot, that a man would haue said that one stone should not haue bin left vpon another, but that all should haue beene beaten down and layd euen with the ground. The 17 of Iune one of the Christian cannoniers so dismounted one of the great pieces in the Castle, that the piece together with the Turkish canonier that had the charge therof, fel down out of the castle into the ditch. The same day a mason that fled out of the castle into the camp, among other things reported, that many of the Turks were slain with this continual battery and often assaults; and that not past an hour before, forty of them were slain in one chamber, and now acknowledged themselues to be in- H
deed besieged: and to haue resolued, That when they were brought to the last cast, then desperatly to sally out vpon the Christians, and so either to returne with victory, or to make shift euery man for himself as he might. Which his report seemed not altogether feigned; for about midnight a thousand of the Turkes sallying out of the castle vpon the fort newly buile vpon the riuer, in hope to haue surprised it, were by the Christians therein notably repulsed, and inforced to retyre: in which conflict fifty of the Turks were slaine, and many moe wounded and taken prisoners. And the same day toward euening, eight Turks of good sort being taken and brought into the camp, confessed, That about six daies before, they had seen seuen boats full of wounded and dead men sent down the riuer from Strigonium to Buda. Whereby it was easily to be gathered how bloudy a siege this was to the Turks; forasmuch as all those I
bodies were the bodies of men of good account and place; for the bodies of such common soldiers as were slain, they still threw into the riuer running by.

The Turkes assault the new Fort. The fort newly built vpon the banke of Danubius much troubled the besieged Turkes in Strigonium, because nothing could without danger of it be sent vp the riuer for their reliefe. Wherfore they by fit messengers sent word out of the castle to the Admiral of the Turkes gallies lying below in the riuer, That he should at an appointed time come vp with his Gallies as high as the fort, and on that side at leastwise to make shew as if they would assault it. At which time they of the town would be likewise ready to sally out, and assail it indeed on the other side by land. The Admiral accordingly came vp the riuer with his gallies, and by discharging of certain great pieces, made shew as if he would on that side haue battered the fort: K
but was so welcommed from it, that he was glad with his rent gallies quickly to fal down the riuer again farther off out of danger. But whilst the thundring shot was thus flying to & fro toward the riuer, they of the town sallying out, assaulted the fort on the other side toward the land, and that with such desperate resolution, that some of them were got vp to the top of the rampiers, and there for the space of two houres maintained a most cruel fight, wherin many of them were slain and wounded, and the rest inforced with shame to retyre.

The Christians thus still lying at the siege, and intentiue to all occasions, partly by their Espials, and partly by such as they had taken prisoners, vnderstood that a new supply both of men and victuals was shortly to be put into Strigonium and therfore sent out certain Companies of souldiers, who lying in two conuenient places, the one vp on the riuer, the other by L
land, might intercept the said supply. Both which places were before by the prouident Enemy possessed: who suddenly assailing the Christians comming thither, and seeing no other matter, slew some of them, and put the rest to flight: who, neuertheless in their retreit brake the bridge which the Turks had made of boats vnder the castle of Strigonium, ouer Danubius; of which boats, some were carried away with the violence of the streame, and of the rest 30 fel into the hands of the Christians, with the losse but of fiue, who making so much haste out of a little boat, fel into the riuer and so perished. In this time, Fame therefore vnto all great attempts, had brought news into the Christian camp, That *Sinan Bassa* the Turkes great General was comming to relieue Strigonium; of whose power diuers diuersly reported. But the greater part doubting the worst, and weary of the long siege and of the casualties incident thereto, added stil something to the last report, to make the danger of longer stayd seem M
the greater. Certaine it is, that the news of the comming of so great and puissant an Enemy raised many a troubled thought in the mindes of so great a multitude. Now were the besieged Turkes in great wants in Strigonium, as appeared by Letters intercepted from the Sanzack

A zack to the Bassa of Buda, declaring vnto him the hard estate of the besieged, and humbly craueing his promised help, without which the city could not for want of victuals be possibly defended by the fainting soldiers aboue three daies. Which letters being read in the Camp, caused great preparation to be made for the continuing of the siege and the withstanding of the enemy, whose comming was euery hour expected. All this while the great ordnance neuer ceased on either side, wherby many were slaine, as well Christians as Turkes; and amongst others many of the Cannoniers.

But forasmuch as the vile fame of *Sinan Bassa's* comming increased daily, and the Christian camp possessed with a general feare, gaue vnto the wise iust suspition of some great mischiefe like to ensue; *Matthias* the General entred into counsell with County *Ferdinand Hardeck*, the B Lord *Palfi*, the Lord *Vngenade* President of the Councel for the wars, and *Erasmus Braun* gouernor of Gouiark. What was best to be done in so dangerous a time. Who with generall consentagreed, beetimes before the comming of *Sinan* to raise the siege, and to remoue with the army into some place of more safety. Which their determinat resolution, the day following, being the 26 of Iune, they made known to the other Princes and great Commaunders in the Army. Who wonderfully discontented therwith, especially the Germanes, both openly by word, and solemnly by writing, protested against the same, as most dishonourable, and altogether made without their knowledge or good liking. To whom the President of the Councel for their further satisfaction declared, That the enemy was comming with a very great army, and euen now at hand, whose strength increased daily, and with what power he had purposed C to assail them in their tents was vncertain. Besides that, it was manifestly knowne vnto the world, how that in the former assaults they had lost many of their best soldiers, beside others that died in the camp: and that the place wherein they lay incamped was subiect vnto many dangers. For which so vrgent causes the General had resolued to raise his siege, & before the tim commiag of so strong an enemy, to remoue his army into a place of more safety. Which reasons for all that did not so well satisfie the German Princes and Commaunders, but that they still vrged their former protestation; requesting his Excellencie to haue them excused before God and the World, if they yeelding to his commaund, as to their Generall, did that which they thought not altogether best, and which they would not otherwise haue done. For the more euidence wherof, the said German princes and great commanders caused their sayd D Protestation to be solemnly conceiued in writing, which they firmed with their seales, and subscribed with their own hands in order following: *Francis* Duke of Saxony, *Augustus* duke of Brunswick, *Sebastian Schlick*, County *Wigand Maltzan*, *Ernestus* of Alstan, *Henry Phlugk*, *Iohn Nicolas Ruswormb*, *Henry Curwigger Heerrath*, *Iohn* Oberhausen, *Henry Rottcirch*, *Melchior* of Nothwith.

But the Archduke with the rest, constant in their former resolution, first sent away the great ordnance, and raising the siege the 28 of Iune, followed after with the whole army, passing ouer Danubius not far from Gokara, doubtfully expecting what course *Sinan* the great Bassa (being then euen at hand) would take. Yet before their departure they set the old town on fire, & rased *S. Nicolas* fort, before taken from the enemy, which they once purposed to haue E kept. This vnexpected departure of the Christians much gladded the besieged Turks, who for want of victuals had not bin long able to hold out. Yet lay the Lord *Teuffenbach* still before Hatwan, labouring by all means to take from the besieged Turks their water, and with earth and sagots to fill up their ditches: which work he had now haply brought to some good perfection. Wherof they of the town by letters aduertised the Bassa of Buda, and that vnles they were within three daies relieued, they should be inforced to yeeld the towne. Which their distresse the Bassa considering, with speed assembled al his forces, and so set forward to relieue them, hoping to haue come vpon the Christians before they were aware of his comming. But *Teuffenbach* vnderstanding thereof, with fiue thousand chosen horsemen went out of the camp to meet him; and suddenly comming vpon him, fearing no such thing, slew fiue thousand F of the Turks, put the Bassa to flight, and together with the victorie obtained an exceeding rich prey.

The Archduke raiseth his siege and with his army passeth the riuer.

Fiue thousand Turkes slaine.

Now was there no lesse expectation and hope of the winning and yeelding vp of Hatwan, than was before of Strigonium. But according to the chance of war it fell out otherwise: for *Teuffenbach* hauing with continuall batterie layd the breaches faire open, and made choice of such

Hatwan in vain assaulted by the Christians.

such soldiers as he thought meet for the assault, was in the performing thereof sharpely repulsed by the Turks, that he was glad to retyre with the losse of his best and most resolute soldiers: which put him out of al hope of taking the town by force. For beside the losse of these good men, hee had scarse so many sound men left as might suffice to furnish his garrisons for defence of those territories, by reason that the Hungarians were almost all shrunk home; and of the Germans were scarse left 2000. besides that, he had often craued new supplies of the Archduke, but all in vain: for which causes he was glad to abandon two strong forts he had built before Hatwan, and to leaue the town, now brought to great extremitie. Thus were stable cities, which were now as in were in the Christians hands, and by the recouery wherof the broken state of the afflicted Christians in Hungary had beene much strengthened, were againe restored vnto the barbarous and cruell enemy.

The siege of Hatwan given over.

Whilest the Christians thus lay at the siege of Strigonium and Hatwan, the Rascians (of whom we haue before spoken) striuing still more and more to rid themselues of the vnwonted thraldom, gathered themselues together to the number of 15000. between Buda & Belgrade vnder a General of their own chusing. For feare of whom the Bassa of Temesware with an Army of fourteen thousand went to fortifie and victual Lippa, doubting lest it should by them be surprised. But hauing done that he went for, in his returne hee was met with the same Rascians, and twice fought withall in one day, and both times put to the worst, with the losse of the greatest part of his Army. After which victory the Rascians tooke Brenkerk, a strong town standing in a marish four miles from Belgrade, and slew all the Turks they found therein. After that, they took a castle called Ortadt, and dealt with the Turks in like manner. From thence they went and besieged Beche, a Castle standing vpon the riuer Tibiscus or Teiss, where the towne adjoining vnto it yeelded presently; but they in the Castle standing vpon their gard a while, offered at last to yeeld also vpon certaine conditions. But the Rascians knowing that the Turks therabouts had conueied into the castle the best part of their wealth, and withall that it was but weakely manned, would accept of no conditions, but would needs haue it absolutely deliuered vp to their pleasure. In the mean time the old Bassa of Temesware and his sonne, knowing it to tend to their dishonour, to suffer this base people so to rage at their pleasure about them, gathered together 11000 Turkes, and so in great haste came to relieue the besieged Castle. Vpon whom the Rascians turned themselues, and in plaine battell ouerthrew the Bassa, and so pursued the victory, that of those 11000 Turks scarcely escaped 1000; the Bassa himselfe being there slain, and with him three Sanzackes, his son escaped by flight. In this battel the Rascians took 18 great pieces of artillery: and not long after tooke also Wersetza and Lutz, two strong places. After which so happy succes they sent vnto the Archduke *Matthias* for aid, but especially Cannoniers, professing themselues now vtter Enemies to the Turks. The Rascians also about Temesware sent word vnto the other in the camp, That they would come and join with them. And they which inhabit the countrey betweene Danubius and Tibiscus, by messengers sent of purpose vnto the Lord *Teuffenbach* (the Arch-Dukes Lieutenant in the vpper part of Hungary) offered in short time to send him twelue thousand men, so that he would receiue them and their Countrey into the Emperours protection; which he easily granted them, & therof assured them in writing. And to the arch-Duke himselfe also they sent trusty messengers, requesting him to send them a General to lead them, promising vnto him all obedience. Which messengers departing from them the fourteenth of Iune, shortly after returned with such answer as was thought most conuenient for their present estate. Thus against the comming of *Sinan*, Hungarie was almost all on a broile.

An Imperiall diet holden at Ratisbone for the withstanding of the Turk.

The Emperor long before distrusting the Turks purpose for war, and wel considering what a difficultie it would be for him, with his own forces only to withstand so puissant an Enemy as was *Amurath*, had by his Embassadors prayed aid of diuers Christian princes, but especially of them of the empire, as those whom this war concerned most. Wherfore he after the antient and wonted maner of his State in so common and imminent a danger, appointed a general assembly of the Princes and States of the Empire to be holden at Ratisbone in the later end of February: which for sundry vrgent causes was put off vntil March, and again vntil Aprill, and so afterward vntil May. At which time the Emperour in peson himselfe, with the Princes Electors, and other the great States of the Empire, beeing met together with great pompe,

pompe at Ratisbone, and solemnly assembled in the Bishops palace, began there to sit in counsel the second of Iune. Vnto which Princes and States so assembled, after that the Emperor had first by the mouth of *Philip* County Palatine of the Rhine, giuen great thanks for their so ready appearance, & briefly declared the cause of their assembly, he himself after some complaint made of the Turkish infidelitie, in expresse words declared vnto them, how that he by his Embassadors then lying at Constantinople had in the yeare 1591 made a league for eight yeares with the present Turkish Sultan *Amurath*; which league *Amurath* himselfe had approued and confirmed, and therof sent him publique and solemn instruments; wherin it was prouided, That no hostility should on either side during that time bee attempted. And yet notwithstanding that, he, contrary to his faith giuen, as an hereditary enemy of the Christians, had violated this league, and by sundry incursions barbarously spoiled and wasted, not Hungary only, but other of his Imperial prouinces also: but especially *Hassan Bassa* of Bosna, who first with a strong army besieged, battered, and took Repitz an antient frontier castle, and after that, Wibitz, Drenik, Crassowitz, with other places of name, and had in his dominion and territory built Petrinia a most strong fort, hurtfull to all that countrey; out of which he had done incredible mischief in Croatia, Windismarch, and the most fruitfull Island of Turopolis, and out of those places carried away aboue 35000 Christians into most miserable captiuity. Of which shamefull injuries and breach of faith hee had many times by his Embassadors complained vnto the Turkish Sultan at Constantinople, and requested, That all hostility set apart, due restitution might haue bin made; but to haue therin preuailed nothing: and that the same Bassa in stead of condign punishment, had bin for the doing therof honoured by the great Sultan his Lord with honorable gifts, the sure tokens of his fauor. Wherby he was so confirmed in his barbarous proceedings, that he began to make open war, & hauing raised a full army, and strengthned also with certaine Companies of Ianizaries sent from the court, had passed ouer the riuer of Kulp, and besieged the castle of Siseg: but by the iust iudgment of God, the Reuenger of wrongs, had there receiued the reward of his faithles & cruell dealing, being there slain, and almost all his army vtterly destroyed by his small forces, raised in hast for his own law full defence. Neuertheless the faithless Turk (as if he had bin highly wronged himselfe) to make this his breach both of league and faith forthwith knowne to all the world, by commanding open war to be solemnly proclaimed against the kingdome of Hungary, both in Constantinople and Buda; and by the Beglerbeg of Greece to haue besieged and taken the strong fortres of Siseg. Wheras on the other side, because nothing should on his part be wanting, which might make his desire of peace more knowne, he had again and oftentimes by his Embassador put the Turke in remembrance of his League made and confirmed by his faith. Who for all that had changed nothing of his purpose, but had sent his great Visier *Sinan Bassa*, with the Beglerbeg of Grecia, and many inferior Bassa's & Sanzacks into Hungary, who with fire and sword inforced the inhabitants and country people (such as they left alive) to sweare to the Turke obedience, and to become his subiects; and at the same time took Vesprinium and Palotta, two famous fortresses of that kingdome. And that the same Bassa by commandement from his Lord and Master, had contrary to the Law of Nations, imprisoned *Frederick Crockowitz*, his Embassador, first at Constantinople, and caused the greater part of his Followers to be thrust into the Gallies; and afterwards to haue sent him with a few of his attendants vnto Belgrade, and there to haue kept him so long in prison vntill he there miserably ended his dayes. In reuenge of which so great and open wrong, and for the defence and comfort of his poor afflicted subiects so neer the Enemy, hee had raised a good strength both of horse and foot, by whose strength, and the assistance of almighty God, the Bassa of Bosna had reaped the fruit of his perfidious dealing; as had also the Bassa of Buda, with many thousands of their great Bassa's, ouerthrowne neer vnto Alba Regalis, besides many of their Castles and Townes taken or rased. Yet for all that was it easie to bee seene, these so great victories by the goodnesse of God had and obtained against so mighty and cruell an enemy, not to suffice; but that there was still need of a perseuerant and continuall supply for the maintenance of a perpetuall War; and that it was daily to be expected, or rather euen now presently to be descried, That the Turk in his quarrell (which he deemeth alwaies iust against the Christians) and in reuenge of these ouerthrowes, would draw vp all his forces, and aduenture his whole strength. For which causes he had by the knowledge and consent

The Emperors speech.

sent of the Princes Electors of the sacred Empire appointed their present Diet solely assembling
and not for the aforesaid causes only, but for diuers other high and necessary and weighty affairs,
as the general peace of the Empire, the pacification of the low countries, the reformation of
justice, and amendment of the coins but especially & above all other things to make it known
vnto the world, how much it concerned to know the Turks pride, herein abated, and the ef-
fectual defence for Hungary (now in danger) and the strongest bulwark of that side of Christendom. And that whereas his own hereditary pro-
uinces were not of themselues alone sufficient to maintain so charge, and a war, therefore
requested the Electors, Princes, and States both present and absent, here to grant, & to dispatch
sent with their helps, their counsel, and what soeuer else should be needfull against so pestilent
and dangerous an enemy. So ending his speech, he caused all his demands before conceiued
into writing, to be read, and so deliuered vnto them. For answer whereunto, the Princes Elec-
tors and others there present required time. Which granted, after many sitting and
consultations they at last with one consent answered, That it was a hard matter, by reason of
the late dearth and other like occasions, for them to grant such help and aid as the Emperor
had in writing required: yet having before their eies the great and imminent dangers wherein
the Christian commonweal then stood, they not regarding their own peoples and their difficul-
ties, had in regard of his sacred and Imperial Maiestie, for the consolation and distresse of the be-
dangered Christians, and for the repressing of the Turkish fury, of their own free will and alone
compassion, granted beside their accustomed contribution, such further relief for the space of
six years, as they thought sufficient for the maintenance of a defensive War, both for the pre-
sent and for the time to come. What was by them further decreed concerning the Emperors
further demands, as not pertinent to our purpose, we willingly passed over in silence.

Of all these things, as also what soeuer else had happened in Strigonium, Hatuan, or other places of Hungary, was not *Sinan Bassa* ignorant: Who now euen vpon the departure of the Christians from Strigonium, was come with an huge army between Buda and Alba Regalis vnto whom 40000 Tartars, that by force had made themselues way, the low Podolia and the vpper part of Hungary, had joined themselues; so that in his Army were reckoned about 150000 fighting men; to the great terror not only of Hungary, Austria, Stiria, Croatia, Bohemia, and the prouinces therabout, but also of the whole state of Germany. With this great army the old Bassa had purposed to haue ouerwhelmed the Christians in their camp at Strigonium: but now that they were before his comming departed ouer the riuer toward Comara, he resolued to keepe on his way, and to besiege the strong City Iaurinum, now called Rab. And to make all sure before him, he thought it best to take in his way Dotis, a strong towne of the Christians in the mid way betweene Strigonium and Rab, about fiue Hungarian miles short of Rab. The Christian army but newly passed ouer Danubius, in marching toward Comara, might see the mountaines and fields on the other side of the riuer all couered with the multitude of the Turks army; who though they were indeed many, yet marching dispersedly made shew of more than in truth they were. So both Armies marching in sight one of another, and separated onely with the riuer, held on their way, the Christians to Comara, where they incamped vnder the very walls of the city, yet in such sort, as that they might afar off well descry one another; and the Turks toward Dotis, where the Bassa with all his army incamped the 21 of Iuly. The night following, hauing planted his battery, he began in furious manner to batter the castle, the chief strength of the town; the Christian Army looking on, but not daring at so great ods to relieue their distressed friends. So whilst the Bassa granteth no breathing while vnto the besieged, but tyreth them out with continuall battery and alarms, they of the town dispairing of their own strength, and to be able for any long time to hold out against so mighty an enemy, within three daies after yeelded vp the town, beeing in that short time sore battered, and in diuers places vndermined; yet with this condition, That it should be lawfull for the garrison soldiers and townesmen with their wiues and children in safety to depart. Which was vnto them by the Bassa frankly granted, but not so faithfully performed: for at their departure many of their wiues and children were stayd by the Turks, and the lord *Baxi* Gouernor of the Towne fouly entreated. Immediately after, the Bassa without much ado tooke the Castle of S. *Martins* also, not far from Doris, being by the Captaine yeelded vnto him.

Sinan Bassa with an army of 150000 betweene Buda & Alba Regalis.

Dotis and S. Martins yelded vnto the Turks.

In

A In the mean time the country villages round about forsaken of the poore Christians, were by the Turks most miserably burnt, and all the Countrey laid wast: yea some of the fore-runners of the Turks army passing ouer the riuer Rabnitz, ran into the Country as far as Altenburg, within fiue miles of Vienna, burning the Country villages as they went, and killing the poor people, or that worse was, carrying them away into perpetual captiuity; yet not without some losse, 400 of these roming foreiners being cut off by the Lord *Nadasti*. *Palfi* also, & *Brun* gouernor of Comara, following in the tail of the Turkes army, set vpon them that had charge of the victuals, of whom they slew a great numbrr, tooke 120 of them prisoners, and 150 Camels, and thirty mules laded with meale and rice, which they carried away with them vnto Comara.

B Dotis and S. *Martins* thus taken, *Sinan Bassa* constant in his former determination, set forward again towards Rab, and being come within a mile of the city, there incamped; the Christian army then lying not far off on the other side of the riuer. The city of Rab is a strong and populous city, honored with a bishops see, and was worthily accounted the strongest bulwark of Vienna, from whence it is distant about 12 German miles, standing vpon the South side of Danubius, whence the riuer diuiding it self, maketh a most fettile Island called Schut; in the East point wherof stands the strong City of Comara. The defence of this City of Rab was committed to County *Hardeck*, a man of greater courage than fidelity, with a garison of 1200 choice soldiers: vnto whom a little before the comming of the Bassa, were certaine Companies of Italians joined, who together with the citisens made vp the number of 5000 able men: *Rab.*

C a strength in all mens judgment sufficient for the long defence of that place. The last of Iuly *Matthias* the Archduke about Sun-set departing out of the city of Rab, ouer the riuer into the Island ouer against it, came *Sinan Bassa* with his hugy army and beset it round, casting vp trenches and mounts, wheron he skilfully placed his gabions and great artillery, and what soeuer els was necessary for so great a siege; and that with such celerity, as was vnto the beholders thought most strange. The second of August he with great fury battered the city, & brought his trenches within musket shot of the wall. At which time 4000 Tartarian horsemen swam ouer the Danubius between Rab and Comara; after whom followed 6000 Turks, who being with much ado got ouer to the farther side, suddenly surprised a fort of the Christians next vnto the riuer, and forthwith turning fiue great pieces of ordnance which they found therein,

D discharged them vpon the camp of the Christians; who terrified with the sudden accident, rise vp all in arms, and hardly charging those desperate aduenturers, slew many of them, especially such as seeking after booty, had dispersed themselues from their fellowes, and forced the rest again to take the water, wherin most of them perished. About fiue daies after, the Tartarians (liuing for most part vpon prey) swam again ouer the riuer, and vpon the sudden burnt a village in the Island, and slew certain Christians in their tents; but being quickly incountered by the Christian horsemen, they were easily ouerthrown and many of them slain. The rest casting away their weapons, and forsaking their horses, ranne headlong into the riuer, trusting more to their swimming than to their fighting; whom the Christians hardly pursuing, in the very Riuer slew about two thousand of them; and by this victorie obtained many of the Tar-

E tarians swift horses, with their scimitets, their bows and arrows, and such ensignes as they had. All this while *Sinan Bassa* without intermission lay shundering with sixty great pieces of battery; but to little or small purpose, for as yet he had made no breach wherby to enter, but the harm that was done was vpon the Towers or high built houses, or in the Campe, by such randome Shots as flying ouer the Towne, fell by chance amongst the Tents of the Christians. And the Ianizaries intentiue to all opportunities, in a great raine furiously and with a most horrible cry (as their manner is) assaulted an vtter bulwarke of the Christians, which they for fear forsooke, and retyred themselues into the City. Vpon which bulwarke so taken, the Ianizaries had set vp three of their Ensignes; when the Christians ashamed of that which they had don, and better aduised, taking courage vnto them, forthwith sallied out again, and cou-

F ragiously charging the Ianizaries, but now entred, slew many of them, and recouered again the bulwark. *The Tartars twice ouerthrown.* *Rab battered.*

Sinan Bassa leauing nothing vnattempted that might further his desire for the winning of the city, was now casting vp a great mount against the city, which whilst he daily surueied he chanced to fal sick, and therfore appointed one of the Bassa's in his owne stead to ouersee the worke:

work, who whilst he was walking to and fro, hastning the worke, and commanding this & that G
thing to be don, he was taken with a shot out of the town and slain.

The 15 of August certaine Turkes before the rising of the Sun getting ouer Danubius in boats, assailed a fort of the Christians, which the soldiers that had the keeping of it presently forsook, and left it to the enemy. Which *Iohn de Medices*, lately come into the camp with two thousand Italians, perceiuing, forthwith came to the rescue of the fort, draue out the Turkes, and hauing slaine diuers of them, forced the rest into the riuer, where they were all drowned. At which time 5000 Tartars in another place passing ouer the riuer into the Island, were encountred by the Lord *Palfi* & the Hussars his followers, & without any great resistance put to flight, wherin many of them were slain. The rest taking the riuer, were in good hope to haue got ouer, and so to haue saued themselues: but other Turks meeting them in the riuer, would H
with their weapons haue beaten them back and staid their flight; against whom the Tartars opposing themselues, made with them in the very riuer a most cruel fight, but with such losse vnto the Tartars, that of the 5000 which aduentured ouer, few returned vnto their fellowes to carry news how they had sped. Now began great scarsity of victuals in the Turks Campe, so that the soldiers were fain to feed vpon vnripe fruit, and such other vnwholsom things, wherof insued the bloudy flix and many other dangerous diseases; which raging amongst them, did wonderfully consume the Bassa's army. Beside that, they of the city with continual shot had slain many, and amongst them a son in law of the great Bassa's, whose death hee is reported to haue taken so impatiently, that he fel sicke for griefe, but in short time after passed it ouer and recouered again. I

The Tartars not yet warned by their often losses, but passing again ouer the riuer into the Island the 10 of this month, were there 3000 of them slain. In the mean time certain companies also of the Turkes hauing secretly passed the riuer, in another quarter assailed the Christians in their campe. In which hurly burly other of the Tartars got ouer the riuer not fare from Comara, hoping now at length to perform some great matter, which they had before to their cost vainly attempted. But finding the Turks ouerthrowne before their comming, and the Christians (contrary to their expectation) in arms ready to receiue them, they were easily discomfited, and 2000 of them slain. In this conflict the Sanzacke of Strigonium, with two others, and many moe of great account among the Turks, perished. Shortly after, the Christians sallying out of the city, slew a great number of the Turks, and so reuyred with small losse. J
Thus was the Turkes army daily diminished, besides that the want of victuals with the bloudy flix so increased, that many persuaded the Bassa to raise the siege, and to remoue with his army to some other more wholsome place, and of greater plenty: but he resolutely sat downe, not to depart, before he had either won the town, or inforced it to yeeld, would not hearken to any persuasions to the contrary.

Whilst *Sinan* thus lay at the siege of Ruby, *Maximilian* the Emperors brother took Cristowitz a fortres of the Turks vpon the borders of Croatia, and put to sword all the Turks there in garison. After that, he laid siege to Petrinia, a strong fortresse of the Turks, which they but a few years before contrary to the league had built in the Emperors territory, for the annoying of Croatia, and for the exceeding strength therof was thought almost impregnable. Yet such K
was the industry of *Maximilian* and his soldiers, that what with continuall battery and Mines, they so terrified the Turks there in garison, that they for feare set fire on the fort, and flying away by night, made shift euery man for himself as hee might. Which they in the Castle of Siseg hearing, set fire also vpon it and so left it to the Christians. Whose example the city of Gara followed. By which so prosperous and happy succes of *Maximilian*, not the Frontiers only, but euen the whole country of Croatia was for that time deliuered of a wonderful trouble, and no lesse danger.

A great skirmish betwixt the Turks and Christians.

The eight and twentieth day of August euchay thousand of the Christians passing ouer the riuer by a bridge into the Island, and joyning with them of the towne sallied out vpon the Turks camp. The Hungarian Heidons in the forward at the first onset took two of the Turks M
bulwarkes, and hauing beaten out the enemies, cloyed certaine of the great pieces. But the Turks returning with greater power, inforced the Christians to yeilde, & recouered again the lost bulwarkes. In this conflict many were slaine, as well Christians as Turks. In the meane while *Thonhause* a great Captaine of the Christians, and *Geitzhofter*, County *Hardecks* Lieute-

nant,

A nant, with 1500 Hungarians and German foot came in great boats to haue holpen their fellowes, but landing somwhat too late, they were by the enemy beaten backe, and enforced with such speed to retire; that many of them being not able to recouer the boats, were drowned in the riuer, amongst whom *Geitzhofter* himselfe perished, and *Thonhause* was deadly wounded in his brest. Yet the Christians not discouraged with this losse, but gathering themselues together vnder the very wals of the city, gaue a second assault vnto the enemy. In the foreward were the footmen, who were by the enemies horsemen easily repulsed; but by the comming in of the Lord *Rhinsberg* (who was at the first onset slaine) the Turks were enforced into their trenches, except some few, which diuided from the rest, hid themselues in the Vineyards, but being found out by the Christians, were there all slaine. In this skirmish the Lord *Palfi* was
B grieuously wounded in his thigh: of the Christians were slain 400, and of the Turkes about 2000. These conflicts indured from 7 a clock in the morning, vntill 12; at which time the Christians returning into the city, and so into the camp, among other spoils caried away with them 17 of the enemies ensignes. *2000 Turkes slain, and 17 ensignes taken.*

No day now passing without some skirmish, at length the 9 of September, 10000 Turkes, some in boats, some by other meanes, hauing got ouer the riuer Danubius into the Island of Schut, suddenly set vpon the Christians, all sleeping in security, and little fearing any such danger; of whom they slew about 2000, and after some smal fight, put the rest to most shamefull flight; in such sort, that *Matthias* the Archduke himself, with other Noblemen and Captains had much ado by flight to escape. Thus whilest euery man surprised with feare, made
C what shift he could for himself, the enemy in the mean time entered the trenches, tooke their tents, their great ordnance, the shot and pouder, and all the money which but a little before was brought for the soldiers pay; besides about 1000 wagons and 200 boats well loded with prouision for the camp, and ten gallies, wherin were 120 pieces of great ordnance. The losse receiued this day was valued at 500000 ducats. And albeit that this victorie cost the Turks 1500 of their liues, yet therby they gained the mastery both vpon the riuer and the land. So that now roaming far and neer without resistance, they spoiled the country all about, & burnt certaine countrey Villages not far from Vienna: so that for many miles space the Countrey Townes were for feare of the enemy forsaken by the inhabitants; of whom some were taken and slaine, some carried into captiuity, and some others, reserued for a better fortune, with *A great spoil taken by the Turks.*
D such things as they had got themselues farther off into places of more security. And the more to increase these calamities, the Tartars shortly after passing ouer Danubius neere to Altenbourg, first sacked Weisenbourg, and after burnt it, with certaine other townes therabouts. But aduenturing to haue gone farther into the Countrey, they were with losse inforced to returne.

Whilst the Turks thus preuaile in Hungary, *Cicala Bassa* the Turkes Admirall then at sea with a fleet of Gallies, landing his men in diuers places of Italy did exceeding much harme, but especially in Calabria, where he vpon the sudden surprised Rhegium, rifled the town, and afterwards burnt it. From thence taking his course toward Sicilia, he in the sight of Messana landed certain of his men, who aduenturing too far ashore, were by the countrey people ouer- *Rhegium rased by the Turks.*
E thrown and put to flight. So the Turks returning again to Rhegium, vtterly rased what they had before left of that town. In the mean time not far from Messana, euen in the sight of the garison of the town, they took a certain ship comming out of the East countries, and three others comming from Apulia. Afterwards chancing vpon certaine gallies of the East, they changed some few shot with them, but to no great purpose; and so turning their course, & sailing alongst the coast of Calabria, they oftentimes landed certain companies, which skirmishing with the Calabrians, had somtime the better, and somtime the worse; and so with such fortune as befel them, were again receiued into their gallies. They of Messana, vnto whose eies those dangers were daily presented, both by letters and speedy messengers gaue the Viceroy knowledge therof (who then for his pleasure lay at Palermo) requesting his present aid: but he
F dallying off the time, they for the more safegard of the city and of the sea coast, of themselues raised fiue hundred horsemen, whom they committed to the leading of *Philip Cicala*, the Renegat Turkish Admirals brother. And besides stored the City with all such things as they thought necessarie for the enduring of a siege, if it should chance the Turke to haue any such purpose. Of all which they certified the King of Spain, as also of the negligence of the

Viceroy,

Viceroy, requesting his speedy aid against these terrors of the Turks. In the meanewhile the Neapolitans for safegard of their coast put to sea 30 gallies: vnto whom the Pope, the Duke of Florence, the Genoa's, and the Knights of Malta joined also theirs, in all to the number of about 80 gallies, vnder the conduct of *Auria*. The prouident Venetians also, although they were as then in league with the Turk, yet for the safety of their state put to sea a fleet of about 100 sail, some ships, some gallies, vnder the leading of *Foscarin* their Admiral. Which two fleets sailing vp and down those seas, deliuered Italy, Sicily, Dalmatia, with many prouinces and Islands of the Christians, of a great fear.

Rab assaulted.

Sinan Bassa hauing before incouraged his soldiers with great hope and large promises, commanded an assault to be giuen to the city of Rab, which was accordingly by them begun the 23 of September, the Sun being yet scarse vp, and furiously maintained all that day from morning vntil night. But they of the town so valiantly defended themselues, that at last the Turks were glad to giue ouer the assault, and with losse to retyre. Neuertheless the next day the assault was againe renued, and most desperately maintained by the space of two daies, wherein 12000 of the Turks lost their liues, the other with shame retiring themselues into their trenches. In few daies after, the Turks by a mine blew vp one of the bulwarks of the town, with the fall wherof the town ditch was in that place somwhat filled; wherby the Turks with all their power attempted thrice the next day to haue entered, but were by the valor of the defendants stil notably with losse repulsed. Yet notwithstanding all this cheerfulnes and courageousnes of them in the towne, the puissant enemy ceased not with furious battery and continuall assaults to attempt the city, till that at length he had gained two of the bulwarks, from whence he might to his great aduantage, by the rubbish and earth fallen out of the battered bulwarks and rampiers, haue accesse vnto the towne, to the great terror of the defendants. Whereupon County *Hardeck* the Gouernor (who corrupted by the Turke, had of purpose many times before said that the town could not possibly long be defended) now took occasion to enter into counsel with the other captains of the town, (diuers of whom hee had already framed to his purpose) what course were best to take for the yeelding of it vp. And after a little consultation, holden more for fashion sake, than for that he doubted what to do, resolued to send a messenger to the Bassa, for a truce to be granted for a while, to see if haply in the meantime some reasonable composition might be agreed vpon. Yet the gouernor considering into what scorn and danger he might expose himselfe, by yeelding vp so strong a town, to colour the matter, and to excuse his doings to the rest of the nobility, and garisons of Hungary, caused a publike instrument to be made in his and all the rest of the Captaines names conceiued in writing; wherin they solemnly protested to the world, That forasmuch as it was impossible, by reason of the weaknes of the garrison, for them longer to defend the town against so mighty an Enemy, without new supplies in stead of them that were slain (which they had oftentimes in vain requested) they were therfore of necessity inforced to come to composition with the enemy. Which protestation so made, the gouernor and chiefe Captains confirmed with their hands and seals. So after a truce granted, and pledges giuen on both sides, at length it was agreed vpon, That all the garrison souldiers, together with the County and other captains, should in arms with ensignes displaied, with bag and baggage depart in safety, and with a safe conuoy be brought to Altenburg. Which agreement though by oth confirmed, was not on the Turks part altogether performed: for when the County had the 29 day of September about ten of the clock in the forenoon deliuered vp the City to the Bassa, and the Christian garrison was all come out, the County himself with a few of his friends was with a conuoy of Turks safely brought to the appointed place: but the Italians and other garison soldiers that came behind, and ought to haue bin by the gouernor protected, were contrary to the Turks promise spoild of al that they had, and hardly escaping with life, came that night to Hochstrate, and the next day to Altenburg. Thus was Rab, one of the strongest bulwarks of Christendom, traiterously deliuered vnto the most mortall enemy of the Christian religion; beeing euen then when it was giuen vp, victualled for a year, and sufficiently furnished with all things necessary for defence: all which prouision, together with the city, fel into the hands of the faithles enemy. A losse neuer to haue bin sufficiently lamented, had it not bin about four yeares after euen as it were miraculously again recouered, to the great rejoicing of all that side of Christendom, as in the proces of this history shal appear.

12000 Turks slain.

Rab trecherously yeelded to Sinan Bassa.

Sinan glad of this victory, as the greatest trophy of his masters glory ouer the Christians, gaue him speedy knowledge thereof, both by letters and messengers. Of whom he was for that good seruice highly commended, and afterward bountifully rewarded: for now had *Amurath* already in hope deuoured all Austria, with the Prouinces thereabout. The great Bassa because he would not with too long stay hinder the course of his victory, without delay repaired the remainty, new fortified the battered bulwarks, enlarged the ditches, and filled the Cathedrall church with earth, in manner of a strong bulwarke, whereupon he planted great store of great ordnance: and with exceeding speed dispatched all things necessary for the holding of the place. In the meane time he sent certaine Tartars to summon the towne and castle of Pappa, which is the chiefest little towne subject thereunto, the Christians the night following, set on fire, because it should not stand the enemy in any stead for the farther troubling of the country, and so fled.

Rab repaired by the Turks.

Komara besieged by Sinan Bassa.

The Bassa hauing at his pleasure disposed of all things in Rab, and leauing there foure thousand Ianizaries, and 400 thousand horsemen in garrison, departed thence with his army & laid siege to Comara, a strong towne of that most fertile Island which the Hungarians call Schut; which situated in the very point therof about foure miles from Rab, is on the East, South, and North inclosed with the two armes of Danubius. All these waies *Sinan* with his fleet (which he had therto notably well appointed) laied hard siege vnto the towne, and gaue thereunto diuers assaults: but the Beglerbeg of Grece ceased not both by continuall battery and mines, to shake the wals and bulwarks therof. Thus was the city on all sides both by water and by land hardly laied vnto. But the Christians within, with no lesse courage defended themselues, & the city, than did the Turks assaile them; shewing indeed, that the liberty of their religion and country, was vnto them dearer than their liues. *Matthias* the Archduke in the mean time, not ignorant how much it concerned the emperor his brother to haue this city defended, hauing after this late ouerthrow gathered together a good army of Germans, Bohemians, and Hungarians, resolued to go and raise the siege: and so marching forward with his army, came and encamped the 28 day of October at Nitria, about fiue miles from Komara. Now were the Tartars a little before departed from the camp, with purpose to returne home: yea, the Turks themselues weary of the siege, and wanting victuall both for themselues and their horses, began also a man discouraged to shrinke away. Which the Bassa wel considering, thought it not best with his heartlesse souldiers and army now sore weakened, to abide the comming of the Christians: and therfore vpon their approch he forthwith forsooke the city, which he had by the space of three weeks hardly besieged, and by a bridge made of boats transported his army and artillery ouer Danubius to Dotis, where he the next day after brake vp his army. Immediately after the Turks were thus departed, the Archduke arriued at Komara, where he with great diligence caused the breaches to be repaired, the mines to be filled vp, and new bulwarks and rampiers to be made in diuers places for the more strength of the city, leauing the charge thereof still vnto the lord *Braun* the old Gouernor; who in the defence thereof had receiued a grieuous wound in his right knee: of whom also this notable fact is reported. The Bassa in time of the late siege at Comara, vnder the color of a parley, had sent fiue Turks into the city, to the Gouernor, but indeed to proue if he were by any meanes to be won to yeeld vp the city, and not to hold it out to the last. The faithful Gouernor, hauing giuen them the hearing vntil they had discharged their whole trechery, presently caused foure of their heads to be strucken off, and to be set vpon long pikes vpon one of the bulwarks for the Bassa to looke vpon; but the fift (the beholder of this tragedy) he sent backe vnto the Bassa, to tell him, That although he had found one in Rab to serue his turne, he was much deceiued, if in him he thought to finde County *Hardeck*, and that he wished rather to die the Emperors faithfull seruant in the bloud of the Turks, than to betray the city committed to his charge.

He raiseth his siege.

County *Hardeck* late Gouernour of Rab, generally before suspected to haue treacherously betraid that strong towne vnto the Bassa, was therfore sent for to Vienna, and there by the Emperors commandement committed to prison. Where among many things laid to his charge, as that he should in the beginning of the siege negligently haue suffered many things to be done by the enemy, which afterwards turned to the great danger of the towne: and that in the time of the siege, he had caused some of the canoniers to discharge certain great pieces against the enemy, with pouder only without shot: and that seeing one piece among the rest to do the

enemy much harme, he had caused the [illegible] to be reuolted, and so planted [illegible] little or no vse: beside that, he (as it should seem) [illegible] oftentimes say, That if the Turks should winnow, he should be [illegible] diuers other such things, giuing just cause of suspition. The thing [illegible] him, was the testimony of one of *Sinan Bassa* his [illegible] and seruing in the Bassaes chamber, was now [illegible] duke in the time of his siege, declared vnto him, that [illegible] he but three daies before by the commandement of his [illegible] duckats vnto two Christians, of whom the one had [illegible] wards knowne to haue bin one of the Countiers [illegible] County was after many daies hearing, in open court, by the [illegible] blemen and captains of name, condemned of treason, and adjudged to be [illegible] dy to remaine vpon the gallowes by the space of three daies, and all his [illegible] confiscat: the rigor of which sentence was afterward [illegible] by him adjudged to haue his right hand (by him before giuen [illegible] his faith) and his head strucke off vpon a scaffold at Vienna, and [illegible] tence was afterwards accordingly put in execution for the [illegible] being brought to the scaffold built of purpose in the high [illegible] of his condemnation there solemnly read, commending himself [illegible] of God, with his eies couered, and his right hand laied vpon a blocke [illegible] both his hand & head so suddenly strucke off by the executioner [illegible] hardly judge which of them was first off. His dead body with his [illegible] by his seruant wrapped in a blacke cloth, and layed in his [illegible] pose couered with blacke, and was afterwards buried amongst his [illegible]

County Hardeck condemned & executed for betraying of Rab.

The Tartars but lately before departed from *Sinan's* campe, passing [illegible] gonium, had purposed through the vpper part of Hungary, [illegible] nia and Moldauia, to haue againe returned into their country [illegible] into the hands of the lord *Palsi*, were by him cut off and vtterly [illegible] to the borders of Transyluania, and finding the passages so [illegible] by the Prince [illegible] uod of Valachia, as that they could not without most manifest danger [illegible] ned againe the same way they came and hauing rifled and burnt [illegible] in the vpper Hungary about Tockaie, passed the riuer againe at Sri[illegible]gonium [illegible] at Vesprinium, Palotta, and other places in the Countrey which is about Rab, [illegible] the spoile of the poore distressed Christians, vpon the frontiers of Austria, [illegible] Meinersdorf.

These Tartars (of whom we haue so often spoken) at their first comming to [illegible] by direction from the Turkish Sultan, staied vpon the frontiers of Transyluania, [illegible] to haue surprised that country, and either to haue thrust *Sigismund Bator* the young Prince [illegible] of the gouernment thereof, or else to haue sent him in bonds to Constantinople [illegible] commonly reported, That he weary of the heauy tribute which he yearly paied [illegible] and had now after their greedy manner beene diuers times inhaunted, had purposed to [illegible] from the Turkish Sultan, & to enter into confederation with the Christian Emperor. [illegible] innouation and change, certaine of the Nobility and chiefe States of Transyluania [illegible] all meanes to hinder: and acquainting *Amurath* with the matter, and entring into [illegible] with the Tartars, vndertooke to deliuer the whole country into their hands, [illegible] Prince prisoner to Hust, where the Tartars then lay vpon the borders [illegible] dissembling their purpose, they cunningly persuaded the Prince that *Samosche* the great [illegible] cellor of Polonia, in the confines of his countrey lay with a great power expecting his [illegible] ming, to consult with him of matters of great importance. And the better to colour [illegible] trechery, they had counterfeited letters to that effect from the Chancellor [illegible] had wrought so effectually, that the prince not suspecting any such treason, [illegible] persuasions, and so put himself vpon his way towards the Chancellor (as he [illegible] by the way, he was aduised by some of his friends which had got some [illegible] not to go any farther, for that his comming was not intended by the [illegible] (as he was persuaded) but by the Tartars his enemies, Who lay in wait for him at Hust, to be-

reaue

reaue him of his life & gouernment. The Prince astonied with the nouelty of the matter, listned vnto their persuasion, and retired with his traine to the strong fort of Kehwere; where he staied foureteene daies, as if it had beene only for feare of the Tartars. In the meane time he gaue notice to the Nobility and Gouernours of the Country, his friends, of the imminent and common danger, who forthwith repaired vnto him in armes. But the traitours proceeding in their purpose, ceased not to persuade *Bornemissa*, who had the leading of the Princes army, that to fight with the Tartars was a matter of no small danger: and that therefore if he wished well to his country, he should not haue to do with them, but only shew himselfe neere vnto them, and that he was not vnprouided for them: which was accordingly done, and the Transyluanian army brought so nigh vnto the Tartars, as that they might heare the noise of their drums and trumpets. Whereby the Tartars as by the watchword, perceiuing themselues discouered, and nothing to fall out according to their expectation, as had bin vnto them promised for the betraying of the Prince; they remooued thence, and by another way breaking through the midst of Transyluania, and so into Hungary, rifled and burnt fiue hundred villages, slew all the males that were aboue twelue yeares of age, and carryed away the rest vnto the Turkish army then lying at the siege of Rab. In the mean time the traitors (when as this first plot serued them not) conspired to set vp one *Balthazor Bator*, the yong Princes nigh kinsman, and with the good fauour of *Amurath* to preferre him to the souereigne gouernment of their Country. Which their purpose the Prince perceiuing, and doubting altogether to trust vnto the fidelity of his owne subjects; writ to his neighbours the Rascians, and other his confederats, praying their aid in this his so dangerous and doubtfull estate. Which after he had receiued, he apointed a generall assembly of all his states to be holden at Clausenburg, and that vpon a great paine to be inflicted vpon all such as should not there personally appeare: so at the prefixed day all came, except the Cardinall *Bator* and *Stephen* his brother, who guilty of so foule a treason against their owne bloud, were now before fled into Polonia. Being all thus met together, the Prince commanded the gates of the city to be shut, and diligent watch and ward to be kept, forbidding by open proclamation, That any man vpon pain of death should so much as speak of any imagined treason. And at the same time politickly caused to be published in writing, how that the Germans had in the farther side of Hungary got a notable victory ouer the Turks; for ioy whereof he commanded bonefires to be made, and the great ordnance to be in triumph shot off, with many other signes of ioy and gladnesse: and withall caused a notable banquet to be prepared, whereunto together with others, were inuited also all the chiefe of the conspirators: of whom, euen as they were at dinner & least feared any such matter, he commanded fourteen to be apprehended and committed to prison; and the next morning caused fiue of them to be executed in the open market place. The principal of whom, who had vndertaken to haue himselfe slain the Prince, after three or foure light cuts in the necke, he caused to be drawne in pieces with foure horses: the other foure, namely, *Alexander*, and *Gabriel Gengi*, *Gregory Diaco*, and *Ladislaus Sallemx* were beheaded, and their dead bodies all that day left in the market place for the people to behold: the rest were also afterwards worthily executed: and *Balthazor Bator*, whom the conspirators had intended to haue exalted, strangled. Hauing thus reuenged himselfe vpon his enemies, he by a publike edict diuulged through all his dominion, gaue leaue to all his subjects in generall, of their owne charge to take vp armes against the Turks, and whatsoeuer they could take from them, to haue it to themselues, as good prise gotten from their lawfull enemies. By which vnwonted liberty, the Transyluanians encouraged as with a great bounty, armed themselues on all hands, to the number of forty thousand; who being mustered and sworne to hold together against the Turks, made their first expedition towards Danubius: where at their first arriuall, by good hap they light vpon certain of the Turks ships laded with prouision for the campe, and merchandise of all sorts, and much treasure: of which rich ships, they at the first onset tooke seuen, but the eighth (being indeed the Admirall) escaped their hands. In these ships they tooke an exceeding rich boory, slew many of the Turks, and in token of the victory, carried backe vnto the Prince seuen of the Turkish Ensignes. This victory caused great ioy in Transyluania, euery man of so prosperous a beginning, conceiuing good hope of most happy successe. It is reported, that *Sinan Bassa* hearing of this losse, should say, That if this prouision had come to him in safety, he could with that treasure more easily haue bought Vienna in Austria, than he had Rab in Hungary. After this victory the prince laid siege

Great harme done in Transyluania by the Tartars.

The conspirators against the Prince, apprehended and executed.

to

to Temeswar, but hearing of the returne of the Tartars from the Turks campe, and that they were comming toward Transyluania (as is before said) he left Temeswar, to looke to the defence of his owne country.

The Ianizaries in a tumult at Constantinople.

Not long after, about the two and twentieth of December a tumult rose among the Ianizaries of the court at Constantinople, which grew to such an height, that in the heat thereof one of the Bassaes was by them slain, with some others of good account, and one of *Amurath* sons sore wounded, and with much ado saued. Vpon conceit whereof, *Amurath* for anger & griefe fell into a fit of the falling sickenesse (whereunto he was much subject) and was therewith for the space of three daies and three nights so grieuously vexed, as if he should haue presently giuen vp the ghost: so that the city was filled with heauinesse and feare, and the great men of the Court were euen ready to thinke vpon a new Lord. This tumult of the insolent Ianizaries many supposed to haue beene the cause of *Amurath* his death, which shortly after ensued: his griefe and malady encreasing daily by the euill news still brought vnto him both by messengers and letters, especially out of Transyluania, where the Prince waiting vpon euery occasion, was still at hand with the Turks, cutting them short in euery place, and in sundry rodes which he made vpon them in this month, tooke many of their castles and forts from them. He had at that time in the field in diuers places three armies: one vnder the conduct of *Gesy Ferens*, in the country of Lugaz, neere vnto Temeswar: another vnder the leading of *Michael Horwat*, on the side of Danubius, to intercept the Turks comming to Buda: and the third commanded by *Caspar Cornoyse* in the country neere to Giula, vnto whom came shortly after fifteene hundred horsemen out of the vpper Hungary.

1595 The Transyluanian Prince *Sigismund Bator* thus lately reuolted from the Turke, for the strengthning of his state, thought it best betime to enter into confederation with his neighbors of Valachia and Moldauia (who moued by his example, shortly after in like maner also cast off the seruile yoke of the Turke) but especially with the Christian Emperor *Rodolph*: For which purpose he sent Embassadors honourably accompanied: who comming to Cassouia in Hungary the foureteenth of December, arriued at Prague the twelfth of Ianuary, with twenty waggons, and an hundred and fifty horse, where they were by the Emperours appointment most honourably receiued and royally entertained: and after a few daies hauing deliuered vnto the Emperor the summe of their embassage, which was for a confederation to be made betweene the Emperor and the Prince: after much graue consultation and serious discourse it was finally concluded and agreed vpon: the chiefe points whereof I thought it not amisse here briefly to set downe, for the satisfying of such as desire to know in what termes that worthy Prince next neighbour vnto the Turke then stood with the Christian Emperour.

The capitulations of the league betwixt the Emperor & the Transyluanian Prince.

First it was agreed vpon, That the Emperour for himselfe and for the States of Hungary should promise to proceed in his wars begun against the common enemy, and not to conclude any peace with him, without the knowledge and good liking of the Prince. And that in all conclusions of peace, to be made betwixt him and the Turke, the countries of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, should be alwaies comprised: in regard whereof, the Prince likewise promised for himselfe and the States of Transyluania, to prosecute the commenced warre, and not to enter into any league with the Turke, without the knowledge and consent of the Emperor and the Nobility of Hungary; and this to be confirmed by solemne oath on both sides.

Secondly, That the Prouince of Transyluania with all the parts and confines thereof hitherto possessed by the Prince of Hungary, should remaine vnto the said Prince *Sigismund* and to his heires male, with all the profits arising thereof, in such sort as they had done in the time of *Iohn*, *Stephen*, and *Christopher*, his predecessours, to haue therein a most free and absolute authority, yet so, as that they should acknowledge his Imperiall Majesty and his lawfull successors for their lawfull soueraigne, vnto whom they should alwaies sweare their fealty, but without any homage doing, and that to be performed by his successours at the time of the change, but by the Prince himselfe, presently after the confirming of this league. But that for lacke of heires male, the country of Transyluania with all the territories thereunto annexed, should discend vnto his sacred Majesty and his successours the Kings of Hungary, as a true and inseparable member thereof: whereunto the Prince and all the States of Transyluania should bind themselues by solemne oath. But yet that at such time as the heires male should faile in the line

A line of the present Prince, and that the country of Transyluania should according to these present conditions be deuolued to the crowne of Hungary, as well his present Imperiall and Royall Majesty, as his successors, should keep inuiolate the antient lawes, priuiledges, aad customs of that country, and alwaies appoint one of the nobility of Transyluania to be Gouernour or Vayuod of the same, and no other stranger.

Thirdly, That his Majesty should acknowledge the Prince of Transyluania for an absolute Prince, and by speciall charter confirme vnto him the title of *Most excellent*.

Fourthly, That his Imperial Majesty should procure one of the daughters of the late Archduke *Charles* his vncle, for a wife for the Prince, that as they were now to be joyned in league, so they might be joyned in affinity also.

B Fifthly, That the Emperor should procure him to be made one of the order of the Golden Fleece.

Sixthly, That the Prince might with more cheerfulnesse and security make war against the common enemy, his imperiall and royall Majesty should not at any time, howsoeuer things fel out, forsake the said Prince or any of the countries subject vnto him: and euen now presently to aid him according as the present occasion required, and afterward (if greater need should be) with greater help, whether it was by his Generall of Cassouia, or others: and this giuing of aid to be on both sides mutuall and reciprocall, according as the necessity of the one or other part should require: and that where most need was, thither should most helpe be conuerted.

Seuenthly, That the sacred Roman Empire should take vpon it the protection and defence

C of the Prince and his territories. And that his Imperiall Majesty should create the said Prince and the Princes his successors, Princes of the Empire: yet so, as that they should haue neither voice nor place among the said Princes.

Eightly, That whatsoeuer castles, townes, cities, or other places of strength, should by their common forces be taken or recouered from the common enemy, at such time as his Imperiall Majesty should send into the field a ful army, should be all his Majesties: but such places as the Prince should by his own forces or policy gaine from the enemy, should remaine vnto the Prince himselfe. Yet that what places soeuer the Prince should recouer, which at any time before belonged to the kingdome of Hungary before it was taken by the Turke, those he should forthwith deliuer to his Majesty, as soone as reasonable recompence were by him therefore

D made vnto the Prince.

Ninthly, His sacred Majesty should promise of his own bounty to giue vnto his Excellency sufficient aid for the fortifying and defence of such places as should be thought necessary for the behoof of the Christians: as again the said Prince should likewise promise not to spare his own cofers or forces, that the same places should be throughly fortified and defended for the behoofe of his Majesty and the common good of the Christian commonweale.

Lastly, That forasmuch as the euents of war are vncertain, and many things suddenly happen contrary to mens expectation, if such necessity should chance vnto his excellency or his successors (which mishap God forbid) that hauing spent themselues, they should not be able longer to defend their state & country, but that the mighty enemy preuailing, they should at last

E be enforced to forsake the same: in this their extremity, his imperiall & royall Majesty should promise both for himselfe and his successors, within the space of one moneth to assigne some certain place in some other of his dominions, where the said prince & his successors might honorably liue: and the like regard to be had also of other such principall men, as should together with the Prince aduenture their liues and liuings in defence of the Christian commonweale.

Which articles of confederation agreed vpon, & solemnly confirmed, the same Embassadors were with all kindnes, bounty, and magnificence dismissed & sent back again vnto the Prince: who was not himselfe in the mean time idle, but labouring by all the means he could to draw vnto him *Michaell* the Vayuod of Valachia (a man of no lesse worth than himselfe) and *Aaron* the Palatine of Moldauia, both of them then the Turks tributaries, & by them to alienat from

F the Turke both those countries, that so with their combined forces they might the better defend their liberty, and withstand their common enemy: wherein he did so much, and preuailed so far with them both, that casting off the Turks obeisance, they shortly after to the great benefit of the Christian commonweale, and no lesse hinderance of the Turks proceedings in Hungary, joyned hands both together with him for the recouery of their lost liberty. Which

 reuolt

reuolt of these bordering Princes, for that it so much concerned the common good, as that the safegard of Austria, and of the remnants of Hungary, with some good part of Germany also, is euen by them that in those matters saw much, not without cause supposed to haue rested therin; & that this noble Vayuod (of whom much is to be said hereafter) was the second actor herein, it shall not be from our purpose to see the manner of his reuolt also from the Turke, as we haue already the Transyluanians. For the more euidence whereof, as for the honor of the man (whilest he liued, a most worthy member of the Christian commonweale) we will a little step backe to see how he obtained of the great Turke this so honourable a preferment, as was the Vayuodship of Valachia, not without his reuolt long now to be holden.

Valachia oppressed by the Turks.

Alexander the late Vayuod of Valachia, a Moldauian borne, and by *Amurath* himselfe promoted to that dignity; proud aboue measure of this his so great a preferment, as also of his owne nobility, and the deceitfull fauor of Fortune still fawning vpon him; not only oppressed his people himselfe with intollerable impositions, but to be in farther fauor with the Turks, brought into that country (too much before exhausted) such a company of them, as that they seemed now almost wholly to haue possessed the same, oppressing the poore Christians (the naturall inhabitants) with new exactions, and more than tirannicall injuries, euen such as were not elswhere by the Turks themselues vsed; not only breaking at their pleasure into their houses, and dispoiling them of their goods, but taking tythes also of their children, as if it had bin of their cattell, a thing neuer before there seen: and for the satisfying of their beastly lust, rauishing their wiues and daughters, euen in the sight of their husbands and parents, with diuers other such outragious villanies, not with modesty to be rehearsed. So that by this meanes he had violently taken from his Christian subjects all hope of recouery of their antient liberty, had it not as somtime it falleth out in these worldly things both vnto men and commonweals, which brought vnto the last cast, & euen as it were to the bottome of despaire, by the goodnes of God, contrary to all hope, find sometime such vnexpected helpe and reliefe, as that thereby they, beyond their hope, euen to the astonishment of the World, mount vp again vnto a greater lustre of their state, than was that from which they before fell: it had euen so by the singular mercy of God now hapned vnto the Valachians, not knowing which way to turn themselues. There was at Crailowa (a city in the confines of Valachia towards the confines of the Hungarians and Turks, where the Gouernor of those borders is for the defence thereof with a strong garison alwaies resiant) a noble gentleman called * *Ion Michael*, son to *Peter* the Palatine of that country, the aforesaid *Alexander* his predecessor: who as he was vnto the people for the honor of his father, the prerogatiue of his birth, the comlinesse of his person, and talnesse of his stature, well knowne; so was he for his zeale towards the Christian religion, his loue towards his country, his kindnesse towards his equals, his courtesie towards his inferiors, his vpright dealing, his constancy and bounty vnto them, no lesse gratious; and for other the noble vertues of his heroicall minde and naturall disposition for the performance of great matters, his deepe wisedome and quicke foresight, his sweet and pleasing speech, void of all affectation, vnto all good men most deare: whose fame, both for the honor of his house, and of his own vertues, still more and more encreasing, and rife in the eares of *Alexander* the Vayuod, was the cause that he commanded him as the ready or rather naturall competitor of his state and honor, to be secretly apprehended, and so taken out of the way; wherof he by good fortune hauing intelligence, and carefull of his owne health, for safegard of himselfe fled first into Hungary, and there not staying long (God so directing him) went to Constantinople in the yeare 1591, to sue for the Vayuod his place, all the nobility of his country and the prouinces thereunto adjoyning, secretly rejoycing thereat. About which time the chiefe and most graue of the Valachian nobility and counsellors prostrating themselues at the feet of *Amurath*, most grieuously complained vnto him of the manifold and intollerable injuries they had already sustained, and were still like to endure, without hope of redresse, from *Alexander* their Vayuod, and the followers of his court; the Turks garrisons and merchants with plentifull teares orderly declaring many his most foule and detestable facts, and afterward highly commending *Ion Michael* for his rare vertues, as the true heire of their prouince; most humbly requested *Amurath* either to haue him appointed the lawfull Gouernor of their country, or els some other place by him assigned for them to dwell in, wishing any where to liue, rather than vnder the heauy command of so mercilesse a man as was *Alexander*. For the furthering of which their suite, *Michael* his vncle by the

** Ion signifieth with the Valachians as much as Christians which some mistaking, cal this Michael also by the name of Iohn.*

A the mothers side, a Greeke borne, and a man for his exceeding wealth in great fauour in the Turks Court, spared for no cost. So *Michael* by the goodnesse of God was by *Amurath* with great solemnity created Vayuod of Valachia, and the oppressed and almost forlorne state of that sometime most flourishing countrey by little and little well relieued (although not altogether without most sharpe and violent remedies, such as extremity oft require) began now againe to lift vp the head, aud to aspire vnto the antient liberty and honour thereof. At the beginning of whose happy souereignty, *Alexander* his predecessor in his owne conscience guilty of his euill and shamefull gouernment of that so notable and great a prouince, and now in feare to be called to account, secretly fled. But certaine yeares after remouing to Constantinople with his wife, and there attempting diuers euill meanes for the obtaining of the Pala-
B tinat of Moldauia, and for those his vnlawfull practises accused by the Palatine his Agent; he was by the commandement of *Amurath* taken in his owne house, and there in his princely apparell most miserably strangled vpon Palme Sunday, in the yeare 1597, about six yeares after his departure out of Valachia.

Michael by Amurath created Vayuod of Valachia.

Alexander strangled at Constantinople.

Michael thus made Vayuod of Valachia, long it was not but that it fortuned the reuerend Father *Cornelius de Ryna*, sent from Pope *Clement* the eighth vnto the great Duke of Muscouy, in his returne conferring with *Sigismund* the Transyluanian Prince, and *Aaron* Palatine of Moldauia, enformed them of the great consent of diuers zealous Christian Princes, for the maintenance of the war against the dangerous and common Enemy; with many graue and effectuall reasons persuading them (but especially for that they were themselues Christians) in
C that Christian quarrell to joyn vnto them their forces also, raised in those their countries neer vnto the great riuers of Danubius and Nester: but vnto *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, he could not for diuers his other important businesses then come: whom for all that, the aforesaid Transyluanian Prince *Sigismund* his neighbour desirously sought to draw into the fellowship of this warre, euen for the same reasons almost wherewith he had beene himselfe moued. First, by diuers great reasons remouing such doubts as might justly seeme to hinder him from giuing thereunto his consent; and then by declaring the Turkish insolency daily increasing, with the infinite grieuances by them deuised against the miserable Valachians; when as the incursions of the Turks or Tartars, or their passages that way (no lesse troublesome than their inrodes) was almost euery moneth to be feared, their armies as friends to be in Winter and
D Summer receiued, their souldiers to their great charges relieued, and their commanders and captaines rewarded. Valachia thus impouerished, was not able (as he said) to pay the great sums it did already owe, neither was to expect any releasement of the euils it was wrapped in, much lesse was it able to suffice vnto the grieuous exactions to be thereunto by them afterwards imposed. None of his predecessors (as he said, and as truth was) had for many yeares now past, for any long time, or with any security held their state or gouernment: but that either by the calumniation of the Enuious, or bribes of their ambitious competitors, brought into suspition with the Sultan, they were violently thrust out, or most cruelly put to death. In briefe, he said it was a wise mans part, not without most manifest and weighty reasons, to promise vnto himselfe better fortune, or more assurance of his state, than had his vnfortunate
E predecessors before him; but warned by their harmes, betimes to prouide for his owne safety. By which persuasion he so preuailed, that the Vayuod (whose name, whose fame, whose wealth and life, together with his subjects was all thereby indangered) although he would not (for the weighteinesse of the matter) at the first yeeld thereunto; yet assuredly promised, with his friends and the rest of the Nobility of his country to consider thereupon. Hauing it by the Prince plainly laid downe before him, how a sufficient number of soldiers might at all times be raised, their pay prouided, and aid still sent him as need should be, from the German Emperor, or himselfe out of Transyluania: as also that *Aaron* the Palatine of Moldauia would at all times be ready to combine himselfe vnto them; that so with their vnited forces they might vpon the banks of Danubius and Nester easily repulse the incursions both of the Turks and
F Tartars their enemies: the Christian Emperor in the meane time with lesse trouble proceeding in his wars against the Turke on the other side of Hungary.

Now whilest this plot was thus in laying, and matters to and fro debating, not altogether without the Turks suspition; *Sinan Bassa* comming with a great army into Hungary, had taken the strong Towne of Rab, as is before declared: with which mischance so much concerning

ning the poore remainders of Hungary, the Vayuod not a little moued, began more deeply to G
consider of his owne estate. And as he was a man of a great spirit, and no lesse zeale toward his
countrey, grieuing to see his subjects committed to his charge, to be so daily by the insolent
Turks still more and more oppressed: he (as he had before promised to the Transyluanian) called
an assembly of all the States of Valachia, to consult with them what were best to be done
for the remedy of so great euils, as also for the preuenting of greater, not without cause then
to be feared. Where by the generall consent of them all it was agreed, rather to joyn with the
Emperor and other Christian Princes in confederation, as they had bin oftentimes by them
requested, than longer to endure that heauy yoke of the Turkish thraldome and slauery.
Michael the Vayuod of Valachia reuolteth from the Turks. Whereupon the Vayuod taking vnto him two thousand of the Hungarian garrison souldiers,
now before for that purpose secretly layd vpon the frontiers of his country; and calling vpon H
the name of *Christ Iesus*, in one day to begin withall, slew about two thousand of the Ianizaries
(who without his leaue had in that country proudly seated themselues) with all the rest of the
Turks (in the midst of their insolency) together with the traiterous Iewes, not leauing one of
them that he could come by aliue in all the open country. And purposing to driue them out
of their strong holds also, and so to make a cleane riddance of them, he within fourteen dayes
after set vpon Dziurdzowa, a great towne of the Turks vpon the banke of Danubius, which he
burnt all sauing the castle, and hauing there made a great slaughter, and loded with the spoyle
of the Turks, returned to Bucharesta the chiefe seat of his Palatinat.

But long it was not after this his so great presumption, but that he perceiued the Turks in
reuenge thereof to seeke after his life: although he yet seemed to yeeld his obedience vnto I
Amurath, and to haue done that he did as enforced thereunto by the insolency of the Turkes,
and for the necessary reliefe both of himselfe and his subjects. For the same moneth (Rab be-
ing, as is aforesaid, taken by *Sinan*) one of the Turks * Emirs, discended of the great famly and
stock of *Mahomet* their false prophet, and then Cadileseher (a man of great account and place
amongst the Turks) accompanied with 2000 chosen souldiers, fifty of the great Sultans chamber,
and many of the Zausij and Spahi, vpon the sudden came to Bucharesta vnder the colour
of refreshing themselues, after their long trauell, but indeed with purpose to haue taken the
Vayuod: where they without controlement committed all kind of outragious villany; and
taking vp all the chiefe houses in the city, imperiously demanded of the Vayuod (who then lay
at his palace neere vnto the new monastery without the city, built without any castle or de- K
fence, vpon the riuer Dembowiza) 10000 florens for a Present, with victuals and other neces-
sary prouision for his followers. And presently after being certainly informed that he lay
there but slenderly accompanied, and almost himselfe alone, the Emir himselfe on foot with
1000 of his soldiers, went out of the city, as if it had bin but for his pleasure, and in courtesse
to haue seene him. Of which so suspitious a guests comming, the Vayuod vnderstanding, got
him betimes away into the campe of his Hungarian Mercinaries, which then lay but fast by:
when the Turke thus deceiued of the hope he had before conceiued for the taking of him, crat-
tily sent certaine of his followers, to know of him to what end he in time of peace did enter-
taine such a number of Hungarian souldiers? Wherunto the Vayuod cunningly answered, That
they were at the first entertained for the taking of *Peter* the son of *Alexander*, sometime Pala- L
tine of Moldauia: who although he were now before apprehended, and openly hanged vpon
an hooke at Constantinople, yet that those souldiers were for their ready seruice, of necessity
still to be bilited in the country vntill such time as their pay might be prouided. Which the
Turke hearing, commanded the Vayuod forthwith to discharge them as men vnnecessary, and
to his subjects troublesome, promising him the next day to lend him a tunne of gold to pay
them their wages. Which feigned promise the Vayuod seemed thankefully to take; yet ne-
uertheless commanded the Hungarians forthwith in arms to stand in readinesse in the campe,
for the intercepting of the Turks, if haply by him distressed, they should betake themselues to
flight: whilest he in the mean time with his courtiers and other souldiers secretly assembling
into a vally there by, came suddenly vpon the Turks (not as then dreaming of any such thing) M
compassed about the Innes wherein they lay, and setting fire vpon them in fiue places, notably
forced them both with fire and the sword, the two greatest extremities of war; seeking now
for nothing more than the just reuenge of his spoiled City, his forced Virgins, and wronged
subjects. Howbeit the Turks for a space right valiantly defended themselues, & by plain force
(although

** The Turks call all them that are discended of the stocke of their Prophet Mahomet, by the name of Emirs, or Lords.*

A (although in vaine) sought to haue broken thorow the midst of their enemies, and so to haue
fled. Yea many of them by force of the fire driuen out of their lodgings, and tearing off their
burning cloathes, fought starke naked: but most of them which could, fled vnto the palace
where the great Emir lay, there with him ready to die or liue. All which their last endeuours
of desperation the Vayuod easily frustated, with two great pieces of Artillery opening a way
for his soldiers vnto them. So that the proud Emir now in despaire (like the hunted Castor)
threw downe out of a window a great chest full of gold and pretious stones, and other jewels
of great value, if happily he might haue so appeased the Vayuods wrath; humbly now reque-
sting no more, but to haue his life spared; fearefully promising a large ransome for himselfe
and those few which were yet left aliue with him. Howbeit the Vayuod mindefull of the ma-
B nifold injuries by them done vnto him and his subjects, and nothing mitigated or moued with
the rich spoiles thrust vpon him, or the large promises the Turks had made him; commanded
all those his enemies now in his power, to be slaine euery mothers son: of whom his souldiers
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Phloch spoiled by the Vayuod.

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minde departed this life the eighteenth day of Ianuary, in the yeare of our Lord 1595; when
E he had liued one and fifty, or as some say two and fifty yeares, and thereof reigned nineteene.
At the time of his death arise such a sudden and terrible tempest at Constantinople, that ma-
ny thought the World should euen presently haue beene dissolued. His dead body was not
long after with great pompe and solemnity buried by *Mahomet* his eldest sonne, in a Moschee
which he himselfe had before built at Constantinople.

Amurath dieth.

FINIS.

ning the poore remainders of Hungary, the Vayuod not a little moued, began more deeply to G
consider of his owne estate. And as he was a man of a great spirit, and no lesse zeale toward his
countrey, grieuing to see his subjects committed to his charge, to be so daily by the insolent
Turks still more and more oppressed: he (as he had before promised to the Transyluanian) called
an assembly of all the States of Valachia, to consult with them what were best to be done
for the remedy of so great euils, as also for the preuenting of greater, not without cause then
to be feared. Where by the generall consent of them all it was agreed, rather to joyn with the
Emperor and other Christian Princes in confederation, as they had bin oftentimes by them
requested, than longer to endure that heauy yoke of the Turkish thraldome and slauery.
Michael the Vayuod of Valachia reuolteth from the Turks. Whereupon the Vayuod taking vnto him two thousand of the Hungarian garrison souldiers,
now before for that purpose secretly layd vpon the frontiers of his country; and calling vpon H
the name of *Christ Iesus*, in one day to begin withall, slew about two thousand of the Ianizaries
(who without his leaue had in that country proudly seated themselues) with all the rest of the
Turks (in the midst of their insolency) together with the traiterous Iewes, not leauing one of
them that he could come by aliue in all the open country. And purposing to driue them out
of their strong holds also, and so to make a cleane riddance of them, he within fourteen dayes
after set vpon Dziurdzowa, a great towne of the Turks vpon the banke of Danubius, which he
burnt all sauing the castle, and hauing there made a great slaughter, and loded with the spoyle
of the Turks, returned to Bucharesta the chiefe seat of his Palatinat.

But long it was not after this his so great presumption, but that he perceiued the Turks in
reuenge thereof to seeke after his life: although he yet seemed to yeeld his obedience vnto I
Amurath, and to haue done that he did as enforced thereunto by the insolency of the Turkes,
and for the necessary reliefe both of himselfe and his subjects. For the same moneth (Rab be-
ing, as is aforesaid, taken by *Sinan*) one of the Turks * Emirs, discended of the great family and
stock of *Mahomet* their false prophet, and then Cadilescher (a man of great account and place
amongst the Turks) accompanied with 2000 chosen souldiers, fifty of the great Sultans cham-
ber, and many of the Zausij and Spahi, vpon the sudden came to Bucharesta vnder the colour
of refreshing themselues, after their long trauell, but indeed with purpose to haue taken the
Vayuod: where they without controlement committed all kind of outragious villany; and
taking vp all the chiefe houses in the city, imperiously demanded of the Vayuod (who then lay
at his palace neere vnto the new monastery without the city, built without any castle or de- K
fence, vpon the riuer Dembowiza) 10000 florens for a Present, with victuals and other neces-
sary prouision for his followers. And presently after being certainly informed that he lay
there but slenderly accompanied, and almost himselfe alone, the Emir himselfe on foot with
1000 of his souldiers, went out of the city, as if it had bin but for his pleasure, and in courtesie
to haue seene him. Of which so suspitious a guests comming, the Vayuod vnderstanding, got
him betimes away into the campe of his Hungarian Mercinaries, which then lay but fast by:
when the Turke thus deceiued of the hope he had before conceiued for the taking of him, crafti-
ly sent certaine of his followers, to know of him to what end he in time of peace did enter-
taine such a number of Hungarian souldiers? Wherunto the Vayuod cunningly answered, That
they were at the first entertained for the taking of *Peter* the son of *Alexander*, sometime Pala- L
tine of Moldauia: who although he were now before apprehended, and openly hanged vpon
an hooke at Constantinople, yet that those souldiers were for their ready seruice, of necessity
still to be bilited in the country vntill such time as their pay might be prouided. Which the
Turke hearing, commanded the Vayuod forthwith to discharge them as men vnnecessary, and
to his subjects troublesome, promising him the next day to lend him a tunne of gold to pay
them their wages. Which feigned promise the Vayuod seemed thankefully to take; yet ne-
uertheless commanded the Hungarians forthwith in arms to stand in readinesse in the campe,
for the intercepting of the Turks, if haply by him distressed, they should betake themselues to
flight: whilest he in the mean time with his courtiers and other souldiers secretly assembling
into a vally there by, came suddenly vpon the Turks (not as then dreaming of any such thing) M
compassed about the Innes wherein they lay, and setting fire vpon them in fiue places, notably
forced them both with fire and the sword, the two greatest extremities of war; seeking now
for nothing more than the just reuenge of his spoiled City, his forced Virgins, and wronged
subjects. Howbeit the Turks for a space right valiantly defended themselues, & by plain force
(although

** The Turks call all them that are discended of the stocke of their Prophet Mahomet, by the name of Emirs, or Lords.*

A (although in vaine) sought to haue broken thorow the midst of their enemies, and so to haue
fled. Yea many of them by force of the fire driuen out of their lodgings, and tearing off their
burning cloathes, fought starke naked: but most of them which could, fled vnto the palace
where the great Emir lay, there with him ready to die or liue. All which their last endeuours
of desperation the Vayuod easily frustated, with two great pieces of Artillery opening a way
for his soldiers vnto them. So that the proud Emir now in despaire (like the hunted Castor)
threw downe out of a window a great chest full of gold and pretious stones, and other jewels
of great value, if happily he might haue so appeased the Vayuods wrath; humbly now reque-
sting no more, but to haue his life spared; fearefully promising a large ransome for himselfe
and those few which were yet left aliue with him. Howbeit the Vayuod mindefull of the ma- *The Cadilescher with all the Turks his followers slaine.*
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FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Amurath the third.	Emperours of Germany	Maximilian the second,	1567. 12
		Rodolphus the second,	1577
	Kings	Of England	Queen Elizabeth,	1558. 44
		Of France	Charles the ninth,	1560. 14
			Henry the third,	1574. 14
			Henry the fourth,	1589.
		Of Scotland	James the sixth, afterward King of England,	1565
	Bishops of Rome		Gregorie the XIII,	1572. 12
			Pius the V,	1585. 5
			Vrbin the VII,	1590. 12 days
			Gregory the XIV,	1590. 10 months 10 dayes
			Innocent the IX,	1591. 2 months & one day
			Clement the VIII,	1592

Si quid in humanis, magnum te reddere possit:
Quid prohibes magnum nomen inesse tuum?
Quæ subjecta vides, tot dissita regna, tot urbes:
Et nulli cedens, sceptra superba geris.
Cum tamen ignaros, quid sit sapientia Christi,
Omnia quæ justa sunt, Mahomete, nihil.

RIC. KNOLLEVS.

In English thus:

If ought there be might make thee great that on the earth is found,
What then should let thy name among the greatest for to sound?
That sues thy kingdomes and thy townes, so many and so great:
And giving place thy selfe to none, do'st sit on royall seat.
Yet sith thou knowest not aright for grace by Christ to call,
All that thou boast'st, ô *Mahomet*, is nothing worth at all.

R. K.

THE

battell, and hauing slaine eight thousand of his Turks, put him to flight, and tooke the spoile of his whole campe. Neither yet so contented, marched presently to Nester Alba, where he put the Turks in great feare, and afterwards burnt the suburbs of the City, and so retired.

How *Amurath* the late Sultan in the beginning of these troubles, had at Constantinople shut vp in prison *Fredericke Krecowitz* the Emperours Embassador, is before declared. This Embassadour *Sinan Bassa* brought with him the last yeare when hee came into Hungary, who after many indignities by him suffered both on the way and at Belgrade, there died: fiue of whose seruants the false Bassa caused to bee kept in streit prison, as guilty of their Masters death, so to auert the infamy thereof from himselfe. But now lying himselfe at Belgrade for the better mannaging of this yeares warres, vpon the comming of a new Treasurer from the Court, hee caused the fiue poore prisoners to be brought before him, and most impudently charged them with the death of their Master: saying, That they should answere for the same vnto God and their Emperor; and that his purpose in bringing of him from Constantinople, was to no other end, but to haue vsed his helpe in concluding a peace betweene the Great Sultan and the Emperor, and so to haue set him with all his at liberty: But now that he was dead, he would send them his treacherous seruants vnto the Emperour to be by him examined: and withall to tell him, That hee was sent from the Great Sultan, (whose power was not by any but God onely to be withstood) to besiege Vienna, which he could (as he said) the last yeare haue taken with lesse labour than he had done Rab: and that therefore it were best for him betime to seeke for peace, before so great a power had taken the field: and that for further instructions, he would referre them to his sonne the Bassa of Buda, to whom he sent them from Belgrade, together with the new come Treasurer. Being come to Buda, they were forthwith brought before the Bassa, and amongst them the late Embassadours Secretary, vnto whom after he had said somewhat of the hard dealing with the Embassador and his followers, he declared that hee had alwaies disliked of that manner of proceeding, and oftentimes entreated his father for their liberty; and now at last to haue obtained, That the Embassadour beeing dead, his seruants might be set free: and so put them in good hope, that they should in shore time be restored to their wonted liberty. In the meane time, That one of them should go to the Emperours Court, and there speake with one of his secretaries, whom he had before aduised to bethinke himselfe of peace: vnto whom also he afterwards writ, vpon what conditions he thought peace might be at the Sultans hand obtained. Which were, If all the castles and strong holds taken by the Emperors forces in these wars, as Filek, Setchine, and Nouigrade, with their territories, should be restored, Siseg in Croatia surrendered; if the Emperor should from thenceforth refuse to aid or protect the Transyluanians, Moldauians, & Valachians, and leaue them to the Great Sultan to be chastised as rebels; if finally the Emperour would at once send vnto the Turkes Court his wonted tribute for the yeares past, and so yearely afterwards: so he could be content by the mediation of his father, to attempt to appease the fierce and inueterate displeasure of the Sultan, and to further the treaty of peace. This he commanded the Secretary to write, and to send it by the young Lord *Perling*, and to require thereof answere: yet that he should go with this condition, That if the said *Perling* within the space of fiue and twenty daies returned not with answere, all the rest should for his default lose their heads. A subtill deuice and full of deceit, wherein the crafty Bassaes, both the father and the son, sought for nothing else but to see what confidence the Christians had in themselues, and to breake the confederation made betweene the Emperour, the Transyluanians, Moldauians, and Valachians: and that other Princes whom God had stirred vp in defence of so just a cause, hearing of a rumour of peace, might grow cold, and deferre to send their promised aid. For now the Turks had found by experience, how hurtfull and dangerous the reuolt of the three countries of Transyluania, Moldauia, and Valachia was vnto them, as they which brought ten hundred thousand duckats yearely into the great Sultans Treasury: besides that, those people now become their enemies, were of all others fittest to intercept all manner of prouision to be brought by land either to or from Constantinople, were it victuall or other warrelike prouision. Notwithstanding this motion of peace made by the two Bassaes, *Sinan* the old Bassa in the meane time, with great diligence at Belgrade prepared all things necessary for warre, and caused three bridges to be made, whereby he might in diuers places as he thought best, transport his army ouer Danubius; and at the same time sent for the garrisons round about, and

The Emperours Embassador dieth in prison at Belgrade.

and other souldiers before billeted in the country, and pup in readinesse all things necessary for a most mortall warre.

Within the appointed time came *Perling* from the Emperors court with answer to the letters written by the Embassadours secretary, at the commandement of the Bassa; the effect whereof was, that he had receiued his letters by *Perling*, and did thereby vnderstand what had passed betweene the captiue seruants of the late Embassador, and *Sinan Bassa* at Belgrade, and also betweene them and *Sinan Bassa* his son at Buda; and that the Emperors minde was neuer other, but that a firme peace might haue been made betweene him and the Sultan, and that the Emperour had done nothing else by his Embassador at Constantinople, or by others in other places, but that such reasonable conditions might haue beene found out, as might haue ended those wars, and haue on both sides deliuered their innocent subjects from their great and daily calamities, which might easily haue been done, if *Sinan* the author and fautor of this warre, had with like desire furthered the peace. But that it was manifest vnto the whole World, that all complaints of infinit grieuances, being by the Embassador, yea, and by the Emperor himselfe, by his letters laid open vnto the Sultan and his chiefe Bassaes, had not only nothing preuailed, but also, to haue beene with great contempt rejected, and the treaty of peace once begun, to haue by the insolency of the Bassa of Bosna been interrupted: That the Emperour because the matter should not breake out into open war, had sent his double tribute into the confines of Hungary, which was a great while laid vp at Comara vntill the Sultans minde were known. But when all his designes tended to war, and the Christian Prouinces were by his robbers on euery side spoiled, the inhabitants led away into most miserable captiuity, the townes and villages burnt, yea, whole countries lay desolate, and all manner of outrages were vpon a meere pride and contempt as it were of the whole World exercised: then the Emperour to haue taken his refuge vnto the defence of his just cause, and to haue vsed such remedies as are both before God and the World to be allowed, and so by lawfull war to haue repulsed warre. And that although all had not the last yeare prospered in his hand, but that he had receiued some losse, yet that *Sinan Bassa* himselfe, and the Bassa of Buda his son, with other of the wiser sort of the Turks must needs confesse that to haue chanced, not by their wisedome, policy or power, but by the sufferance of God, by a rare misfortune, through the inexcusable negligence and treason of such as he had put in trust with the confines of his empire, worthy most seuere chastisement. And that no man could deny, but that great powers of the Turks, had not once, but oftentimes bin ouerthrowne and discomfited, by small handfuls of the Christians: therefore their power not to be so inuincible, as they vainly vanted of. But wheras it is written, that the great Visier *Sinan* and the Bassa his sonne are of opinion, that the Emperor is brought to so low an ebbe, that he must be glad to accept of most hard and dishonorable conditions of peace propounded by them: therein they erre much, and deceiue themselues far; for by the power of God they should shortly by experience know, that his Imperiall Majesty wanteth neither power nor wealth, to repaire the losse receiued through the treason of them he trusted, yea, and to recouer whatsoeuer he had lost else: and that it should in short time be witnessed vnto the whole World, by the help of God and the defence of a most just cause, that the Emperour was not so poore and weake as they supposed him to be. Yet as he of his owne naturall goodnesse and clemency, with his owne incomparable losse and harme, had alwaies sought for the quiet and profit of his subjects, and to the vttermost of his power staid the effusion of innocent bloud, so now also forgetting all injuries, he could happily be content to thinke of an honorable peace: whereunto he was more enclined than to protract the warre with the vnspeakable harmes of the subjects on both sides. Yet aboue all things it behooued *Sinan* to know, that he was to restore all such castles and townes as had in this warre beene taken by the Turks, beginning at Wihitz in Croatia, euen to the last innocent subject by them caried away into captiuity. And that the Transyluanians, Moldauians, and Valachians (people many ages joyned and vnited as inseparable members to the kingdome of Hungary, as vnto the true body, and now of late by the practise and treachery of certaine rebellious persons separated from the same) were from henceforth to be left vnder the protection and gouernment of his Imperiall Majesty, and neuer more to be impugned by the Turks. If these things were done, and order taken that the injury and disgrace done vnto the Emperours late Embassadour (a fact that all the Princes of the World cried shame of) might not remaine vnpunished: and that his seruants

The Bassa's subtill demands answered with like.

in durance at Buda and Constantinople, might be restored vnto their wonted liberty, then some good forme of peace, and bounding of their territories might happily be agreed vpon: without which conditions, all talke of peace must be vnhoop'd: for that God the iust and mighty protector of such as put their trust in him, would not faile to help his Imperiall Majesty, with the rest of the confederat Princes, in their so iust a quarrell, and abate the pride of such as trust in their owne strength and power.

This answer the captiues at Buda were commanded to giue vnto the Bassa, either by writing or by word of mouth: and withall earnestly to request him both, for their owne liberty and their fellows, wrongfully detained at Constantinople. Which if it could not be obtained, yet to comfort themselues with that, that they should in bounteous manner receiue from the Emperour such allowance, as should suffice to prouide them things necessary: as he had granted to *Perling*, whom he might haue justly detained and not sent him backe againe, but for his oaths sake, being no lawfull prisoner. Thus were the vnreasonable conditions of peace craftily by the Bassa propounded, by others answered: but by whom he knew not, no mans name being set thereunto.

The Emperor not ignorant with what an enemy he had to do, and of nothing more carefull than of the kingdome (or more truly to say, of the reliques of the kingdome) of Hungary, lying now as it were in the Lyons mouth, ceased not to pray aid, not of the Princes electors only, but of others also farther off, yea euen as far as Italy and Spaine, but especially of the King of Polonia, as his neere alliance and neighbor. Vnto whom both he and the States of Hungary sent their Embassadours, at such time as he, moued with the daily incursions of the Turks and Tartars into the countries adjoyning vpon his, had for the safety of his owne Kingdome, called a parliament of all his States in February last, at Cracouia. Whereof *Mahomet* the Great Turke hearing, sent also two of his chiefe Chiaus, his vsual Embassadors, vnto the king and his States so assembled, to craue his aid in his wars in Hungary: which if the King should not refuse, then to promise him to want no coine to pay his souldiers, and that *Mahomet* mindfull of so great a courtesie, would at all times be ready to requite him with like, when his occasions should require. These Embassadors, hauing obtained safe conduct from *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia for their passage through his country, comming thither, were by the Vayuod himselfe honourably entertained and welcommed, and so brought into a faire lodging, where they discourses with him of many matters. But the Vaynods followers, grieued to see so great honor done to these his sworne and mortall enemies, with weapons in their hands brake into the roome where the Embassadors were, and without more adoe slew them both: and in the same fury setting vpon the rest of the Turks their followers, cut them all in pieces, so that of them none came into Polooia to do their great Masters message, either yet returned to Constantinople to carry newes of the rest, but there altogether perished. Of which outrage *Mahomet* yet vnderstanding, was therewith wonderfully enraged, threatening all euils both to the Moldauians and Valachians, and forthwith sent out other Embassadors to the same purpose, who with better fortune afterwards arriued in Polonia.

The Turks Embassadours sent vnto the Polonian King slain in Valachia.

The Tartars in many places (as is before declared) ouerthrown, and many strong castles and forts taken from the Turks by the Transyluanians, Valachians, and Moldauians, the Turkish affaires going to wracke in those quarters, and sore shaken on that side of Hungary, *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperour called home to the Court *Sinan Bassa* his Generall in Hungary, to conferre with him (as it was thought) of some great matters. In whose place he sent *Ferat Bassa*, he who sometime had the leading of *Amurathes* great armies against the Persians: who now departing from Constantinople, came to Belgrade in Aprill, and there tooke the charge vpon him. Where at his first comming, in the night time all the ropes and cords of the tents were suddenly cut in sunder, and so the tent let fall about his eares; which some supposed to haue beene done to his disgrace, by the procurement of *Cicala Bassa*, before by him wronged; or as others thought, by the insolent Ianizaries, who disliking of him, did it in despight, wishing rather to haue beene led by *Mahomet* himselfe. Now at his comming, the Famine which the last yere began amongst the Turks, was growne exceeding great, not at Buda and Belgrade only, but euen generally in most places of Hungary possessed by the Turks: insomuch that the Tartar women that followed the campe, were faine to roast their owne children and eat them. This Famine was also accompanied with a most terrible Plague, whereof great numbers of the

The Plague & Famine among the Turks.

A the Turks and Tartars died dayly: so that of fourescore fiue thousand Tartars which came the last yeare into Hungary, now remained scarce eight thousand, the rest being all deuoured with the Sword, famine, and the Pestilence.

Great were the harmes the Turkes still dayly receiued from the late reuolted countries of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, the Christians of those places seeking by all means to annoy them. *Michael* Vayuod of Valachia, not contented with that they had already done, but entring into the Turks frontiers, surprised Scihmele, together with the castle; wherin he found foureteene field pieces, amongst which were two which had vpon them the armes of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and other two hauing vpon them the armes of *Huniades*; which pieces he afterward sent as a present to the Transyluanian Prince. After that, he tooke Orosige, a famous

Michael Vayuod of Valachia doth the Turks great harme.

B port towne, the dwelling place of the Turks great purueyor for butter, cheese, and hony, and such other prouision for the court; wherein he found such store of the aforesaid prouision, as might well haue sufficed eight thousand men for a whole yeare: and still prosecuting his good fortune, took from the Turks Gilec and Kalempe, with the strong castle of S. *George*, commonly called Grigio, and at length besieged Laganoc.

With the beginning of the Spring came *Matthias* the Archduke and Generall of the Christian army, from the assembly of the Nobility of Hungary at Presburg, to Vienna, and so from thence to the Emperor his brother at Prague; who appointed him Generall of the lower Hungary; and *Maximilian* his brother Generall of the vpper Hungary: giuing them for their Lieutenants, vnto *Maximilian* the Lord *Teuffenbach*, and to *Matthias* the County *Charles Mansfelt*, by him sent for out of Flanders, and after created one of the Princes of the Empire. *Iohn de Medices*, who was yet in Hungary, he made Master of the great ordnance, with charge to fortifie Komara; which he so well performed, as that it was thought nothing in strength inferiour to Rab. All this while the Emperor ceased not by his Embassadors and letters to solicite the Christian Princes, for the repressing of the common enemy, to put too their helping hands: and so much preuailed with them, that out of his owne hereditary prouinces, and from other Princes his friends, he had this Spring raised a right puissant and strong army for the defence of Hungary: which how it was raised, and from whom, it shall not be much from our purpose briefly to remember, as the chiefe strength vnder God, whereby the Christian commonweale was this yeare most notably defended. Out of the higher Saxony came a thousand two hun-

C

The notable army of the Christians, and from whence it was raised.

D dred horsemen, and out of the lower Saxony six hundred: from Franconia a thousand horsemen: from Sueuia foure thousand footmen: out of the County of Tirol as many: from Bauaria three thousand: out of Bohemia two thousand men at armes, six hundred light horsemen, and six thousand footmen: from Silesia a thousand fiue hundred horsemen: from Lusatia fiue hundred horse and a thousand foot: from Morauia a thousand horse, and two thousand foot: out of Austria two thousand horse, and six thousand foot: from Hungary fiue hundred horsemen and a thousand foot: from the nobility of Sueuia and Francouia foure thousand foot: from the King of Spaine out of the Low-countries vnder the conduct of *Charles* County *Mansfelt*, two thousand horsemen and six thousand foot: vnto these the Bishop of Rome added two thousand horsemen, and eight thousand foot: the great Duke of Florence sent fiue hundred

E horse & three thousand foot: the Duke of Ferrara a thousand fiue hundred footmen: the Duke of Mantua a thousand foot: and the Duke *Venturee* fiue hundred horse. All which being put together, fill vp the number of fifteene thousand nine hundred horsemen, and fiftie thousand fiue hundred foot. Which notable army, raised from the power of diuers Christian Princes, and conducted by worthy Chiefetains, had by the goodnesse of God much better successe this Summer against the antient enemies of Christendome, than had the like army the yeare before: as in the processe of this History shall appeare.

Among the worthy Commanders that were in this puissant army, *Charles* County *Mansfelt* the sonne of *Peter Ernestus* the old County, from his youth brought vp in armes, was by the King of Spaine at the request of the Emperor sent with the aforesaid forces of two thou-

F sand horse and six thousand foot out of the Low-countries, as a man for his approued valor and direction, fit to mannage these dangerous warres against the Turks vnder *Matthias* the Archduke, as his Lieutenant Generall: who hauing raised the appointed forces, for most part Wallons, departed from Bruxelles about the midst of February, and by the way taking his leaue of his aged father at Luxenburg, and trauelling through Germany, came in March to Prague, where

where he was by the Emperour and the Archduke his brother most honourably entertained, G
and shortly after with great solemnity created one of the Princes of the Empire. His forces
following after him, were by the way staied, partly by the inundation of waters (the riuers they
were to passe ouer at that time rising to an vnwonted height) partly by the jealousie of some
of the German Princes, who denied them passage through their territories, vntil such time as
that the Emperour by his letters had opened vnto him the way: which Princes for all that
stood vpon their guard, and so gaue him passage.

Now ran great rumors of wonderfull preparations of the Turks, as also of the Christians;
Fame after her wonted manner, encreasing the report of all things aboue measure: which cau-
sed the Turks with exceeding care to looke to the fortification of their frontier townes, espe-
cially of Rab and Strigonium, as did the Christians to the fortification of Comara and Al- H
tenburg. In the meane time many hot skirmishes passed betweene the Christians and the
Turks, especially in the late reuolted countries of Transyluania and Valachia, wherein the
Turks were still put to the worse, to the great discontentment of their Emperour. Neere vnto
Temeswar the Bassa of Buda was ouerthrowne, by the valiant Captaine *Gestius Ferentz*, and
the Transyluanians. And in Valachia the Turks Generall entering with a great army, was
there also by the Lord *Nadasti* and the Valachians, aided with the Transyluanians, in a great
battell discomfited and ouerthrowne. Eight thousand of the Turks heads in token of this vi-
ctory the Lord *Nadasti* sent to Alba-Iulia to the Transyluanian Prince, and certaine ensignes,
amongst which was one most richly garnished with pretious stones and pearles, thought to
be worth thirty thousand dollars; which the Prince afterward restored againe to *Nadasti*, offe- I
ring him great possessions in Transyluania, if he could haue been content there to haue seated
himselfe.

Feiat Bassa ouerthrown in Valachia.

All this Spring the Turks countenanced their warrs with greater boasts and threats, than
true force; giuing it out, That they would in short time worke wonders both by sea and land.
For the more credit wherof, *Murat Rays*, a notable pyrat, was sent out with twelue gallies; who
landing here and there vpon the coasts of Italy, did much harme, causing it to be reported in
euery place where he landed, That this was but the beginning of a greater war, and that a won-
derfull fleet was to follow him: which raised a great feare, as well in other places, as in Italy.
Howbeit, no such fleet afterwards appeared: for why, the Turkish Emperour, much troubled
with the reuolt of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, and the great mortality then raging K
both among his souldiers and their horses, was not at leisure to looke into the sea, hauing his
hands full enough with the troubles of Hungary, where his men of war enjoyed little rest in
the frontiers of his territories.

Sigismund the Transyluanian Prince, had vpon some just causes, of late suspected *Aaron* the
Vayuod of Moldauia, to haue intelligence not only with the Polonians, but also with the Car-
dinall, *Bator*, and other his mortall enemies, and secretly to haue been about to make his peace
with *Mahomet*, and so againe to fall off from him vnto the Turke: which vehement suspition
growing dayly more and more, was about this time manifestly confirmed by certain letters in-
tercepted concerning that matter. For the preuenting whereof, the Prince caused *Aaron* to be
apprehended, and with his wife and sonne to be sent as prisoners to Prague: in whose roome L
he by the consent of the nobility of the country, placed one *Stephen Rozwan*, a wise and discreet
man amongst them, and such an one as had been vnto him alwaies faithfull. So as much as in
him was, prouiding, that that country should not be rent from him and the vnion of the other.
But against the secret practises of the Polonians, he protested openly by letters vnto the
Emperour, by the power of God, and aid of his faithfull subjects, to redresse those so great in-
juries himselfe by the sword.

Mahomet sendeth Embassadours to the prince of Transyluania.

In the middest of these troubles came three Chiaus, Embassadors from the Turkish Sultan
vnto the Prince, to persuade him againe to put himselfe into his protection, and to giue him
passage through his country, as in former time, into Hungary; promising him, that all the in-
juries by him or his people don, should be for euer forgotten and forgiuen: and that he should M
haue those three countries of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, as his owne free inheri-
tance, without paying any tribute, and so to be accounted as the Turks most louing friend and
vassall. What the Prince answered thereunto, was not knowne, but by his doings afterwards
it was easily to be gathered, that he hearkened not vnto the deceitfull charmes of the faithlesse
tyrant,

A tyrant, trusting more vnto the league he had with the Christian Emperour. These Embassa-
dours were scarce gone, but that a secret messenger came with letters from the chiefe of the
Christians in Bulgaria to the Prince, declaring vnto him, That if he did with any good suc-
cesse prosecute his wars, they would be ready to follow his fortune, and to joyne hands with
him against the cruell tyrant, and to shut vp all the passages that way into Valachia, Molda-
uia and Hungary.

Whilest these troublesome times thus passed in Transyluania and Hungary, one of the old
Ianizaries called *Wasuode Giezi*, an old souldier, but a confident bold spoken fellow, moued as
should seeme with the discontentments of the time, came vnto *Mahomet* the great Sultan at
Constantinople, and there openly set vpon him with this rough and abrupt speech:

B

The presumptuous speech of one Wasuode an old Ianizary, to Mahomet the great Sultan.

How long at last, most mighty Emperour, wilt thou endure thy selfe to be seduced and blinded by the great Bassaes of thy Court, and Commanders of thine Armies? How long wilt thou suffer thy selfe to be deceiued, to the great danger of thy selfe, and hurt of thy subjects? Seest thou not how ouerthwartly, fraudulently, and cunningly, they, moued only with their owne couetous and ambitious humour, haue hitherto dealt with thee and thy father? especially in that, that persuaded by them, thou hast dishonourably broken thy league, and taken vp armes against the Christian Emperour. At length open thine eies and see their deceit, and how much they abuse thy power. Sinan Bassa, *who must haue himselfe honoured and exalted aboue all others, hath not by strong hand honourably woon Rab, as hath been the manner of thine Ancestors, but hath craftily bought it with thy mony, and thereby cast thee into a most dangerous war and infi-*
C *nite troubles. O Rab, Rab, now the cause of great triumph and rejoycing, as if thereby all Christendome should in short time be subdued to thy Scepter. But thou art therein much deceiued; thy barnes, thy storehouses, as are Transyluania, Valachia, Moldauia, Bulgaria, and other prouinces adjoyning, from whence this thy Imperiall City of Constantinople, with the country about it, thy Court, yea, thy selfe art to be relieued, are by this war shut vp; so that downe the riuer of Danubius out of the West, or by the Euxine out of the East, thou art not able to looke for any prouision. From whence then ô most mighty Emperour, wilt thou maintaine thy selfe, thy Court, this populous City, and the Country hereabout? Not to speake in the meane time of thy mighty Army now in Hungary, flesh, fish, corne, all manner of victuall are now at such a price, that the common souldiers cannot buy them. In this extreame dearth all things, not men only, but euen the very beasts and cattell starue for hunger. Thy horses go fat perhaps into Hungary, but neither*
D *thou nor thy select souldiers can liue by grasse and weeds, all that is left in that country. This misery and calamity of thy people thou seest dayly, and yet thou wilt not with sound judgement lift vp thine eies, to see from whence these harmes come, and how that they by thee put in greatest trust, study not for thy profit or the profit of the commonweale, but only how by all meanes to enrich themselues.*

Mahomet much mooued with the confident speech of the old Ianizary, commanded him
to be forthwith committed to ward, and by faire meanes to be examined, by whose setting on,
and for what cause he had so boldly vttered this rude speech vnto his Soueraigne, and what
further things he had intended: but the rest of the Ianizaries hearing thereof, rise presently in
E a tumult, and by strong hand tooke him out of prison, and by solemne oath combined them-
selues to defend him, euen to the spending of their owne bloud, whereat *Mahomet* was glad to
winke.

The greatest part of the aid promised by the Christian Princes for the maintenance of this
yeres wars against the Turks being now come to Vienna in Austria, County *Mansfelt* Lieute-
nant General vnder the Archduke, forthwith called a Councell of the Colonels, captains, and
other great commanders of the army, to consult with them what course to take for the begin-
ning of this great war: as whether they should presently lay siege to some towne of the Ene-
mies, or else to expect him in the plaine field, and to giue him battell. All things well consi-
dered, and that resolued vpon which was thought most expedient, he remoued from Vienna to
F Altenburg, where he mustered his whole army; and departing thence, with some few of his
followers came to Walkenburg, a village vpon the side of Danubius, where he made choice
of a place to encampe his army in: which after he had marked out, he returned againe with
speed to Altenburg, and by open proclamation thorow the Campe gaue streit commande-
ment, That against a certaine houre euery man should be in readinesse to remoue and set for-
ward

The Army of the Christians mustered at Altenburg.

ward toward the enemy: but diuers of the souldiers, and especially the Germans, began forthwith after their wonted manner to cry out for their pay before they would stir any further: so that the County was glad by a second proclamation to command them to arise, promising them their pay within eight days. But they stil standing vpon their former resolution for their pay, refused any further to follow their captains, and sent six of the best sort among those mutinous soldiers to the County, in the name of all the rest to demand their pay; whom he forthwith commanded to be all hanged: but three of them hauing reasonably excused themselues, he let them go, and causing the other three to cast lots for their liues, hanged vp two of them: Which seuere execution so terrified the rest, that vpon the signe giuen they all rise, and with the rest of the army followed the County. The whole army being come to Walkenburg vnto the place where they were to encamp; the County himselfe with others of the nobility began with spades & shouels to dig and cast vp the trenches, and so wrought vntill they sweat again; with whose example all the rest of the army, of what degree soeuer, being moued to labor, had in short time cast vp a very great trench from Danubius vnto the Marishes, large enough for 80000 men to incamp in, the great worke with wrestlesse labor going forward both night and day vntill it was fully finished. The County lying thus intrenched with his army, was still carefull by his espials to vnderstand where the enemy lay, and what he did. He was ready still to heare all, but to beleeue that which seemed most like to be true: what he purposed, he kept most secret, so that the enemy could neuer discouer any of his designes (wherein the Generals of late yeares before him had much erred:) and commonly his most certaine resolutions were shadowed vnder the open shew of some other matter nothing meant: security he much abhorred, as neuer free from danger: and although it was by diuers messengers brought vnto him, That the enemy was but of small strength, vnable to meet him, disorderly incamped, and in great distresse for want of victuals; yet would he giue little credit thereunto, as knowing such reports to haue oftentimes bin giuen out by the Turks, of purpose to lull the Christians in security, the more easily to oppresse them. The Christian army thus strongly entrenched, and the trenches planted with great ordnance, the County himselfe with certain troops of horsemen would oftentimes shew himselfe before Rab, and sometime before Dotis, viewing sometime the one place, and sometime the other, as if he had verily purposed to haue besieged one of them: and to giue the greater shew that he had so determined, he caused the ground to be marked out for his army most conueniently to incamp in, and for the casting vp of his mounts. Which caused the Turks of Strigonium, Vesprinium, Palotta, and other places farther off, to send part as well of their warlike prouision, as of their garrison souldiers, some to Rab, some to Dotis, for the defence of those places, neerest as they thought vnto danger. The County in the meane time hauing now put all things in readinesse, came with his army and sate downe before Dotis, demanding to haue it yeelded vnto him. And the more to confirme the Turks that he would assuredly besiege that place, he began to cast vp his trenches, and to raise his mounts as seemed most conuenient; streitly commanding euery man of what condition soeuer, to put his hand in some measure to the furtherance of those works: and the more by his own example to encourage others, would oftentimes himself carry a faggot or some other thing before him vpon his horse for the raising of the mount. For all that, certain Hungarian gentlemen disdaining such base labor (as they deemed it) refused to do any thing therein: which the County perceiuing streitly charged one of them by his example, to carry a fagot to the mount: which the Hungarian gentleman refusing, the County therewith much moued, laid the fagot he was carrying himself, before the Hungarian vpon his horse, charging him to see that he caried it to the appointed place. the Hungarian disdainfully taking it, carried it vntill he thought he was out of the Counties sight, and then in scorn threw it down: which the County (hauing still an eie after him) perceiuing, commanded him to be taken, and all armed as he rid to be presently hanged vpon the next tree for his obstinacy. Which wholsome seuerity, both then and afterwards caused others more diligently to doe what they were commanded by their superiours.

The vigilant carefulnesse of County Mansfelt.

Dotis besieged by the Christians.

An obstinate Turke.

It happened about this time, that three Turks being taken prisoners, were brought into the camp: whom the County streitly examined of many matters. But the first of the three could neither by faire or foule means be induced to answer to any thing that he was asked; and was therefore by the commandement of the County in the sight of the other two cut into small pieces. Who terrified with his dismembring, confessed many things whereof they were asked: and

and among others, That the Turkish Sultan had determined to turne his greatest forces into Transyluania, Moldauia, and the vpper part of Hungary; and therefore would this Summer send small forces or els none at all into those quarters.

Now was Dotis so belaied by the County, as that no man doubted but that he had thereon purposed to haue gaged his whole forces, when suddenly the last of Iune, commandment was giuen through the campe, That euery man vpon signe giuen, should be in readinesse to follow his leaders, for that the County had determined forthwith to remoue: yet whether the army was to be remoued, few or none knew, more than certaine of the chiefe commanders. As for to go to Strigonium, few there were that so much as dreamed thereof, all was kept so secret: yet was it the Counties purpose euen from the beginning to attempt the winning of that city, which the Archduke had in vaine the last yere besieged. The next night being both darke and foule, the County rise with all his army, and the next day being the first of Iuly, came to Strigonium, they of the city not hearing of his comming before they saw him vnder their walls. Wherefore the Turks in the suburbs called the Rascian city, and they in the fort vnder S. *Thomas* hill, despairing of the keeping of those places, setting fire on the houses, and defacing the fort so much as in that sudden feare they possibly could, fled into the lower towne. The next day the County without resistance tooke the aforesaid places forsaken by the Turks, which he manned with certaine companies of Wallons, and made a bridge of boats ouer Danubius, cast vp certaine mounts, and did many other things for the furtherance of the siege. In three daies he had againe repaired the fort vnder S. *Thomas* hill abandoned by the Turks, and therein placed foure great pieces of artillery, wherewith he began to batter the lower towne, and in other places to streit the besieged more than they had bin the yere before. The Bassa of Buda not ignorant of the want both of men & munition in the besieged city, (and the rather, for that they had but a little before sent part of their garison with shot & pouder to Rab and Dotis) attempted thrice (as he did many times after during the time of the siege) to haue by the riuer put new supplies both of men and munition into the city: but was stil by the diligence of the Christians excluded, and enforced with losse to returne. In short time the lower towne, which they call Wasserstat, or the Water-towne, was with continuall battery sore beaten, so that scarcely any house or building was left whole; and a counterscarse made the last yeare beaten downe. Whereunto certaine Wallons were sent, onely to haue viewed the bredth and manner of the ditches: after whom certaine companies of the Hungarin Heidons presently followed, without any command of their captaines; who with great courage got to the top of another high counterscarse, & there set vp some of their ensignes. Which the Turks beholding, & comming on close together, by plain force enforced them with losse to retire. Among these Hungarians were diuers also of the Wallons slaine, with some others of good name and place, to the great griefe of the County, being not a little offended with that disordered seruice: yet day & nighe the battery ceased not, & the Christians out of their trenches with their musket shot slew many of the Turks vpon the wals, receiuing little harme again, the Turks stil shooting sparingly, for feare of wanting shot and pouder at their greater need; yet that they spent they bestowed so well, that amongst others they had slain foure of the Christian canoniers, and one Wallon captaine. About the midst of Iuly the County with continuall battery had made the Water-towne (as he thought) saultable: and therefore sent certain companies to begin the assault: who hauing passed the counterscarse, found the ditch full of deep mud, and but newly cut broader certain paces by the Turks, so that it was thought scarce possible to be passed without a bridge; behind which ditch was an high wal, with strong bulwarks, and within al this was another new cast ditch, and vpon the very brinke therof a thicke and high parapet: all which for all that, certain companies of Wallons with great labor and danger aduentured to passe: but such was the valour of the defendants, and the small number of them that came on to the assault, with the disaduantage of the place wherein they stood, that at length they were glad to retire with the losse of many of their fellows. The Christians in the beginning of this siege had taken a little Island in the riuer before the city, which was kept with some few companies of the Lord *Palfi* his Heidons; whereof the Turks hauing intelligence at Buda, with three gallies and certaine other vessels, landed in the Island 3000 soldiers, which slew the Heidons, vnto whom no succor could be suddenly sent, and so recouered againe the Island: wherein they left a sufficient garrison for the keeping thereof, furnished with all things necessary, and so departed.

County Mansfield remoueth with the army from Dotis to Strigonium.

The Christians repulsed.

About

About three daies after the former assault, the Christians in hope of better successe, the second time assaulted the Water-towne, in which assault the chiefe leaders were the Lord *Gerg* and *Anthony Zinne* a famous captaine, had he not stained his honour with County *Hardecke* Rab; but being pardoned by the Emperour, did now together with the rest appointed to that seruice, most couragiously assault the breach; but were againe by the Turks notably repulsed, and enforced at last to giue ouer the assault, and so to retire with the losse of 150 men; among whom *Zinne* himselfe was slaine, with one Captaine *Bager*, and some of the Counties own Guard: the Lord *Greis* was wounded in the head, and the younger Lord *Schuendi* with diuers other Captaines grieuously hurt. The next day after, 600 of the mountaine people came into the campe vnto the County, with supplications to request him, Not to giue ouer the siege vntill he had woon the City; promising him in the name of those Townes and Villages from whence they were sent, Of their own charges to repaire for him what harme so euer he should do in the City for the taking thereof, yea, though he should lay it euen with the ground: for why? the harmes they dayly receiued from the garrison of that City were wonderfull hurtfull.

Mahomet carefull of Strigonium.

At the same time also he was aduertised, by his espials (of whom he maintained many for the discouery of the enemies doings) that *Mahomet* the Turkish Sultan had writ vnto the Bassa of Buda, carefully to prouide that his beloued city of Strigonium tooke no harme, and not to spare either for men or mony in time to relieue it: and therein to do nothing without the aduice and good liking of his old and faithfull seruant *Alis-Beg*, who of long time had gouerned and also defended that city: and to the intent that nothing should be wanting for the performance hereof, that he had sent *Alexander*, Aga of the Ianizaries from the Court (whose seruice he might ill haue spared) whose approued counsell and helpe he might also vse in all things; for that he had rather lose some other whole kingdome, than that one city: And that therefore he should beware that it were not by the enemy woon, or by any composition yeelded; wherein if he failed, he threatened vnto him his heauy displeasure, not to be appeased without the price of his head. Which so seuere a commandement of the great Sultans the Bassa sent to them of Strigonium; with most grieuous threats from himselfe, if they, terrified with any battery, vndermining, or assault, should yeeld the city, & not hold it out as became valiant souldiers vnto the last man; swearing to impale them al vpon stakes that should consent to the yeelding vp thereof. The old gouernor *Alis-Beg* hauing receiued this so strict a command from him that was both able and like ynough to performe what he had threatened; vtterly so deter the souldiers from once thinking of yeelding, caused diligent enquiry to be made throughout the garison, if any of them had at any time made any motion of yeelding vp the city, or otherwise murmured against their captains or commanders appointing them to any seruice: and such as he found to haue so done, he to the terror of others caused to be presently executed: and after that went downe himselfe into the lower towne, to see that nothing were there wanting or amisse, where most danger was. But when he would haue again returned into the vpper town, he was staied by the Ianizaries, who told him, That seeing he was of so valiant and couragious a mind, and their Gouernor, he should there stay with them, and take such part as they did, were it better or worse: and so would he, or would he not, there needs stay he must.

Now the Bassaes of Buda and Temesware, with diuers Sanzackes as well of those parts of Hungary which the Turks possessed, as other places, were assembling their forces for the reliefe of the besieged in Strigonium: whereof the Transyluanian Prince hearing, made shew as if he would forthwith haue besieged Temesware, so that the Bassa thereof leauing the intended expedition for Strigonium, was glad to returne for the defence of his owne charge. They also of Stiria, Carinthia, and Croatia, with the troops of County *Serinus* had so stopped all the passages, that twelue thousand Turks which were comming from Zigeth and the places thereabout, could by no meanes come to joyne themselues with their fellowes for the reliefe of the distressed city.

The higher city of Strigonium battered by the Christians.

The County leauing nothing vnattempted or vndon that might help for the gaining of Strigonium, had made a notable fort vpon S. *Thomas* hill, and therein placed fiue great culuerins: wherewith he furiously battered the higher city, and did therein great harme: and thereby also brought to passe that no man could goe vp or downe the hill betwixt the vpper towne and the lower, but he was in danger to be set off with those pieces, or the musketeers; who defended by those great pieces, lay vpon the side of the hil in caues and bushes, awaiting for such as should

should go vp or downe betwixt the two townes. Thus the Christians at one time battered the vpper towne, the lower towne, and the strong towne and fort of Gokara, standing on the further side of Danubius ouer against Strigonium, besieged by the lord *Palfi*. But of all these places, Gokara was with the fury of the great ordnance most shaken: which the County perceiuing, caused the battery to be encreased, and so continued, vntill he had beaten downe the counterscarse, and made certaine faire breaches in the wall. Whereunto the Morauians (vnto whose lot it fell) the one and twentieth of Iuly gaue an assault in fiue diuers places, whom the Lord *Palfi* seconded with his Hungarians, of whom certaine were of purpose appointed, besides their armes, to bring things with them for the firing of the towne; which they in the time of the assault found meanes so well to bestow, that in a while the towne was all on a light fire. The Turks at first made notable resistance, but finding themselues ouerpressed, and seeing the town now on a fire about their eares, which with the wind so encreased, that it caught hold of the lower towne on the other side of the riuer; they retired to the riuer side, where some of them by boats got ouer to Strigonium, other some perished in the riuer, the rest falling into the hands of the Christians, were by them all put to the sword. Gokara thus taken, and the fire quenched, the Christians repairing the breaches, and storing it with all warlike prouision, left in it a strong garrison. Within a night or two after, were two hundred of the Turks horsmen descried in a field fast by, which caused an alarme to be raised in the campe, as if the whole army of the Turks had bin at hand: howbeit those horsemen retiring, and no other appearing, it was afterwards knowne, that they were only scouts sent out by the Turkes to take view of the army of the Christians, in what sort they lay encamped.

Gokara taken by the Christians.

The latter end of this moneth it fortuned, that a young country fellow secretly sent out of the city by the Gouernor, and falling into the hands of *Palfi*, was by him sent to the County; by whom he was in friendly manner demanded, from whence he came, whether he was going, and whereabouts? Whereunto the youth frankly answered, That he was sent from the Gouernor with letters to the Bassa of Buda; which he presently drew out of his bosome, and deliuered them vnto the County: who after he had read them, caused them to be closed vp againe, and so deliuered to the yong man, with some few crownes, commanding him to carry them to the Bassa, as he was about, and in his returne to bring him the Bassaes answer, promising for his so doing to reward him bountifully: which the yong man vndertooke to do, and so departed. Now the purport of the Gouernours letters was, That if the Bassa did not within six or seuen daies send him aid and relieue him, he should for want of victuals & other things necessary for the holding out of the siege, be inforced either to abandon the city, or to yeeld it vp into the enemies hands. Wherunto the Bassa returned answer by the aforesaid messenger, that he would within the appointed time be with him, willing him in the meane time to be mindfull of his wonted valor, and not to be with any thing discouraged: appointing him the day, the houre, the way, the meane, with all the other circumstances how he would relieue him. Which letters the yong man according to his promise deliuered vnto the County: who thereupon prouided accordingly for the welcomming of the Bassa. Within a day after also, one of the Turks canoniers considering the danger the city lay in, and fearing that it would be lost, fled out of it into the camp: who besides that he aptly declared the state of the city, and the wants the besieged were in, did also afterwards good seruice during the time of the siege. The Turks had in this while many times sallied out to their great losse: yet now vpon hope of better successe, they aduentured the 29 of this moneth to sally out againe, but with like fortune as before, leauing fourscore of their men behind them, hauing slaine but fiue of the Christians.

Now had the Turks in great wants by the space of a moneth right worthily defended Strigonium, expecting still for reliefe. At length news was brought into the camp, That the Bassa of Buda with 20000 men was comming to raise the siege: who the second of August came accordingly, and with his army encamped within foure miles of the Christians: lying so nigh, that certaine of the Turks horsemen seeking after booty, came very neere vnto the camp of the Christians, and out of the pastures, euen vnder their noses, carried away some few horses: against these desperat aduenturers, certaine troops of the Hungarian and German horsemen issuing out, had with them an hot skirmish; but the Turks of purpose retiring as men ouercharged, and the Christians still following on, had at length drawne them vnto the place where diuers other troops of the Turkes lay in ambush for them, who now starting forth, on euery

A skirmish betwixt the Turks & the Christians.

euery side hardly charged them. The Hungarian light horsemen well acquainted with such G
skirmishes, seeing the danger, presently fled and left the Germans to themselues: who for a
while valiantly encountered their enemies, but oppressed with multitude, were glad at last to
fly also. In this skirmish of the Christians were lost and grieuously wounded about 100. The
Turks encouraged with this so prosperous a beginning, came on the next day with all their ar-
my, being before resolued, by plaine force to open themselues a way into the city, and so to
relieue the besieged. Of all these things was not the County ignorant, as thereof forewarned
by the Bassaes letters before deliuered vnto him; and had therefore with his army strongly
belaied all the waies vnto the city. Neuertheless the enemy came still on betweene the hills
S. *Thomas* and S. *George*, and neere vnto the suburbs called the Rascian city, put themselues in
order of battell, as did also the Christians, giuing the enemy leaue to come euen to their tren- H
ches. In the mean time the Lord *Palfi* with his Hungarian horsmen fetching a compasse about
the hill on the one side, and the Lord *Swartzenburg* with his horsemen on the other, had so in-
closed the Turks behind, as that they could not without great danger retire. Both armies or-
derly ranged, and the signall of battell giuen, the Turks hauing before without any great harm
done discharged 17 field pieces, came on after their wonted manner with a most hideous cry,
and at the first onset, with their Turkish arrowes, as with a thick shoure darkned the sky: when
on the other side the German and Wallon horsmen with their petronels sent their deadly shot
as thicke as haile amongst them againe; and the men at armes after them taught the Turks to
their cost, how vnfit their light and halfe naked horsemen were in a set battell to meet with
them so well appointed: in a trice, but not without great slaughter, the battell was brought to I
the sword, and to be tried by true valor: There was to be heard a cry heauens high, the thunde-
ring of artillery both great and smal, the clattering of armor, the glistering weapons, the neigh-
ing of the horses, the crying of the wounded, the heauy groanings of the dying, with the noise
of the trumpets, drums, and other warlike instruments, made deafe the eares of the hearers, pre-
senting vnto them nothing but horor and euen present death. It was a most miserable sight to
see so many men in so short time slain: for the battell had scarce endured halfe an houre, when
many thousands of the Turks lay dead vpon the ground, and the rest seeing the victory incline
to the Christians, betooke themselues to flight, leauing behind them their great ordnance and
whatsoeuer els they brought for the relieue of the besieged: whom so flying, the lords, *Palfi* and K
Swartzenburg (who had before taken the streits wherby they were to passe between the moun-
tains) so receiued with their fresh horsmen, that of them that came that way few escaped. The
Bassa himselfe, who stood vpon the hill, seeing the discomfiture of his men, fled also himselfe:
the Bassa of Natolia with about 100 of the Turks moe by good fortune got into Strigonium.
The number of the Turks slain in this battel was great, & is of diuers diuersly reported, some
saying that there were slain 14000, and some fewer. Besides them that were slaine, many were
also taken, and some of them men of great name and place. There were also taken 27 ensignes,
with a multitude of camels, asses, and mules, laded with mony, shot, pouder, and other necessa-
ry prouision: all which, brought thither for the relieue of the besieged, became a prey vnto the
Christians. In the heat of this battel they of the city sallying out, had entred a sort of the Chri-
stians vpon the riuer side, but were againe presently driuen out, and with losse enforced to re- L
tire. After this victory the County sent certaine companies of the Hungarian and German
horsemen with 500 waggons to the enemies campe not far off in the mountaines: who com-
ming thither found it vtterly forsaken by the enemy, but well stored with all maner of neces-
sary prouision, which they carried all away, together with 600 tents, many whereof were li-
ned with damaske, satin, and other silke, richly embroidered or layed with gold lace or gold
twist. The Bassaes rich Tent taken by the Colonell of the horsemen, was afterwards by him
giuen vnto the County, as was also the plate and money there found, all which hee diuided
among the souldiers according to their deserts. In the Turks campe were also found certaine
heads of the Christians, with the dead body of the Lord *Brandensteine*, slaine in the conflict
but the day before, which the Christians carried away with them into the camp, and there ho- M
nourably buried them. Those that remained of the Turks army hid themselues in the moun-
tains and woods, and so holpen by the darkenesse of the night, made best shift for themselues
that they could. The Bassa himselfe accompanied but with twenty horse came to Buda about
midnight, and by his comming filled the City with great heauinesse, euery man lamenting
his

A cruell battell betwixt the Christians and the Turks before Strigonium.

The Turkes ouerthrown.

A his lost friends. The Hungarian Heidons best acquainted with the countrey, pricking vp and
down the mountains and by-waies, for certain days after the battel, brought in daily into the
camp such prisoners as they tooke, or else the heads of such Turks as they slew. Of this so no-
table a victory, the County by a speedy messenger certified the Archduke at Vienna, who re-
warded him for his good newes with a chaine worth fiue hundred duckats: and presently cau-
sed the song of thanksgiuing to be sung in the church of the Augustine Friers, and afterward
in all the Churches of the City. The County also to gratifie the Emperour, sent him by the
Lord *Gholon* his nephew, vnto Prague, two of the chiefe prisoners taken in the late battell, with
foure horsemens Guidons cunningly made of horse haires, such as are commonly carried be-
fore the greatest Commanders of the Turks armies, and fourteen other ensigns of the Turks,
B with fourteen most goodly horses of the Turks for a Present.

The next day after this battell, the County sent the Lord *Palfi* with an interpretor vnto the
City, to demand it to be yeelded: who hauing audience, declared vnto the Turks in what dan-
ger they were, that they help they looked for was now quite ouerthrowne, new relieue could
not but in long time be sent vnto them; and that therfore it should be good for them, whilst
yet they might, to be well aduised, and betimes to bethink themselues of yeelding vp the city,
least haply when they would, it then would not be accepted: promising to intreat with the Ge-
nerall, that they might in safety depart, and with sure conuoy be brought vnto such place of
safety as were conuenient. Whereunto the besieged Turks answered, That the Christians had
now fiue weeks lien at the siege, and must yet lie three weeks longer: and that whereas of late
C some few of their friends came to haue relieued them, and had failed therein, there was yet an
hundred thousand moe to come after them, who if they should not be able to performe that
they came for, yet that they would not for that deliuer or forsake the City, before they were
ready to be drawne out of it by the heeles, and that yet they would then take three daies to re-
solue thereupon.

Now had the Christians with long and continuall batterie sore beaten both the vpper and
the lower towne, which battery they now maintained with greater fury than at any time from
the beginning of the siege, & within the city their wants increased daily, hauing nothing left
to liue vpon but a little wheat and barley, with some horse flesh: to whom thus distressed, the
Lord *Palfi* by the commandement of the County (to try what confidence they yet had in
D themselues) the ninth of August sent two Gentlemen to the city, to do a message from him
to the Gouernor. Who aduertised therof, being a very aged and courteous man, accompanied
with the Aga of the Ianizaries, came to the wals to heare what they had to say; where one of
the said Gentlemen in few words deliuered him this short message.

The message sent by the lord Palfi to the Gouernor of Strigonium.

My most gratious Lordship Lord Palfi, *most worthy Gouernor, greeteth thee well, and knowing thee to be a Captaine both valiant and wise, and one that hath always courteously vsed such as haue fallen into thine hands, hath compassion of thy desperate obstinacie: and therefore, whereas thou art to looke or hope for nothing else but present death and destruction, he as thy neighbor and a louer of thy vertues, aduiseth and exhorteth thee, if thou wilt saue thy selfe and thine from most vndoubted and imminent death and vtter confusion, without delay to deliuer vp this city, which thou canst not longer hold.*

E Vnto whom the old Gouernour thus without stay courteously answered:

The resolute answer of the old Gouernor, to the message sent him by Palfi.

Thy speech my friend, and thy Masters aduice are vnto me both vaine. Tell the Lord Palfi *in my name, that I cannot pleasure him with the least stone in this city. One foot I haue already in the graue, and will with honour carry the same my gray haires into the same: and am yet comforted with a most certaine and vndoubted hope, that my most dread and mighty Souuraigne, and my Lord* Sinan Bassa *will not forsake me: yea and that if they should write vnto me, that they could find no meanes or way to relieue me (which I am sure they can) yet would I well, and at leisure consider, whether it were fit for me to deliuer vp this city or not; seeing that of the defence thereof, dependeth all mine honour and credit. Besides that, when remaineth hope of both sides, that so easily deliuer ouer the vities they haue in charge, all the world doth see.*

F With this answer he sent them away. All this while the Aga of the Ianizaries standing by
spoke not one word, but sighing in silence and grinding his teeth, declared by his counte-
nance his indignation and inward griefe.

In the mid way betweene Buda and Strigonium, in the middest of the riuer of Danubius

lieth a little Island called Viaze, wherin many rich Clothiers dwelt: this Island the Hungari-
an Heidons spoiled, and in returning thence met with 24 wagons laden with Corne, going to G
Buda, which they took, with 28 prisoners which they brought into the camp. The lower town
The low town taken by the Christians. being with long and continual battery made saultable, was by the Christians the thirteenth
of August, in three diuers places at once assaulted. The Bavarians were by lot to giue the first
charge; who in the performing therof beginning to faint (for that they were notably repul-
sed by the Turks) but seconded by them of Reitnaw and Suevia, pluckt down a great pallisa-
do, filled the ditches, remoued what soeuer stood in their way, and so long fought with the
Turks, that by the comming in of the Marquesse of Burgawe with sixe ensignes of fresh men,
they preuailed vpon the Enemy, and so altogether brake into the Towne. In the middest of
this dangerous fight was the Marquesse himselfe, who both with his presence and cheerefull H
speech so incouraged his souldiers, that they as men fearing no perill, ran headlong into all
danger, vntill they had entered the Towne. There might a man haue heard a miserable cry,
especially of women and children thorowout the City; when as the Christians breaking in
on euery side slew whomsoeuer came in their way, without respect of age or sexe, sparing neit-
ther women great with child, neither the little children hanging at their mothers breast. Yet
did not all that were entred so much attend the present execution, as some of them did the
spoile and prey; and especially the Hungarians, vnto whom all was good booty, euen the ve-
ry hinges of the doors and windows: wherby many escaped into the castle and vpper towne,
with the Bassa and *Alis Beg* the old Gouernor. The Christians had not many houres possi-
sed the town, but that diuers fires began to break out at diuers places, but by what meanes was D
not at the first known. At last it was found out, that the Turks doubting the losse of the town,
had before where they thought best left gunpouder, which taking fire by matches left bur-
ning for that purpose, should at a certaine time set all on fire. By which meanes many most
horrible fires were raised in the Towne, which consumed many goodly buildings, and other
things which might haue stood the Christians in great stead, and could hardly be in a day or
two quenched.

This so joyfull a victory saw not hee, by whose good direction next vnder God it was gai-
ned, the worthy County; for he a few daies before being fallen sick of a feuer, taken by drin-
king too much cold drink in his heat, with immoderat paines taken in the late battell, and so
afterwards falling into a great flix with a feuer, was by the counsell of his physitians (for the I
better recouering of his health) remoued to Comara, as a place of more quietnes; hauing be-
fore his departure sent for the Archduke to come into the towne, and for *Blankenniet* into Ba-
varia to supply his own room. But his disease still increasing, became at last desperat, so that
the Physitians themselues now dispaired of his health. Yet lying thus drawing towards his
end, he almost euery hour inquired how the Army did, and whether the City were yet taken,
or what hope there was of the taking thereof. But when it was told him a little before his
Count Mansfelt dieth. death, That the lower town was won, hee thereat very greatly rejoiced, and the next day being
the fourteenth of August, towards night quietly departed this world, to the great losse of the
Christian commonweal, and the exceeding griefe of the whole army. A man euen from his
childehood brought vp in arms, of stature great, but of courage greater, & painfull aboue mea-
sure, not the least cause of his vntimely death. All the time of this siege hee tooke little rest
either by day or night, scarce so much as to lie down vpon his bed in two or three nights to-
gether. The little meat he did eat, for most part he ate it standing or walking, yea sometimes
on horse-back: hewas a most seuere obseruer of martial discipline, which caused him to be of
his soldiers both beloued and feared. His bowels were with due solemnity buried at Comara
where he died: but his body was brought back again to Luxemburg, there to be honorably in-
terred with his Ancestors.

About this time *Theodore* the great Duke of Muscovia hearing of the wars betweene the
Emperor and the Turk, sent two Embassadors with letters & presents to the Emperor: which
Embassadours comming to Prague the 1 of August, accompanied with 250 horse, were by M
the Emperors appointment honorably receiued and entertained. And afterwards hauing au-
dience, first deliuered the Letters of credence from the great Duke, reported to haue bee of
this purport.

Tour

A *Your Maiesty hath sent vnto vs your Embassador* Nicolas Warkotsie, *requesting our brotherly aid against the hereditary enemy of all Christianitie, the Turkish Sultan. Wherfore we also desiring to liue with you our dear and welbeloued brother, in all perpetuall amity and friendship, send vnto you by our faithfull Counsellor and seruant,* Michael Iwanowitze, *and* Iohn Sohnie, *aid out of our treasurie against the said enemy. Vnto whom wee haue also giuen other things in charge to be propounded to your Majesty, requesting you to giue vnto them in all things full credit.* *The great duke his Letters to the Emperor.*

Giuen in the great Court of our power at Musco, *An. Mundi* 7103. and from Christs nativity 1595. in the moneth of April.

B What things in particular these Embassadors were sent for was not commonly known, but among others it is said, That the Muscovit requested the Emperor to send an Embassador to the Persian king, to draw him also into the league with them against the Turk: which Embassador should first go into Muscovie, and that way passe into Persia. The presents which the great Duke sent the Emperor, were 150000 florins of gold, great store of most rich furres and pretious perfumes deemed to be of exceeding value, two white Falcons, and three Leopards alive. *Iwanowitze* the Embassador himself presented vnto the Emperor of himselfe, certaine rich Turky, Persian, and Babylonian hangings & carpets, certain timbers of sables, with other rich furres as pretious as sables, so many as eight porters could hardly carry. These Embassadors tarried at Prague vntil the 27 of December, and then taking their leaue, returned with
C the Emperors answer to the Duke.

But to return again to Strigonium: The Christians now possessed of the lower town, bent all their battery vpon the higher town, where it fortuned the 14 of August, That the old Go-
The gouernour of Strigonium slain. vernor *Alis Beg*, whilst he was carefully walking from place to place, to see where most danger was, had his arm struck off with a great shot, of which hurt he presently died. He was a man of great grauity, about 80 years old, and had of long time notably both gouerned and defended that famous city, the losse wherof was like enough to haue bin vnto him greater grief than was the losse of his life there. Much about the same time also died the Aga of the Ianizaries, beeing before mortally wounded. Both the chief commanders thus slain, the Ianizaries with the other soldiers and citisens made choice of the Bassa of Natolia (who as is afore said, escaped
D out of the late battel into the city) for their gouernor; who with heauy cheer tooke vpon him that forlorn charge. The Christians not ignorant of the death of these two worthy men, in whose great and approued valor they supposed the chiefe defence of the City to haue rested, were in good hope that now the rest would more readily hearken to some good composition: and therfore sent a messenger to demand, if they would yet whilst there were some mercy left yeeld the city. Who though they had lost their chief Commanders, with the greatest part of their garrison, and were in great wants both of victuals and all things els necessary for their defence; yet their answer was in few words, That they would hold it out euen to the last man. The greatest cause of which their obstinate resolution was the streight charge the Bassa of Buda had giuen them for the defence thereof: besides that, they accounted the City holy, as
E won by their magnificent Emperor *Solyman*, whom the Turkes generally had in a deuout remembrance, and therfore thought it great impiety to deliuer it vp vnto the Christians. The next day after came *Matthias* the Archduke into the campe; who after he had wel viewed the whole army, and the maner of the siege, he called together into his tent the chiefe Commanders, namely the Marquis of Burgaw his cousin, *Iohn de Medices* the Florentine, and the Lord *Palfi* the Hungarian, to consult with them, what were further to be don for the winning of the city. Shortly after, he commanded the city to bee at once in two places assaulted: which was by the Germans and Wallons couragiously performed; but such was the valor of the defendants, that when the Christians had don what they could, they were glad at last to giue ouer the assault, & with losse to retyre. About this time came the Duke of Mantua, with the three
F Counties his brethren to the siege; and now the Turks began again to draw together neer to Buda, there to make head for the relief of Strigonium, & to be reuenged of the losse they had there before receiued. Whereof the Archduke hauing intelligence, sent out against them 8000 chosen soldiers out of the campe, who suddenly setting vpon the Turks in their campe, before Sun rising, made a great slaughter among them, and tooke certain prisoners, of whom

 the

the Sanzack of Copan was one; and so with victory returned again vnto the siege.

The besieged Turks in Strigonium vnderstanding of this ouerthrow of their friends, from whom they expected most speedy reliefe, and besides the terror of the continuall battels, and the still feared assaults, pinched also with extream wants of all things, began now to faint. Wherfore the Bassa and the other captains, ouercome with the aforesaid difficulties, and the general outcry of the fearfull people, resolued with one consent to come now to parle, & vp on reasonable conditions to yeeld vp the city. Wherupon a flag of truce was set vp, and parle craued: which granted, the Archduke after Sun set came into the lower towne, where nine of the Turkes attended his comming; who entring into parley, required that they might vndersafe conuoy with bag and baggage depart, and so leaue him the city: which the Arch. Duke would not by any means agree vnto. At length with much intreaty they obtained, That they might vpon the same conditions depart, that the Christians did at Rab, with their seimiters by their sides, and so much of their goods as they could carry vpon their backs; to such ships as were to be appointed for their cariage to Buda. For performance wherof hostages were on both sides giuen; and so the next day, being the second of September, they began to come out of the city, moe in number than either the prisoners taken in the time of the siege had confessed, or the Christians had thought. Thirty ships were appointed for conueying of them down the riuer to Buda; which not sufficing, many of them tarried in the City vntil the next day, at which time the Bassa with the sick and wounded sailed to Buda, the prisoners and pledges on both sides beeing before faithfully deliuered. Thus by the goodnes of God, and the good conduct of a few valiant Christians, was Strigonium the metropolitical city of Hungary, after it had 52 years groaned vnder the miserable yoke of the Turkish seruitude, again restored to the Christian commonweal; which the Christians forthwith repaired and new fortified, as was thought best for the defence therof against the enemy. All which being done, about the midst of this month the Archduke sent 18000 to besiege Vicegrade, otherwise called Plindenburg, a strong castle of the Turks vpon the riuer betwixt Strigonium and Buda: which castle they tooke. Which when they of Buda vnderstood, they were stricken with such a feare, that many of the better sort were ready to forsake the city; insomuch that the Bassa to stay their flight, was glad to command the gates of the city to be shut vpon them, and no man suffered to passe out. This good succes of the Christians in these wars caused great reioycing in most parts of Christendom.

Strigonium yeelded to the Christians.

Vicegrade taken by the Christians.

All the while the Christians were thus busied at the siege of Strigonium, the Transylvanian prince was not idle, but in diuers places did the Turks exceeding much harme; so that now his name began to be dreadful vnto them. It fortuned the same day that Count *Mansfelt* departed at Comara, that the Prince at Alba-Iulia with great solemnity maried *Maria Christina* the daughter of the late Archduke *Charles*, son to the Emperor *Ferdinand*; her other sister *Anna* being before maried to *Sigismund* King of Polonia. For so it was agreed for the more assurance of the league betwixt the Emperour and him, That hee should take his wife out of the house of Austria, which he now did. Of this solemnity the Turks his euil neighbours hauing intelligence, assembling to the number of 30000 or more, thought as vnwelcome guests to haue come vnbidden or vnlooked for thereunto: but the vigilant prince vnderstanding of their comming, prouided for their entertainment accordingly, and setting his pleasures for a while apart, and comming vpon them when they least looked for him, in a great battell ouerthrew them and slew most part of them, carrying away with him as a triumphant Victor the whole spoil of his enemies.

About the same time the Transylvanians also besieged Fagiat, a town holden by the Turks not far from Temeswar; where after they had lien twelue daies, they of the town dispairing to be able long to hold out, came to parley, and couenanting to depart with bag and baggage began to go out of the town. But in their departure, vnderstanding that the Bassa of Temeswar, with the Sanzacks of Lippa and Ienne were comming to their reliefe, they that were yet in the town began to find delaies, and they that were already gon out began to return. Wherwith the Transylvanians much mooued, by plaine force entred the town, and put them all to the sword; and afterward turning vpon the Bassa, who with ten thousand Turkes and certaine field pieces was comming to haue relieued the Town, had with them a cruell battell; wherein most part of the Turks fell, with small losse vnto the Transylvanians: who so eagerly pursued

sued the victory, that the Bassa himselfe had much adoe with 500 others to escape. The two Sanzacks with diuers others of good place were taken and sent prisoners to the Prince. Not long after, about the later end of August the Transylvanians besieged Lippa, a famous city of Hungary standing vpon the riuer Maracz, not far from Temeswar: which the Turks being not able longer to hold, fled into the castle, where finding themselues in no great safety, after three daies siege they came to parley, and so yeelded, vpon condition that they might in safety depart with so much of their goods as they could themselues carry. About which time also the Bassa of Bosna with 10000 Turks and Tartars went forth to haue again recouered Babotsca, a frontier town before taken by the Christians: which the Stirians and the rest of the Christians dwelling therabouts, between the two riuers of Sauus and Drauus vnderstanding, conducted by the Lords *Herbenstein*, *Leucowitz*, and *Eckenberg*, that had the charge of those frontiers, ouertook the said Turks and Tartars neer vnto Babotsca, fought with them, and in plain field ouerthrew them.

Lippa taken by the Christians.

Mahomet, not a little grieued with the good succes of the Christians in euery part of Hungary, and aboue measure offended with *Ferat Bassa* his General, through whose negligence all or at leastwise most part of this had hapned (as hee was by the enuy of *Sinan Bassa* persuaded) sent for him home, and in his place sent out *Sinan*. Of which the great Sultans displeasure *Ferat* was not ignorant, as forewarned therof by her that best knew, euen the Sultans mother, and aduised not to come in sight vntil his peace were made. Who neuertheles trusting to his own innocencie (the comfortable, but most dangerous and weake stay of the Great) and doubting not to answer whatsoeuer *Sinan* should be able to charge him with, came to the Court, where he was by *Mahomets* commandement shortly after strangled; and his goods to the value of 500000 ducats confiscated.

Ferat Bassa strangled.

Among all the dangerous enemies of the Christian commonweale was none at this time more cruel than was *Sinan*, an Epirot born, a fishers sonne, of a rough and vnciuill disposition, now about 83 years old, euen from his youth brought vp in the Warres, and yet (as his motto was) breathing nothing but *Bloud and war*. He had many times fortunatly led the huge armies of the Turkish Emperors, *Solyman*, *Selymus*, and *Amurath*, and is now sent by the great Sultan *Mahomet*, as the fittest man to reduce the late reuolted countries of Transylvania, Valachia, and Moldavia, to their former thraldom; which he before promised vnto *Mahomet*, vpon peril of his head to doe. Hee hauing raised a right puissant army, by a bridge made of boats (after a months labor spent therin) passed ouer the great riuer of Danubius into Valachia. Of whose comming the Transylvanians with the Valachians and Moldavians hauing knowledge, had before so shut vp the passages of the country, as that he could not without much danger haue far entred; and were also ready with their vnited forces euen at his first enterance to giue him battel. Which he not refusing, there began a most mortal and cruel fight, with much bloudshed on both sides. Thrice were the Transylvanians inforced to retyre, but stil relieued with new supplies, and knowing that they then carried in their armes the welfare of their whole country, came on afresh again, and as hardly charged the Turks, as they had bin by them charged. Thus with doubtfull fortune and great slaughter was the battel maintained from morning vntil night, victory with doubtfull wings houering now ouer the one side, now ouer the other. Vntill that at length the Turks ouercome by vertue valor, their battels being quite disordered and broken, were now glad to seeke to saue themselues by flight. In this battel (being fought the seuenth of September) besides many thousands of the common souldiers, were slain also diuers of great account amongst the Turks: amongst the rest, *Haider Bassa*, a man of them much regarded, was found dead euen in the same place where the battell was fought. *Sinan* himselfe in making too much haste to get ouer the bridge, fell into the deepe mud, and in that general confusion of his army was like enough there to haue perished: but as the common prouerb goeth, *Seldom lies the Diuel dead in a dike*, the old Viliard was with much ado drawn out by them of his gard, and so saued to further mischief. Neuertheless the danger was so great, that for certain daies it was commonly reported that he was there drowned, most of his owne people not as yet certainly knowing what was become of him. All the spoil of the Turks became a prey vnto the Christians, as did also the great ordnance, and many of their ensignes; amongst which was one green one which they accounted Religious, as sacred

Sinans great army defeated by the Transilvanians.

to the prophet *Mahomet*; wherunto they in time of their greatest distres fly as to their last re- G
fuge. There was taken also all their tents, with great aboundance of victuals and other War-
like prouision.

The old Bassa thus ouerthrown, ful of grief, and euen made for despight, posted himself in all hast to the court; thinking it better himselfe to make the best of that which was indeed naught, than to haue it made worse than naught by the enuious report of others: and withal to fil the great Sultans mind with desire of reuenge, which no man so much longed after as himself. Wherin he so discreetly vsed the matter, as that the late losse was easily past ouer, as receiued by the common chance of War, or any other occasion else whatsoeuer, rather than by any default of his; and new Commission giuen him for the raising of another Army for the subduing of the late reuolted countries. In the mean time, to shew his hatred vnto the Christians, and to please the eies of them of the court with the nouelty of the sight, he caused an H
hundred & twelue Christian captiues whom he had in prison at Belgrade, to be brought like beast in chains to Constantinople, and so being led thorow the principal streets of the City, to the vain contentment of the citizens, to brought to the court gate for the Sultan to look vpon, and the Courtiers to deride. From whence they were after many vnspeakeable indignities conueyed to most miserable and loathsome prisons, there to be fed with the bread of tribulation.

The Turkes ouerthrown in Croatia.

About this time the Turks vnder the command of the Bassa of Bosna, to the number of almost 20000 made a road into Croatia; where they were by the Christians vnder the leading of the Lord *Eckenberg* and *Leucowitz* ouerthrown and almost all slain; the Christians follow- I
ing the chace euen into the Turks frontiers, burnt 15 of their villages, and took the Castle of Varuiuar. Immediatly after, their forces increasing by the comming in of the Lord *Herbenstein* gouernor of Valeria and Windismarch, and certain other troups of horsemen out of Carinthia and the countries therabouts, they returned the 13 of September to besiege Petrinia, otherwise called Petrowina; which because they were in hope to take by assault, they euen at their first comming couragiously assailed. But after two hours hard fight, finding both greater resistance and more difficultie than they had before supposed, and that without great ordnance (which could not in short time be got ouer the mountaines) there was no good to bee don, they were glad to giue ouer the assault, and with such losse as they had receiued, to return to Siseg, there to consult further of the matter. But the same night a fugitiue horsman fled K
from the enemy, came to the camp, and told the Christians, That *Rustan Beg* gouernor of Petrinia was in the late assault wounded in the brest with a smal shot and dead: & that the Turks in the town discouraged with his death, and the late ouerthrow of their friends in Croatia, would vpon the first sight of them abandon the town, if they would but again return to besiege it. Vpon which good hope the Christians presently rise, and set forward again toward Petrinia; which the Turks, hearing of their comming, had before, as the soldier reported, for feare abandoned. So the Christians without resistance entring the town, found therin some pillage, but better store of shot and pouder: and presently sending for certain troups of horsemen to pursue the flying Turks, took diuers of them, and amongst the rest the late gouernor Lieu- L
nant, whom they brought back into the town. Thus was Petrinia again recouered from the Turks, to the great quiet and safety of all that side of the country.

Petrinia taken by the Christians.

Sigismund the Transyluanian prince, not ignorant with what an enemy he had to do, either of the malice of old *Sinan*, (who he knew would not be long before he returned) or yet of the Polonians secret practise for the drawing of the country of Moldavia from him; sought now by all means (as it stood him vpon) to make himself as strong as he could against so many stormes arising. It fortuned that euen at the same time the Zaculians (better knowne by the name of Siculi) in former time a free people, but as then tributary vnto the Turks, bordering vpon the Northeast part of Transylvania, now weary of the Turkish thraldom, and seeing the good succes of the Prince, and the late reuolted countries their neighbours, offered vnto the Prince their seruice; promising of their own charge to maintain forty thousand men in the M
field during his Wars with the Turke, and yearly to pay him of every house a Dollar, with a certaine Measure of Wheat, Oats, and Barley, after the manner of their own Country: and further, That if God should blesse him with a son to succeed him in his gouernment, euery hou-

sholder

A sholder should giue vnto him a good fat oxe. For all which seruice they craued no more, but that as his subiects they might liue vnder his protection; yet so, as to bee gouerned by their own antient lawes and customes. Of which their offer the prince accepting, it was forthwith by them proclaimed in their camp, and all the people sworn to the performance of the aforesaid agreement. And hauing at that present but 25000 in the field, they without delay sent out their officers to presse vp 15000 moe, for the filling vp of the promised number of 40000, wherwith they came to the Prince; who taking a view of his army, found himselfe to be now 80000 strong, to welcome the Bassa withall when he should come again into his country.

Now had *Sinan* with great speed raised an army of 70000 choice soldiers, amongst whom were many whole bands of the Ianizaries, the strength of the Turkish Empire. With which B power, joined vnto the reliques of his other broken forces, he thought himself strong enough for the subduing of the Prince. Vnto whom also afterward came *Hassan Bassa*, son to the great Bassa *Muhamet*, one of the Turks most renowned men of War, and *Bogdanus* the late expulsed Vayuod of Valachia, with many others of great name. With this Army the old Bassa by a bridge which he with exceeding charge had made of boats, passed ouer the great riuer Danubius at a town called Zorza or Giorgo (with vs S. *George*) in Valachia, a great way beneath that place where somtime the Emperor *Trajan* built his famous bridge of stone, worthily accounted amongst the rare and wonderfull buildings of the world. From Zorza hee marched to Tergovista, (somtime the Vayuods chiefe City, but then in the Turks power) where is a notable Monasterie, which hee conuerted into a Castle, fortifying it with deepe trenches and C strong bulwarkes, and good store of great ordnance; purposing to make that the seat of his war, vntill he had again restored those late reuolted countries vnto the Turkish empire, which he vpon pain of his head had vndertaken to perform. The Prince both by messengers and Letters vnderstanding of the Bassa's arrival there, and hauing his army in good readines, set forward to meet him and giue him battel. But being come into Valachia, and there incamped, it is reported, That a great Eagle descending from an high rocke there by, called the Kings Rock, and houering ouer the Christian army, flew about the princes tent, and there lighting, was taken and presented to the Prince, who commanded her to be kept as the presage of his good fortune, holding on stil his way; and the fifteenth of October being come within halfe a daies march of Tergovista, he vnderstood by two Christians lately escaped from the Turks, D That two daies before, the Turks hearing of his comming, were strucken with such a general and sudden feare, that *Sinan* had much ado either by faire meanes or by foule to stay the Ianizaries from flight; and that when he had done what he could, yet that certaine companies of them were quite fled and gon. But the truth was, That *Sinan* seeing the general feare of his Army, and he himselfe no lesse fearfull than the rest; vpon the Princes approach fled with all his Army, leauing behinde him for haste his Tents, his great Ordnance, with much victualls and other warlike prouision; carrying with him onely such things as were of most value. As for the city of Tergovista, with the castle which he had made of the Monastery, hee committed to the keeping of *Hassan Bassa* and *Bogdanus* the late Vayuod (now become a renegat Turk) with a garrison of 4000 chosen soldiers, promising within a few daies, if need should be, to re- E lieue them, but fled himself in all haste with his Army to Bucharesta, a daies journey from Tergovista. From whence he presently writ backe againe to *Hassan Bassa*, willing him if hee could to defend the castle; but if he should think it not possible to be kept against the power of the Prince, then betimes to forsake it, and to shift for himselfe. But these letters being intercepted by the Christians, neuer came to the Bassa's hands. Not long after the departure of *Sinan*, the Prince comming to Tergovista, entred the forsaken Campe, where hee found many tents, with some Ordnance, and great store of victuals; and without further delay summoned both the city and castle, which for all that were both denied him. But the next day after, *Hassan* considering the flight of *Sinan*, the power of the Prince, and withall doubting, if need should be, to be relieued by *Sinan*, whom he not without cause suspected not to loue him, was about vpon some reasonable composition to haue yeelded vp both the city and the castle. To which the garison soldiers (being most of them Ianizaries) would not in any case giue their consent, but stood vpon the defence of the place. Wherfore the prince began furiously to batter both the city and the castle, and after some few hours battery, by assault took both, and put

Sinan passeth ouer Danubius into Valachia by a bridge made of boats.

to

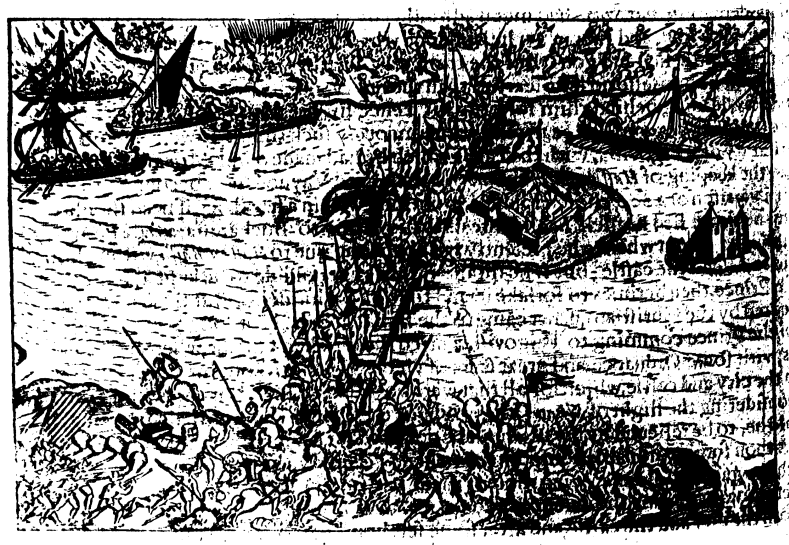
to sword the whole garrison; only *Hassan Bassa*, as taken with his own hand, he spared, and two other Sanzackes. *Bogdanus* the Renegate was there slain among the rest. The Christians had there a rich prey, besides 42 great pieces of ordnance, and good store of all manner of warlike prouision. *Hassan* thus taken, grieuously complained, That *Sinan* had of a milicious purpose exposed him to so manifest peril, for the grudge he bare vnto his dead father the Visier *Muhamet*, vpon whom because he could neuer be reuenged, he now by sinister means had cunningly performed it vpon his son: yet he craued of the prince to be wel vsed, offering for his ransome 100000 Hungarian ducats. Whilst the Prince yet thus lay at Tergovista, came thither 4000 Turks, whom *Sinan* had before his departure thence sent forth to spoil the country, & to seek after prey, thinking to haue there found him stil: who now falling into the hands of the Christians, were there all slain, and 60000 head of cattell recouered, which these Turkes had taken out of Valachia and Moldavia, and should by *Sinans* appointment haue bin sent to Constantinople. For Valachia and Moldavia do so abound with corn and cattel, that they plentifully serue the Imperial city of Constantinople not only with corn and flesh, but also yearely send at least 150 ships thither by the blacke sea, laded with other kind of victuals. Of which so great commodities the Turks were now depriued, by the reuolt of the said Countries.

The fruitfulnes of Valachia & Moldavia.

The Prince hauing a strong garrison in Tergovista, set forward with his army towards Bucaresta, hoping there to haue found *Sinan*: but he hearing of the losse of Tergovista, and thinking himself in no good safety at Bucaresta, fled thence also to Zorza. The prince comming to Bucaresta, found it abandoned by the Turks, & so took it without resistance, yet had there in certain field pieces, with good store of shot and pouder left there by *Sinan*. Hauing there staid a while for the maning of the place, hee set forward againe towards Zorza, and that with such speed, that he ouertook great numbers of the Turks, whom hee put all to the sword. So that the fields betwixt Bucaresta & Zorza were in many places couered with the Turks dead bodies. Neuertheles he could not make so great haste, marching stil in good order, but that the fearfull Bassa disorderly hasting, was about some six hours or more before come vnto the bridge he had with great charge made ouer the riuer Danubius; the forme whereof you may here see.

Bucaresta take by the Prince.

The Bridge made ouer Danubius by Sinan Bassa, Anno 1595.



Ouer the hithermost part of which bridge (being in length about a mile) was *Sinan* with the greatest part of his Army, before the comming of the Prince, got ouer into an Island in the midst of the riuer, wherin he had at his comming ouer incamped: but doubting now there to stay, with all the speed he could got him ouer the other part of the bridge, to the farther side of the riuer, with so many of his men as in so short time possibly could: where to stay the further pursuit of the Prince, he brake the bridge on that side, and set fire vpon it; and therby cut off also many of his own men that were not as yet come ouer. Whom the Prince inclosing, forced many of them into the riuer, where they perished; the rest flying into the Island, were by the Christians fiercely pursuing them, either there slaine, or seeking by the other part of the bridge to haue got ouer (wherof the farther end was before broken down by *Sinan*, and the hither end toward the Island now cut off by the Christians) were together with the bridge caried away by the violence of the riuer, and so all together perished. Others of the Christians in the mean time took the bridge that leadeth to the castle of Zorza, which stands compassed about with an arm of Danubius, and being not very great, was kept by a garison of 700 select soldiers. Vnto which castle the prince presently laid siege (the resolute soldiers being not by any means to be persuaded to yeeld it vp, but to hold it out euen to the last man) and after he had sore battered it, by plain force took it, and put to the sword all the garrison souldiers hee could lay hands vpon. About 100 of these Turks seeing they must needs fall into the power of their enemies, desperatly leapt from the top of the Castle into the riuer, where not one of them escaped, being all either drowned, or slain with small shot. In the winning of this castle 250 of the Christians were lost, and many wounded: but of the Turks and Tartars betweene the eighteenth and the last of October, perished aboue six and twenty thousand. In this Castle were taken thirty nine great pieces, with such store of armor and other warlike prouision as might haue serued for a whole kingdom, and 4000 Christians, besides women & children, whom *Sinan* had taken out of Valachia, restored to their former liberty. With whome the Prince, after he had set all things in order, returned in great triumph to Tergovista, and so afterwards to his palace at Alba-Iulia, where, as also at Claudiopolis and other Cities thorow his dominions, he caused publique prayers, with thankesgiuing to Almighty God to bee deuoutly made for so great a victory: as did also *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, who in all these great wars against the Turks was nothing inferior to the Transylvanian himself.

Sinan flieth.

The Prince returns with victory to Alba-Iulia.

A greater losse than this the Turkish Emperor receiued not at land in many years before; being by this so happy and victorious a prince, and the reuolt of these three countries, depriued of so much territory as they had not from the Christians in long time gained. It was by some of the better sort of the Turks that were taken, reported, That *Sinan Bassa* should oftentimes say, That this yong Transylvanian prince had bereft him of all the honor and renowne he had with great trauel got in the course of his long life: and that although he had escaped his hands, yet that he feared he would be the cause for him in these his great years, euen in the winding vp of all, to lose his life together with his goods and honor. Now was the Transylvanian princes name (after the ouerthrow of this great Bassa) become dreadfull to the Turkes, and also famous thorow all Christendom: which as it hath filled the ears of many with admiration, so haply may the liuely representation of his feature, by cunning hand set forth, feed the longing eies of some with delight, and serue in better stead than the rude description of his person.

SIGISMVND, Prince of Transylvania, Valachia, and Moldavia.

Miles eras Christi, nulli pietate secundus,
Et solus patriæ gloria magna tuæ
Inclita. Si Virtus, quæ te super æthera vexit,
Tam stabili cursu continuata foret.

RIC. KNOLLEVS.

Of Christ thou wert a soldier true, inferior vnto none;
Thy countries ioy and glory great vnto the world well knowne.
If worthy Vertue, that thee rais'd aboue the starry sky,
With stedfast pace had run the race so wel begun by thee.

Ienna yeelded to the Transylvanians.

Whilst this worthy prince was thus busied in this expedition against *Sinan*, hee caused the castle of Ienna, standing vpon the highway betweene Temesware and Giula, to be besieged by certain of his Captains appointed to that seruice; in which castle lay one of the Turks Sanzacks with a garrison of 700 Turks, who much troubled such as passed that way. They now brought to some extremitie, and terrified with the successe of the prince, offered to giue vp the Castle, so that as souldiers with their scimiters by their sides they might in safety bee M brought to Panoda. Which their offer being accepted of, and they now vpon their way, the Hungarian light horsmen that should haue conducted them, informed that these Turks now vnder their charge, had secret intelligence with the Turkes in garrison at Giula and Temesware, That they should lie in ambush for them neer Panoda, and so cut them off by the way; set

A set vpon these Turks whom they should haue conducted, and cut the throats of four hundred of them: and yet still holding on their way, met with these Turks that lay in ambush for them, whom they after a sharp skirmish ouerthrew, and hauing slain a great number of them, put the rest to flight. By the taking of Ienna the waies therabout were quieted, especially for them of Waraden. The Sanzack of Ienna reported, That *Mahomet* had but a little before sent word vnto his Bassa's and Sanzacks in Hungary, That such castles and towns as they thought were not to be defended against the Christians, they should betimes as occasion serued yeeld them vp, or forsake them; so to spare the needlesse losse of his good soldiers, of whom he had with so many towns and strong holds lost no small number this year in Hungary. Ienna thus taken, diuers of the richer sort in Temesware fearing to be euen presently besieged, sent their wiues B and children with their treasure and such other things as they made most reckoning of, out of the city in wagons, to be conueyed vnto places of more safety: of which Wagons seuenty were by the Christians lying thereabout in garrison, intercepted, and in them an exceeding rich booty.

Mahomet hauing this year fully purposed the vtter ruine of the Transylvanian prince, and the reducing of the countries of Transylvania, Moldavia, and Valachia vnto his obeisance by the great Bassa *Sinan*; had for the better effecting thereof before prouided, That the Crim-Tartar (ready stil at his call) should with his own people (wherof he hath great store) & certain bands of the Turks, at the same time inuade Moldauia; & possessing himself of this country, to place one *Sidriake* Vayuod, in stead of *Stephen* placed by the Prince, and to people the C country with his Tartars, in reward of his good seruice, as he said; but indeed to haue them always neer at hand to do his commandements in Hungary, Polonia, Transiluania, or the other countries of the Christians thereunto adioining. The Tartar according to his appointment, came with 70000 Tartars, accompanied with their wiues and children, to haue planted themselues in the countrey, at the very same time that *Sinan* came to Tergouista. But being come vpon the frontiers of Moldauia, to haue put in execution what he was by *Mahomet* commanded, he found there *Zamoschie* the great Chancellour of Polonia ready with a strong army to oppose himselfe against him, and to stay his farther passage. Whereupon some light skirmishes passed betweene the Tartars and the Polonians: where the Tartars were still put to the worse with the losse of 3000 of their men. The Tartar *Cham* with *Sidriake* the Vayuod appoin-D ted by the Turke, finding themselues, though in number moe, yet in strength inferior vnto the Polonian, and that without his good leaue he could not passe, sent vnto the Chancellor to excuse that was already past, as done without their consent, by the insolencie of the souldiers; and to tell him, That their comming was not to fight with him, as hauing expresse commandement from the great Sultan *Mahomet*; in no case to disturbe the league betwixt him and the Polonians, but quietly to passe by their frontiers into Moldauia, and there to place *Sidriake* Vayuod his tributarie, in stead of *Stephen* that now vsurped the place by the appointment of the Transiluanian; which that they might do, they craued his leaue as friends to passe. Whereunto the Chancellor answered, That he was come thither by the commandement of the king, to defend those countries from the inuasion of such as had in them no right. & that there had E of long time bin an antient league betwixt the Polonian Kings and Turkish Emperours, vpon certaine conditions, which he would for his part keep inuiolate, with the fauor of the Turkish Emperor; yet so, as that the kingdome of Polonia tooke no harm therby, and that they might quietly liue by him as their good neighbour; which league he protested not to haue been by him, but by them infringed: as for to giue them passage, he said he could not. Messengers passing thus to and fro, and some parley had, at last certaine articles were agreed vpon, to the reasonable contentement both of the Tartar and of the Chancellor (though not of *Sidriake*, disappointed thereby of his Vayuodship) as also of the Turkish Sultan, whose pleasure they both seem'd to haue in special regard. Hereupon the Tartar with his multitude presently returned, leauing the Chancellor to his owne designs: Now was it commonly thought, that the Chan-F cellor had don the Transiluanian Prince great seruice by keeping out of the Tartars, & much honour was by many that saw least spoken of him therefore. But far was it from his thought so do the Transiluanian therin any such good, at whose glory he enuied, and had with the cardinal and his brother, the princes vncles (but most deadly enemies) secretly conspired, somuch as in them was, his vtter ruine and ouerthrow: wishing those Countries rather in the subie-

Mahomet calleth in the Tartars to inuade Moldauia.

ction

ction of the Turke, than to see them so honorably at liberty, gouerned by the Prince: such is G
the force of malitious enuy, the inseparable companion of worthy vertue. Which the Chan-
cellor (otherwise a man of great fame and honour) began now openly to poure forth: for pre-
sently after the departure of the Tartars, hee with all his power passing ouer the riuer Nijester
or Tyros, into Moldauia, euen at such time as the prince was going against *Sinan* at Tergoui-
sta, first seised on the castle of Chotijm, which he furnished with his owne souldiers: and from
thence marching to Zorona, the metropoliticall City of that Prouince, and seat of the Vay-
uod, had it yeelded vnto him; and so proceeding on, had in short time almost the whole coun-
trey deliuered to him; *Stephen* the Vayuod placed by the Prince, flying from place to place be-
fore him, from whom he left feared any such thing, hauing made account of no other enemies
but of the Turks and Tartars. *Stephen* the Vayuod thus driuen out, and the Chancellor posses- H
sed of the country, he presently placed one *Hieremias* Vayuod in stead of *Stephen*, to hold that
honour of the Polonian King as his Soueraigne. Yet neuertheless to satisfie the Turk, he sent
a messenger to *Sinan Bassa*, then but newly come to Tergouista, requesting him not to take in
euill part, that he had entred into Moldauia, and there placed a new Vayuod, but in the name
of the great Sultan *Mahomet* to confirm this his doing, and the Vayuod by him placed; pro-
mising the country of Moldauia to remaine tributarie still vnto the Sultan, and that this new
Vayuod should forthwith pay vnto him what tribute was behind, and from thenceforth a far
greater tribute yerely than had the country of Moldauia before. Whereunto the hauty Bassa
(then fearing nothing lesse than that which immediatly after happened, to be driuen out of
those countries by the Prince) proudly answered, That it was not the great Sultans mind, that I
the Polonians should at all inuade Moldauia, for that beside he could without their helpe re-
duce those countries to his obedience, he had giuen that countrey ao the Tartar, in reward of
his good seruice alreadie don in Hungary and other places; whose subiects the Tartars would
ere long be ready with their wiues and children to take possession of. Neuertheles the Chan-
cellor proceeded to defend the new Vayuod by him placed: which was no great matter for
him to do. *Sinan* the Turks champion (as is before declared) being presently after ouerthrown,
and driuen quite out of those countries by the Prince. Who if he had not then gained the vi-
ctory, the Chancellor had not now holden Moldauia, but the Turk, whose quarrell he seemed
rather to fauor than the princes. The Chancelor to colour this his inuasion, preuailed that the
The reasons pretended by the Chancellor for the inuasion of Moldauia. countrey of Moldauia did of antient right belong vnto the kingdome of Polonia: which the K
Transyluanians tooke to be no other but meere and open wrong. This supposed title, such as
it was, the Chancellor had so fashioned out vnto the Kings and States of that Kingdome, that
they referred it to his discretion to inuade the country, and remouing the Vayuod placed by
the Prince, to place another in his stead; & the rather to persuade them, labored by many for-
ced reasons to shew the power of the Transiluanian Prince to be so far inferior vnto the Turks,
that it was to be feared he should at length be thrust out of all his dominions, and so they to-
gether with Moldauia become subiect to the Turks: which if it should so come to passe, then
should the Polonians haue an vntrusty and troublesome neighbour. And that therefore it were
better that Moldauia were possessed by them, that were better able to defend it than was hee,
that so the Turke might be kept farther off from Polonia. Which occasion he said was not L
longer to be delaied, but now betime to be laid hold vpon: persuading himselfe to find such
grace and fauor with the Turkish Emperor, as that he should be therwith right well contem-
ted: which was like enough for a time to be, for that the Transiluanian should therby be much
weakned. By these and such like reasons framed to serue his owne ends, the Chancellor so
preuailed with the King and the States of the kingdom, that they receiued (as I said) full auto-
ritie to proceed in the matter as he did, and as is before declared, to the great trouble of the
The late chosen Vayuod opens three ways vnto the Turks & Tartars into Transyluania. Prince, and benefit of the Turk: the late chosen Vayuod (not long after) opening away in three
places for the Tartars into Transiluania, one by the country of Siculi, another by the way that
leadeth to Alba Iulia, and the third by Valachia.

The Transyluanian prince, seeing the country of Moldauia by his practise of the Chancel- M
lor thus taken from him & disseuered from the other foiled prouinces, to the great weakning
of his estate; after the flight of *Sinan*, soon certain companies both of horse & foot, to *Stephen*
the late Vayuod, but now driuen out by the Polonians, to proue if haply he could by that
meanes driue out the Polonian againe, and recouer his former dignities. With this aid sent
from

A from the Prince and others that fauoured his quarrel, he joined a bloudy battel with the Po-
lonians: but being therin by them ouercome and taken, and for a space kept (as the prince fea-
red, to haue bin deliuered to the Turks) he was by them, as is reported, cruelly afterward put
to death.

This foul dealing of the Polonian in Moldavia much grieued many good Christians, as
tending to the general hurt of the Christian commonweal. For which cause the Emperor by
his Embassadors sent for that purpose to the Polonian king, sought to persuade him to desist
from such inuasion of the Transylvanian Prince by his Chancellour, as not standing with his
honor; and that some good reconciliation might be made betwixt the prince and the cardinal
Bator & his brother the Princes vncles, authors of all these troubls. To which purpose also the
B Pope sent a messenger with like instructions and letters to the king, persuading him not so to
prosecute his wars against the prince, but to turn his thoughts vnto a more peaceable & Chri-
stian-like course, especially with him whom he was so neer linked to in mariage. To the like
effect he writ also to Cardinal *Bator*; and after many graue admonitions, peremptorily cited
him to Rome. But forasmuch as the proceedings of the Polonian against the prince are more
plainly to be gathered by the Popes letters vnto the King, it shall not I hope be mistaken, if I
here set them down, as I find them by others reported.

Pope *Clement* the eighth; To our best beloued Sonne in Christ,

C *Sigismund* by the grace of God, King of Polonia, with the Benediction
Apostolicall sendeth greeting.

The Popes letters vnto the Polonian King.

BY how much greater affection of fatherly loue we embrace your Maiestie in the Lord, so much the more fernently wee wish all your actions to bee adorned with the greatest commendation of wisdome both before God and men. Wherof it proceedeth, that we are so much the more vehemently and grieuously mooued, if we hear any such thing of you as may seem not agreeable to your vertue and approued Zeale toward the Catholike Religion, or tending to the obscuring of the glory of your name, as is now brought vnto vs concerning the affairs of Moldavia; wherof not without great grief we write vnto you. And to rehearse things a little before past. With what earnestnesse dealt I with you, that for Gods cause, and
D *the defence of the health and liberty of the Christian Commonwealth against the tyrannie of the Turkes, you would combine your selfe with our most dearly beloued sonne* Rodolph *the Emperour, and many other Christian princes? And that you should not let slip so notable an occasion, so worthily to deserue of God, of the Catholique Faith, and of the Christian Commonweale in generall? And albeit we then thought, as well for many your owne priuat respects, as also of your Kingdomes, That you were to be born withall and excused, if you did not now openly descend into this confederation of the Christian Princes, against the most mortall and Common Enemy, neither apertly ioyn your forces, or giue aid for the repressing of his insolencie; yet we alwaies assured oor selues, That no let should in any case proceed from you, whereby either the Emperour or the other Christian Princes should be the rather hindred, iustly to prosecute their injuries, or to cast off from their necks the heauy yoke of the most cruell Tyrant; whose desire of soueraign-*
E *tie is not comprised within the compasse of any bounds. But that you should in fauour of the Turkes impugne the Catholique Princes and defenders of the Christian Faith, and so joine hands with the Enemies of the Crosse of Christ, as that by your help their force and fury should be increased, and ours not only weakened, but in the very course of victorie hindered, and cast into most grieuous perils; this wee haue not only not thought of you, but not so much as once suspected: yea and can scarse now be persuaded to beleeue those things to be done by you, which are reported vnto vs as most true and vndoubted. For the report goeth, That you hauing intelligence with the Turks and Tartars, haue with them conspired: And namely against our well-beloued Sonne* Sigismund *Prince of Transylvania, who with inuiucible courage fighteth the battells of the Lord; and lest he should be able to abate the force and the attempts of the most proud Enemy (which by the singular mercy of God he hath hitherto aboue his owne power per-*
F *formed) but rather be inforced much to fear his owne estate, a new Vayuod or Prince as it were, by a triumvirate authority and compact to bee placed in Moldavia, and him by the Turkes, You, and the Tartars together, to be made Gouernour of that Countrey. Which vnto vs seemed so new and so strange,*

and

and contrary to the good opinion we had alwaies conceiued of you, yea and so vnbeseeming your zeale and wisedom; that for griefe and admiration I had almost cried out with the Prophet, You heauens bea- G
mased at this, and you gates thereof be you exceeding heauy. *For what could be suspected or imagined further from the expectation of vs and all good men, or more incredible, than that* Sigismund *the most religious King of Polonia and Sweden, who had alwaies professed himselfe a most earnest defender of the Catholicke Religion, who was ready euen with his owne blood to redeem the victory of the Christians, and glory of the Crosse, against the most wicked enemies of the same, to be vpon the sudden become so vnlike vnto himselfe, and (so much as in him was) to cut off the hope and happy successe of that Religious Warre; and to do harme to a Christian and Catholique Prince, not to refuse to joyne in league and friendship euen with the most barbarous Nations and the Tartars, the perpetuall enemies of himselfe and of the kingdome of Polonia. For which causes our minde is tormented with such bitternesse of griefe, that wee* H
could not but by speedy messengers write vnto you concerning this matter, that hereby you might the sooner see the greatnesse of our griefe: and we also without delay might signifie vnto you, what our fatherly loue towards you requesteth in so important a matter. For haply we will send one euen of purpose to you concerning this cause, the care wherof grieueth vs more than can be well expressed. Wherfore most dearly beloued son we exhort you, and in the most effectuall maner wee can, aduise you and beseech you in the Lord more attentiuely to consider, what great displeasure both of God and man, this your action and resolution may incur, what a staine it may bring vnto your Crowne and dignitie. For beleeue vs, that are to you in stead of a father in Christ, who loue you not feignedly, but faithfully, and indeed; who wish for your glory in this world, and your eternall felicitie in the world to come: beleeue vs (I say) this doth much blemish your fame with all Christian Kings and Princes; all men take it in euill part, and detest it as a I
thing monstrous, that it should by your means be wrought, that the Christian affairs should not prosper; that an heroicall Prince, who had vowed himselfe for Christ and his Country, should not haue prosperous successe in this so necessary and religious a war against the Infidels, Turks and Tartars, no lesse yours, or peraduenture also more yours and other Christian Princes enemies, than his. But what do we say? you to hinder the proceedings of the Transylvanian Prince? this were haply but a small matter; nay verily, by this means not onely a Christian and Catholique Prince, and valiant Champion of the Christian faith (a vertue both admirable and amiable in the very Enemy) but your owne brother in law, bound vnto you with so many bonds of affinitie, whose children shall be as it were your childrens brethren, is by this means brought into great danger, and exposed vnto the fury of the mercilesse Turks. What do you then, my most dearly beloued son? Beware that all men, both now liuing, and hereafter to come, condemne you not of the K
greatest inhumanity. But beware yet more that you seem not ingratefull not onely to your owne nigh kinsman but to God himself, who hath bountifully blessed you with two great kingdomes, and so many good things; and that you prouoke not him to wrath against your selfe, that reiecteth and confoundeth all euill and wicked deuices: and that this mischiefe that you haue brought vpon your brother, by the iust iudgment of God redound not to the greatest destruction of you and your kingdom, which he in mercy forbid. Doe you think, that the Transylvanian being ouercome, you shall in safety liue from the trechery of the Turk? Do you not know him to be a faithlesse man, which measureth all things by his owne profit, which keepeth faith with none, but as stands with his own commoditie: who with an insatiable desire gapeth after euery kingdom, nay thirsteth after the destruction of all Christendom. Think also my son, what wrong you shall do vnto the Emperor your cousin, out of whose Imperiall bloud you haue begotten sonnes and heires, and by L
Gods grace shall more; but also our dignitie, and the dignity of this Apostolicall seat (which you haue alwaies so deuoutly honored) is therby hurt, and your most dear mother (which we know you of all other least would) the Roman Church is offended, which for maintenance of this sacred war is at very great charges? and our forces, which by you ought to haue bin relieued and increased, being in so vnfit a time by these stirs in Moldavia disseuered and diminished, and the enemies on the contrary increased and strenghned, into what danger and distresse may both our armies of the Church and the Emperors fall? And withall, how greatly all the maner and managing of this whole war is therby confounded, euery man seeth. Moreouer, which no lesse concerns the dignitie of vs and this learned See, we haue vndertaken and certainly promised to our dearly beloued sons Rodolph *and* Sigismund, *that you should no way hinder or hurt their affairs. Nor did we herof assure them vpon light occasion; but moued with great reason, not only because we* M
ought so to do in so iust a cause, but also for that it was so vnto vs plainly and expresly written by the reuerend father the Bishop of S. Seuerus, *our apostolick Nuntio with you; whom we know to be faithfull to vs,*

and

A *and to you dutifull: neither can we by any means doubt thereof, because hee writ vnto vs concerning so weighty a matter, that he receiued it euen from your owne mouth. Which things so standing, seeing you your self see the manifest absurdities of this fact on euery side, not to speak of the heinousnes thereof, we request you again, yea and oftentimes, forthwith to apply the necessary remedies to these hurts. The Transylvanian Prince your brother in law, deuoted to your self, and desirous of your fauour, either protect with your defence, or at leastwise hurt him not: yea hurt not the whole state of the Christian Commonwealth, and relieue not by any means the quarrell of the enemies of Christ. If you haue any controuersie with the Prince* Sigismund, *or desire of him any thing, refer it vnto vs, that is to say, to your most louing father. You know your affairs to be of vs fauored, and we hope by the power of God it may easily come to passe, that some conueniens means may be found, wherby peace and quietnes may be confirmed betwixt you, and good* B *vnitie grow betwixt you two brethren our sons, and so all the root of bitternes and displeasure to be vtterly pluckt out of your minds. This haue I writ vnto you my son, frankly and from a sincere heart, though truly much grieued, because we loue you, and are much carefull of your honor and good. Shew you againe indeed that you take it so as written from your father; and that you altogether prefer our fatherly & wholsom exhortations before the sinister persuasions of others. Further concerning these matters you shal vnderstand by the same Bishop our Nuntio now with you, to whom you may, as you haue done, giue credit in all things, as to our selfe.*

These letters dated from Rome the eight day of Nouember, were deliuered to the King in December; with others to the Cardinal and Chancellor, whom the Pope sharply reprooued, C as the authors and contriuers of all these mischiefs.

The Tartar Cham, before stirred vp by the Turkish Emperor *Mahomet*, for the inuasion of Moldavia (as is already before declared) about this time sent his Embassadour also vnto the Polonian King, for the confirmation of such articles as he had before agreed vpon with the Chancellor: which because they manifestly declare the ground and purpose of his intended expedition into Moldavia, with the foul collusion of the Chancellor with the Turks & Tartars, against the Transylvanian Prince, I thought it not amisse, or from our purpose (for the more manifestation of that which is already said) here to set them down as they are translated out of the Tartar Language.

D

Cham *Kazikieri*, vnto the King of Polonia and Sweden, our Brother, one of the great Lords amongst the Christians, humbly boweth his head.

The Tartars Letters to the King of Poland

First we signifie vnto you, That Aaron *Palatine of Moldavia was a forsworn traitor; who hauing gathered a power of the Valachians, and ioyning vnto him the Polonian Cossacks, spoiled the teritories of the great Sultan. But afterwards dissention arising amongst them, the Hungarian Cossacks liuing in Valachia, sent* Aaron *in bonds vnto the King of Vienna. After him followed another traitour called* Rozwan, *who also hauing raised certain companies of soldiers, began in like manner to forrage the coun-*
E *tries of the Turkish Emperor therabout. Which as soon as he had knowledge of, he writ vnto me his brother, That I should with all possible speed go into Valachia to chastise these rebels, to burn their houses and towns; and hauing with the edge of the sword slain their men, to carry away with me their wiues & children into captiuity. Hauing this in charge, I the great Cham of the great territory of the great Lord* Karykterey, *with my brother* Letikerry Galga, *and other my brethren & Counsellors, warlike and valiant Captains and Murzis; mounting myne horse, came with myne army into Valachia vnto the Riuer Prut, where it meeteth in another Riuer called Cocoza: here we chanced vpon a faithfull seruitor of yours our brother the Chancellour, who was also come a little before vs into Valachia; with whom after some light contention, when we began to be more tractable, hee declared vnto vs, That he was of purpose come into Valachia to place there a new Vayuod; which (as he said) of antient right belonged vnto the Poloni-*
F *ans, without any wrong or preiudice therin to be don to the couenants and league they had with the Emperor of the Turks: and desired, That one* Ieremias *whom he had appointed Vayuod, might haue the command of that prouince; and that the antient amity, such as was in the time of Sultan* Solyman *and Cham* Dawlethgerd, *might be faithfully kept. Which when I had on my part faithfully sworn to do, and he also had caused the same to be done by such of his as he had therfore sent vnto me; we decreed together, That*

the

the Cossacks on the farther side of Nijester (disordered and rebellious men) should be vtterly rooted out, that they should not hereafter do any harme in the territories of the great Sultan, and that the Presents vsually sent vnto vs of long, euen since the time of Sultan Solyman, *should no more be detained, nor any harms be hereafter done in any part of our dominion. And therfore when the Chancellor had promised vnto vs, That he would take order that these Cossacks should be vtterly destroyed; I also consented, That according to the pleasure of the royall Maiesty of you my brother,* Ieremias *should hold the Vayuodship of Valachia: which I forthwith by letters signified vnto the Turkish Emperor. Now if it be so, that your Majesty shall giue your consent vnto those things which we haue here agreed vpon with your Chancellor, you shall then for euer finde brotherly friendship with me, my brother, and all other our captains and Marzies: but if you shall not destroy these Cossackes, you shall not then perform the oath and couenants made. These things we haue commanded to be declared vnto you by our Embassador our brother* Gianach Metagra, *whom we request your Maiesty curteously to entertain, and by him to send the presents vnto vs: for we will not now this year send any other.*

Giuen at the riuer Prut, in the year of Mahomet 1004.

After the Tartar Embassador had deliuered those letters vnto the King, with a speech in effect to the same purpose, hee in the name of the *Cham* gaue vnto him an horse and an arrow for a present: and afterward being brought to a lodging appointed for him, was commanded there to expect his answer. At length his dispatch was giuen him in Letters sealed vp, which he took much against his will; requesting the king to send an Embassador vnto the *Cham*, and further by word of mouth to tell him what to answer vnto his Lord. But other answer could he get none, than was already deliuered him in writing: and so rewarded with a gowne furred with Sables, was dismissed without the present requested by the *Cham*, or any Embassador to accompany him.

Thus the Transylvanian Prince, on the one side mightily impugned by the Turk, & on the other by the setting on of the Turke, ready to haue bin no lesse indangered by the inuasion of the Tartar; receiued greater harm from the Polonians being Christians, than from both those great *Mahometan* Princes: the Polonians in some sort performing for the Turk, what hee had plotted to haue bin don by the Tartar, & so by the taking away of Moldavia from the prince, not only weakned his strength, but also opened a way for the barbarous enemy into his Country. Howbeit much it is that the Polonians alledge for the excuse of themselues, & defence of that which was by the great Chancellor then done in Moldavia; which for that it cannot be better told than by the great Chancellor himself, let vs heare how he by his letters answereth the matter euen vnto Pope *Clement* himself.

John Zamoschie, vnto *Clement* the eighth the great Bishop.

Zamoschy his letters to Pope Clement.

Most holy and blessed Father in Christ, and most gracious Lord, after the kissing of your most blessed feet, and my most humble commendations; I haue by your Holinesse Letters directed both vnto the Kings Maiesty and my selfe, vnderstood, as well his royall Maiesty and my most gracious Lord and Master, as also my self as his seruant, to be both accused vnto your Highnesse; as if by those things by vs don in Moldauia, the endeauours of the Christians had bin hindred, and the power of the enemy confirmed. Wherof I am not with many words to purge my self vnto your Holinesse, forasmuch as I assure my selfe your Holinesse to haue already fully vnderstood both what the things were that were done in Moldauia, and how they were don; partly by the Kings Maiesties Letters, and partly by his principall Secretary, for that cause especially sent vnto your Holinesse. Yet doubt I not to request this one thing of your Holinesse, That if it hath known me for a man, (I will not say of any capacity or wit, but euen of the least experience in the world, or of any religion at all, so to persuade it selfe of mee, nothing to haue bin done, especially in this matter, either rashly, or to the hinderance of the Christian commonweal. I will not now repeat what myne opinion was concerning the league and confederation to be made with the rest of the Christian princes, for combining their forces against the Common enemy, especially his sacred Maiesties: as also what myne own labor & indeauor was in the last assembly of the States in the high court of parlement: which thing after it was

was euen by whom it most concerned, either delayed or neglected, or vtterly cast aside: and yet his Maiesty had still a great desire to do the Christian commonweal some great good, I also to the vttermost of my power labored to that end; that by the common decree of the kingdom an expedition might be made into Tartary, not so much in reuenge of the iniuries don by that enemy in these late years past, as so in the meantime to turn him from the necks of the Christians, as that he should not join his forces with the Turk. Or if it so pleased God to blesse those our indeauors, vtterly at length to root out that so great a mischiefe. But how it came to passe that this expedition, so much by the King desired (yet scarcely begun or taken in hand) took not effect, it is not for me to declare, for that I suppose your Holinesse hath by others, especially your Nuntio, vnderstood the same. In the mean time, by Letters and often messengers news was brought, that Sinan Bassa *with a great army was already come ouer Danubius; and I by letters from the Vayuod of the farther Valachia was aduertised, how that he, not able to incounter him, had forsaken that prouince, which at the first impression taken and almost vtterly wasted by* Sinan, *hee was now come fast vpon Transylvania: and in Moldavia the Tartar was still expected; insomuch that* Rosiwan *(who having taken prisoner* Aaron *the Palatine whom he serued, in his house, and so himself injoyed the Palatine) began now also to quake for feare, and to craue help of me, or rather to seek how he might fly away (as not long after hee did) neither having any great strength about him, or expecting any greater from the people of that countrey: for why, that prouince was brought so low by the miseries of the former yeares, but especially by such as had euill gouerned the same, that at such time as I entred into Moldavia, I assure your Holinesse there were not in it of housholders aboue 15000, and those also for the most part poor country people of the basest sort, in whom there could neither be any great help, neither if they had bin able to haue don any thing, durst* Rosiwan *haue trusted himselfe with them, vpon whom he had with all kinde of cruelty tyrannised. Chotijm a castle in the very confines of this kingdom, was kept with no greater Garrison than 200 Hungarians, who perceiuing themselues neither of sufficient strength to hold the place, nor to withstand the enemy, they also by and by followed after* Rosiwan. *All the rest of the prouince was not only vnarmed, but without any defence at all; two castles only excepted, which standing vpon the confines of Polonia, might haue serued better for the enemy, out of them to haue infested vs, than for the defence of Moldauia against them. So that had the enemy once set foot into that prouince, neither could it without a great power haue bin recouered; neither being recouered, could easily haue bin defended against so puissant an enemy: and that which worse was, was not it self alone to haue bin consumed with that fire, but like enough to haue caried away with it Podolia also bordering vpon it, with a great part of Rascia. Wherefore in this state of things, when as that prouince was in greatest danger to haue bin lost, and so many enemies houered not more ouer the heads of all Christendom, than ouer this Kingdom, what was of vs to be done? I know to whom I speak these things, euen vnto him, not only whose Diuine wisedome, but singular loue also toward my native countrey is to me most known. Verily I entred into Moldavia with no great Army, yet such a one as haply (as in like case it often chanceth) Fame had made amongst the enemies a very great one. So that* Sinan *fearing, if he should thrust himselfe with his Army into the streits whereby he was to breake into Transylvania, to be shut in by our Army, stayd his journy; and the Tartar the more earnestly he was called vpon by* Sinan, *by reason of the fame of this our Army, resolued to make himself so much the stronger. So that whilst he assembled the Nogaian Tartars and others farther off, and so from all parts raiseth the greatest power that he could, the matter was delayed almost vnto the end of Nouember: at which time he with a most huge Army, accompanied with* Sendziack Ichiuense, *and a great power of the Turks raised out of their prouinces there by, came directly vpon me in the fields of Coroce.* Sendziak *the Tartar Cham his sisters son now called himself the Bassa of Moldavia; as did the Tartars eldest son name himself Prince of another part of that prouince also. For so that Countrey was to haue bin diuided betweene them, that that part which was next vnto the Tartars dominions should be alotted to the Tartar, and the other part confining vpon this kingdom, to be gouerned by* Sendziak, *as Bassa therof, and so to make it the seat of a perpetuall war, from whence Podolia, Rascia, and the lower Polonia might be with continuall incursions wasted euen before our faces. Concerning which matter they now dispersed their letters, wherein they published the power and authority giuen them from the grand Seignior, exhorting the people of that country to receiue the same. A whole day we fought with this multitude, our men alwaies by the goodnes of God hauing not only the vpper hand, but without any notable losse also, yet not without great slaughter of theirs: and would to God I had had such strength, as that not onely the conditions of peace, but euen the enemies themselues might haue bin in my power. But when we were oftentimes come to parle (they still requiring the same) and so at length to conditions of peace; if such were giuen them, as wherby this only king-*

kingdom had without the wrong of any other but deliuered from so great and sudden a danger, what reasonable man could finde fault therwith, if we should haue preferred the health of our country (whereunto all good men owe all they haue) before others profits? But now those things were so don, as that it was no lesse prouided for the good of the neighbor Christians, yea and bigly not the least for theirs, who before the same slander this kingdom vnto your Holinesse. The fury of Sinan Bassa was by this meanes repressed, who whilst he feared to be shut vp in the streits by our army now come into Moldavia, and expected the Tartars comming, spent almost all the rest of the summer idlely, and without doing any thing. The Tartar himself was not only turned from the bowels of Christendom, wherinto he had purposed (as the yeare before) to haue entred, we hauing with our own brests receiued his force and fury; but being brought vnto conditions, was expressly enioyned in a most short prefined time, and without any more harm doing, to return again into his country by the self same way he came, and by no other: wherby it is come to passe, that vntill this day Christendom hath not this year yet felt the fury of the Tartars weapons. But vnto Transylvania and Hungary, what a space and power was giuen for them to gather their strength and forces together, and out of the same places to oppose against the enemy, when as our Army kept them safe at their backs, and eased not only Moldavia, but Valachia and Transylvania also of that care? Whereas if this cause of delay had not bin obiected, to the Turks first, and after vnto the Tartars; not to say any thing of the Turks, the Tartars at the very self same time that the Transylvanian army was gon into Valachia against Sinan, might haue broken into Transylvania before it could haue returned home; or vnmarching directly towards that army, might haue met with it out of Transylvania. As for Moldavia, which together with the memory of the Christian name yet left in it, had vtterly perished, it was most manifestly preserued by the comming of our army. Which what end it would haue had, if the enemy at his pleasure might haue raged as he did in the farther Valachia, those most bitter remembrances in it, yet at this day smoking, do well declare: out of which it is well knowne, more thousands of Christians haue bin carried away into most miserable captiuity, than almost out of any other prouince in all the time of this miserable wars. Which though it be thus, yet boast we not therof, neither send we any triumphant letters vnto your Holinesse, nor brag we of any good seruice done for the Christian commonweal; but content our selues with the conscience of the thing it self. In the meantime we are accusted vnto your Holinesse. But for what cause? If any man complain for the taking of Moldavia, I will not say it was by them before willingly forsaken, whilst I was yet in the frontiers therof, but that this kingdom hath a most antient right vnto it, and such a right, as that our Kings busied in their wars against the Muscovit, the Cruciat Teutonic brethren, or others, some others also troubling the state therof; it for a time became a prey vnto the Turkish Tyrants; yet in all the Leagues made or renued betwixt this kingdom and them, it was still excepted, That all such things as the Palatine of Moldavia was of duty to perform vnto the King, should by him still be performed. Which Kings of Polonia, and namely Augustus himself, the last of the Iagellonian Family, appointed diuers of those Palatines themselues. Which although they be things most manifest, yet hauing more regard to the welfare of that prouince, as a Christian country, than of our right, we restored it into the same state wherein it hath bin for many yeares before these * Warres. Wherefore if any man doe thinke any thing done, wherby the enemies of the Crosse of Christ might be eased or strengthened, or the Defenders of the faith hindered; it is so far from any such thing to be don, that rather (as is before declared) the enemies forces are repressed and auerted, and greater means giuen vnto the Christians vpon to impugn them; the enemies being at their backs by vs shut from them. But I feare they haue not fully informed your Holinesse, how these things were done, who haue reported vnto your said Holinesse, not onely the name of the Turks to haue bin proclaimed together with the Polonians in Moldavia, but also the name of the Tartars, the proper enemies of the Polonians, and by the power and decrees of them three, as it were confederate together, things to haue bin ordered in Moldavia. Which their complaint if it tend to that end, as if a confederation were made with them, I frankly confesse certain conditions to haue beene giuen them, but such as wherby is prouided not only for the quiet and securitie of this kingdom, but no lesse also for the whole Christian commonweal, as is before declared. All which things for all that, although they were done for the good of this kingdom, and all Christendom in generall; yet were they so don, that they were all referred by me vnto the Kings Maiesty, and the States of this kingdom: so that at this present the King is at free liberty either to ioyn in confederation with the rest of the Christian Princes, or if he will not vpon certain and indifferent conditions be agreed vpon; yet with no mans iniury or hurt, but rather this, ioyned with the health and good of a great part of the Christian commonweal: only God grant that the Christian Princes may seriously think both of this so Christian a confederation against the Common Enemy,

* Vix. tributary vnto the Turks.

Enemy, and stride also all together against the enemy with their weapons; and not with misreports and slanders one against another. They are not to assail the enemies feet, but his throat; neither is the seat of the war to be placed in the borders of Polonia, where it concerneth themselues much to haue all things peaceable behind them. But let the war be vndertaken with no lesse charge and preparation, than if the Enemies royal seat were to be assailed, which standing in an open and plain country, shal alwaies with out much ado be his that being strongest can take it. This haue I written at large, as my purpose was, which I most humbly before your Holinesse with your diuine wisdom to consider of, and with your wonted clemency to accept the same: and so prostrat at your Holinesse feet, I most humbly commend me to your Clemencie. From Zamoschie the tenth of Ianuary, 1596.

Thus much the great Chancellor in defence of himselfe, and of that he had don in Moldavia: which howsoeuer it contented the Pope, wel I wot it nothing pleased the Emperour, and much lesse the Transylvanian Prince, now not a little weakned by the taking away of Moldavia from him.

To end this troublesome yeare withall, many sharp and bloudy skirmishes yet daily passed in diuers places of those frontier countries, the Turks almost in euery place still going to the worse. In the beginning of Nouember, *Leucowitz* gouernor of Carolstat the second time forprised Wihitz in the frontiers of Croatia where these wars first began; but being not able to take the castle, contented himself as before with the spoil of the city, and afterward setting it on fire, departed. *Maximilian* also attempted Zolnoc: and the Christians in garison at Strigonium and Plindenburg, now become neer neighbors vnto the Turks at Buda, did with continual inrodes not a little molest them both all the later end of this year and the beginning of the next. And the Turks in Braila in Valachia vpon the side of Danubius, fearing after the flight of *Sinan* to be besieged by the Vayuod, forsook the city, & in such hast passed the riuer, that in that tumultuous passage three hundred of them perished. *Sinan Bassa* by the Transylvanian prince of late driuen out of Valachia, was not long after sent for to Constantinople: but the crafty old Fox not ignorant of the fierce nature of the great Sultan, and warned by the late miserie of *Ferat*, found occasions to delay the time so long vntill that hee was sent for again, and after that the third time also. In the mean while he had so wrought by his mightie friends in court, and by rich rewards mightier than they, that at his comming to the court he was there honorably receiued, as chief Bassa; and being afterwards offered to be discharged of the wars, as a man aboue 80 years old, hee refused so to bee, saying, That hee was borne and brought vp among soldiers and martial men, and so wished among them to die: as not long after he did, as it was thought of conceit of the euil successe he had in his Wars against the Transylvanian.

The death of Sinan Bassa.

Mahomet the Turkish Emperor exceedingly grieued with the losse of so many his Cities and strong places lost this yeare, *viz.* Strigonium, Vicegrade, Siseg, Petrinia, Lippa, Ienna, Tergovista, Bucharesta, Zorza, and many others of lesse name; and both by letters & messengers vnderstanding daily of the slaughter of his people, and wasting of his frontiers, commanded great preparation to be made against the next Spring: giuing it out, That he would then in person himself come down into Hungary with such a power as neuer had any his warlike predecessors, and there take most sharp reuenge of all his former wrongs. Neuertheles these his so hasty designes were by the plague & famin (both which then raged extreamly in most parts of his empire) and by other great occurrents of the same time, so crossed, that by that time the Spring came, he scarcely wel knew which way to turn himself first. For besides these troubles of the West, of themselues enough to haue filled his hands, the Georgians in the East (a warlike people) moued with the good succes of the Christians in Valachia and Hungarie, had taken vp arms against him: and the old Persian King but a little before dead, had left that great kingdom to his son, a man of greater spirit than was like to endure the manifold injuries before don vnto his father by the Turks, to the great dishonor of that kingdome, and prejudice of himself. Of which things the Bassa of Tauris gaue him ample intelligence, wishing him betimes to prouide for that storm: which joined vnto the rest, filled his head with many troubled thoughts, wherunto we leaue him vntill the next Spring.

Mahomet perplexed.

The Trasilvanian prince careful of his estate, and not a little troubled with the disseuering of

of Moldavia, thought it not vnfit for his affairs, now after the flight of *Sinan*, and discomfiture G
of the Turks, to go in person himself to the Emperor, to declare vnto him the wrong don him
by the Polonian; and further to conferre with him concerning the managing of the Warres
against the common enemy. So hauing put al things in readines for his journy, he set forward
1596: in Ianizary, 1596, and by the way of Cassovia the fourth of February arriued at Prague in Bo-
hemia; where he was by the Emperors appointments most honorably entertained. But imme-
diately after his comming thither he fel sick of an ague, which grieuously vexed him for three
weeks space. In the later end of February hauing somwhat recouered his health, he went vnto
the church, where after his deuotions done, he was by the Dean of the Cathedral church wel-
commed with a most eloquent oration, setting forth his worthy praises, and further anima-
ting him vnto the like exploits against the common enemy of all Christianitie. Whereunto H
he forthwith answered in Latine so eloquently and so readily, that all men maruelled that
heard him. Protesting in his speech, That as he and his subiects had not hitherto spared their
liues or goods in defence of the common Cause; so would they not afterwards spare the same,
but aduenture all for the benefit of the Christian commonweal: wel hoping that the Empe-
ror and other Christian princes would not as occasion required bee wanting vnto him with
their forces, or the Clergy with their prayers. Which done, he doubted not (as he said) by the
power of God, but to obtain more notable victories than he had yet, against the Turks the E-
nemies of God.

The Siculi rebell against the Prince. Whilst he yet thus lay at the Emperors Court, it fortuned that the people called Siculi, I
offended to haue their liberties in some part infringed in the late assembly of the States hol-
den in Transylvania in December last past, rise vp now in armes in diuers places, refusing to
yeeld their former obedience vnto the Prince. A matter like enough to haue wrought him
much trouble, and supposed not to haue bin don without the priuity of the Cardinal his Vn-
cle: but by the wisdom and courage of such as he had in his absence put in trust with the go-
uernment of his country, diuers of the ring-leaders of this rebellion were apprehended, and in
diuers sorts executed; and 300 of their complices, to the terror of others, had their noses and
ears cut off. By which wholsom seuerity all those troubles were appeased, and the Country
again quieted.

At the same time also the Transylvanians obtained of the Turks a notable victory, with an
exceeding rich booty. *Mahomet* the Turkish Sultan had about this time sent a new Bassa for K
for the gouernment of Temesware: against whose comming the Bassa the old gouernor had
in 75 wagons trussed vp a wondersfull deal of wealth, which hee had there gotten in the time
of his former gouernment; to haue bin together with himselfe with a strong conuoy condu-
cted to Belgrade. Of this his purpose the Hungarian Heidons lying at Lippa and Ienna ha-
uing intelligence, lay in wait for him vpon the way, and in his passing by set vpon him; where
in a sharp conflict they ouerthrew the conuoy, and slew the Bassa, whose head they sent as a
The Bassa of Temesware slaine, and a great booty taken. present to the Princesse at Alba-Iulia, and took the spoil of the Bassa's carriages, wherein was
taken a wonderfull wealth; for in one of those wagons is reported to haue been found 20000
Hungarian ducats.

In this absence also of the Prince, 10000 of the Rascians reuolting from the Turke, came L
and offered their seruice vnto the Princesse: wherof she by letters with great speed certified
the Prince her husband: who therupon hasted to dispatch with the Emperor, and hauing pro-
cured both from him and the Pope the promise of some aid to be afterwards sent him, took of
him his leaue, and being honorably accompanied, departed from Prague to Vienna, where he
arriued the 11 of March, sitting in a princely Chariot drawn with six most beautifull horses,
the gift of the Emperor. At his comming thither he was met by the Nobility of the Coun-
try, and by *Aldobrandinus* the Popes nephew, who presented him with three goodly horses for
seruice, richly furnished. Him the prince took into his charet, and so accompanied entred the
city, where he was with all due honor receiued and ioyfully entertained, and so brought vnto
the Emperors palace, where by the learned students of that Vniuersitie was for his pleasure M
acted before him the notable history of *Iosua*. Hauing staid there three daies, and purposing
to haue in his returne visited his mother in law at Greics in Croatia; newes was brought
him, That the Turkes and Tartars by the setting on of *Stephen Bathor* his Vncle, were about
to

A to break into Transylvania. Wherfore changing his purpose, he departed thence to Presburg,
and so with all speed kept on his way toward Transylvania, where to the great ioy & comfort
of his subiects in general he ariued in safety in the beginning of April.

In this while many hot skirmishes past betwixt the Christians and the Turks in the fron-
tiers of their territories; and now the plague and famin which had long raged in Constanti-
nople and other places of the Turks dominions began to assuage. Of which so great cala-
mities as had deuoured many thousands of his people, the Turkish Emperor finding himself
somwhat eased, forthwith caused the continuation of his wars against the Emperour and the
Transylvanian prince to be three daies together proclaimed in Constantinople, and a great
army to be raised to be sent into Transylvania and Hungary: giuing it out, That he would
B with that so puissant an army in person himself passe into Hungary. At which time it was al-
so reported, That he had already sent his tents and other his necessary prouision before to Ha-
drianople. For now was nothing more odious in the Turks court, than the name of the Tran-
sylvanian prince.

Of all these things was not the Emperor ignorant, as fully therof certified both by letters
and espials, as also by the vniform confession of such Turks as were daily taken prisoners. For
which causs he also with as much speed and care as hee could, prouided for the raising of his
army, as he had the year before; as also for the leuying of mony, and prouision of all things ne-
cessary, that the enemy at his comming might not find him vnprouided. Neither spared he
to pray aid of his neighbour Christian princes, especially the Polonian, whom he had diuers
C times sought to draw into the confederation with the other Christian princes against the
Turk. To which purpose he now also sent to him the Bishop of Preslaw and the Lord *Poppe-
liu* his Embassadors: as did the Pope also send vnto him the cardinal *Cajetan* his Legat; and
the Princes Electors also their Embassadors: vnto whom the Polonian gaue good hearing and
good words, but would not by any means be persuaded to break his league with the Turke, or
to afford any aid to the Christians; although the Cardinal with many pregnant reasons shew-
ed him what small assurance there was in the Turks leagues, and how dangerous it might bee
to his state, if the Turk making peace with the Emperor, should turn his forces vpon him; as
it was like enough he would, knowing no man longer for friend, than stood with his profit:
beside the immortal blemish of his honor, by disseuering himself from the vnion of the Chri-
D stian princes, to hold friendship with the Turks and infidels. But all this & much more was
to no purpose, so resolutely was the Polonian set down for keeping of the Turks fauor. So that
of al the Christian princes so neer vnto the deuouring enemy, none stood the Christian com-
monweal in lesse stead than he. Which for all that, most men imputed not so much vnto the
King, as to others about him, especially to *Zamoschie* the great Chancellour, by whom that
state was most swayed; who was not only supposed, but openly reported to haue secret intel-
ligence both with the Turk and the Tartar.

All this while the Lord *Palfi* gouernor of Strigonium ceased not with continuall inrodes
to vex the Turks euen to the gates of Buda; as did also the other Christian captaines in other
places of the Turks frontiers in Hungary. Neere vnto Buda were two great country villages
E for most part inhabited by Christians, who hauing giuen their oath, of obedience vnto the
Turk, liued a miserable life for the paiment of an excessiue tribute yearly. These poor Chri-
stians weary of the Turkish thraldom, and the continuall spoile of their labours by them of
Strigonium; by secret messengers requested the Lord *Palfi*, of mercy to carry them and their
goods and cattell away into some other place of the Christian territory, that so they might
yet liue amongst Christians; as he had but a little before done for them of old Buda. Vnto
which their so reasonable a request the Christian gouernor charitably hearkned, willing them
against a certain appointed time to put themselues and all their things in readinesse. There
was of these Christians about 755 families, who with their wiues and children, & such trash
F as they had packt vp in fourscore Wagons drawn with fourteen or sixteen oxen apiece, at the
appointed time about midnight committed themselues with all that they had, vnto the con-
duct of them of Strigonium, sent out of purpose for them; by whom they were in safetie
brought to Strigonium. Among them were many rich men, who brought with them good
store of coyne, with an exceeding great number of cattell. Vnto these new come guests *Palfi*
assigned certain fields betwixt Strigonium & Vivaria, on the North side of Danubius, where
they

they so commodiously liued, as was possible in so troubled an estate of a countrey.

Shortly after, 600 garrison soldiers of Lippa seeking after booty, and aduenturing too far into the enemies territorie, were discouered by the Turks scouts, & so beset by the Turks and Tartars bilited in the country about Temeswar, that there was no way left for them to escape. Which they well perceiuing, resolued among themselues (as became valiant men) to fight it out euen to the last man: and with no lesse resolution performed what they had before determined, for being on euery side beset and hardly charged by their enemies, they as men before resolued to die, although scarce one to twenty, fought most desperatly, seeking for nothing else but to sell their liues as deere as they could vnto their enemies: and so fighting were all slain, except some few which by great fortune escaped, leauing vnto the enemy a sight bloudy victory: yet by this losse of so great a party was the garrison of Lippa greatly weakned, which the enemy knew right well, and thereupon began forthwith to prepare to besiege the Towne. Which *Barbelus* the Gouernour (a most valiant man) wisely foreseeing, sent in post vnto the Transyluanian Prince, to request him with all speed to send him foure or fiue thousand good soldiers, with which power he doubted not by the help of God, to be able to defend the town against al the forces the enemy was at that time able to bring against it. To whom the prince without delay sent 8000, who all in safety in good time arriued at Lippa: for shortly after their arrival, 40000 of the Turks and Tartars came and sat downe before the towne, inclosing it on euery side, and so lay for certaine dayes without any thing doing worth the speaking of; they of the towne in the meane time doing them all the harme they could with their great shot, which they sent among them not sparingly. But they had not so long lien, but that news was brought into the camp, That the Transyluanian Prince was with a great power comming thither to relieue the towne; whereupon they presently rise, and retyred to the place where they had before incamped about two miles from Lippa; where certainly vnderstanding that the Prince neither was, neither could in short time be in such readinesse as was before reported, they forthwith returned, and more streitly besieged the towne than before. They had now brought with them seuenteen pieces of batterie, eight waggons laded with shot and pouder, and forty six others laded with scaling ladders and other warlike prouision: thus appointed they began to batter the towne, and afterwards gaue thereunto diuers desperat assaults, which the Christians valiantly receiued, and still with great slaughter repulsed their enemies. For that strong town was with towers and bulwarks flanking one another, so fortified, that out of them the Christians with their murthering pieces made great spoile of their enemies, and stil inforced them with losse to retyre, no bullet almost flying in vain. In the heat of one of these assaults the Gouernor caused one of the gates of the town to be set open, hauing before within the town placed sixteene great pieces at the very enterance of the same gate, charged with all kind of murthring shot. To which gate as of meer desperation set open by the defendants, the Turks and Tartars desirous of reuenge, came thronging as thicke as might be, thinking to haue thereby entred: when suddenly, and as it were in the turning of an hand, they were with the aforesaid murthering pieces cut downe as with a sithe, and so againe, and the third and fourth time, before they could cleere themselues of the danger thereof, their heads, armes, and legs, and other rent limbs, flying in the aire most miserably to behold. Neuertheless the siege was by them continued, & the often assaults so resolutely maintained, as if they had therupon purposed to haue gaged all their liues. But this so obstinat a resolution was by an vnexpected accident when they least thought, conuerted into such a desperat feare and astonishment, that they vpon the sudden, no man forcing them, forsooke their trenches wherein they lay incamped, and leauing behind them their tents, their great Ordnance, and what soeuer els they had, they betook themselues to a most disordred flight. The Transyluanians, who by chance were euen then comming thither, pursuing them, slew diuers of them, & took some others of them prisoners. At this siege, the Bassa of Temeswar himselfe was mortally wounded, and *Hamat* Sanzacke of Giula with diuers others of good place slain, and 4000 of the common soldiers. The cause of the Turks so great and sudden feare was this; Whilst the Bassa of Temeswar lay at the siege of Lippa, as is aforesaid, they that were left in the City fearing no harm, liued in great securitie; in the meane time the Gouernor of Lugaz sent out six thousand souldiers towards Tameswar, now in the absence of the Bassa to seek after booty: who comming to Temeswar with great speed, rifled the suburbs of the City, slew all the Turkes they could light vpon

Lippa besieged by the Turks.

vpon, and set at liberty a thousand captiues: and so hauing trussed vp their booty, set on fire all their suburbs and departed. Which fire grew so great and so terrible, that it was plainly seen into the camp at Lippa, making a shew as if the whole city had bin on a light fire. Which so daunted the hearts of the Turks at the siege, that they presently fled (as is before said) leauing all that they had behind them.

The Transyluanian all this while busied in raising of his army, and prouiding of all things necessary for the maintenance of his warres, was come into the confines of Hungary towards Temeswar, euen as the Turks fled from Lippa. At which time certaine Hungarian Heidons that serued him, getting ouer Danubius not far from Nicopolis, took Plenia a little towne of the Turks, which they ransacked and burnt; and hauing slain in the country therabout about three thousand Turks, returned with a rich prey vnto the Prince.

Plenia sacke by the Christians.

Not long before, the Christians had surprised Clissa, a strong frontier town of the Turkes in Dalmatia not far from Spalato: which town the Bassa of Bosna sought now again to recouer, and thereto laid hard siege. For the reliefe wherof, *Leucowitz* gouernor of Stiria and the other prouinces thereabouts belonging to the House of Austria, and the gouernor of Zenge, with a fleet of forty two ships, wherin they had imbarqued 4000 soldiers wel appointed with all things necessarie, set forward toward Clissa: and by the way lighting vpon a galley of the Venetians bound with certain warlike prouision toward the Turkes campe, tooke her as good prize and rifled her. This fleet with a fair wind arriued at Siret, neer vnto Trau, where the gouernor landing his men, marched that night part of his way toward Clissa, & all the next day lay close. The night following they set forward againe, and hauing marched fifteen miles, came to the enemies camp before day: where setting vpon the Turks in their trenches, fearing no such peril, they brought such a general fear vpon the whole camp, that the Turkes as men amased fled, some one way, some another, euery man (as in such sudden fear it commonly happeth) making shift for himself, leauing whatsoeuer they had in their trenches behind them. The Christians contented so to haue put their enemies to flight, fel presently to the spoile, as more desirous thereof, than by the hasty pursuit of their enemies to put themselues in possession of an assured victory. Which the Turks quickly perceiuing, and from the hills with the dawning of the day discouering the small number of the Christians, and how they were disordred, they gathered themselues again together, and comming down, inclosed on euery side the disordered Christians (greedily hunting after the spoil) and slew them downright. *Leucowitz* himself, with the gouernor of Zeng & some others got into Clissa, where hauing staid two daies, and doubting to be able to keepe the same, they secretly by night issued out with 600 men, in hope to haue recouered their fleet; but the Turkes suspecting such a matter, had so beset the passages, that of all that company, *Leucowitz* had much adoe himselfe with three others to escape. The enemy now again possessed of his trenches, laid streiter siege vnto the town than before: which they of the garison perceiuing, and now out of hope of relief, agreed with the Bassa, that they might with bag and baggage depart, and so yeelded vp the towne. Thus Clissa one of the strongest townes of Dalmatia, through the greedy couetousnes of the disordred soldiers, fel again into the hands of the Turks.

Clissa regained by the Turks.

About the same time *Palfi* gouernour of Strigonium, vnderstanding of the meeting together of certain notable aduenturers of the Turks at Sombock, a castle almost in the mid way betwixt Alba Regalis and Buda, raised the greatest strength he could, and so with certain pieces of artillery, and other things necessarie for an assault, set forward from Strigonium the two and twentieth of May, before the rising of the Sun, and about three a clocke in the afternoon came to the aforesaid castle; wherunto he presently gaue a most terrible assault, which he neuer gaue ouer vntil he had taken it: for after he had by the space of three hours together, with great danger maintained a most desperat assault, at length he with much difficulty preuailed, and put to the sword all the Turks he found therein, man, woman, and childe, and with the rest, fifty Ianizaries but that day come thither. This castle was of great beauty, and most pleasantly scituated, whereunto the Bassa of Buda oftentimes for his pleasure repaired: For which cause *Palfi* was very desirous to haue taken it without spoiling; but the fire he had already raised therein so preuailed, that it burnt downe all the goodly buildings thereof, with great store of victuals and other prouision, nothing remaining but what the Christians had saued for themselues.

Sombock taken by the L. Palfi.

The

Temeswar in vaine besieged by the Transylvanian Prince.

The Transylvanian Prince hauing raised a great army for the reliefe of Lippa, it beeing by G great chance a little before his comming relieued, came and laid siege to the City of Temeswar, where he had not long lien, but that the Turks and Tartars, fearing to lose that so famous a city, assembled together from all places thereabouts to the number of 40000, and so came to raise the siege. Of whose comming the Prince hearing, rise with his army and went to meet them, and had with them a great and terrible battel, the victory for a great while standing very doubtful, yet seeming to incline rather to the Turkes and Tartars than to the Christians; but at length the Turks disordered with the great artillery, and the Transylvanians charging them afresh, began to giue ground, and so at last to betake themselues to plain flight. In this battel were slain of the Turks and Tartars 5000, and of the Christians 1500. The Prince was reported to be slain in this battel: which was not so, being reserued to the further plague H of the Turks, & comfort of his afflicted country. After this victory he returned again to the siege, which he more streightly continued than before, leauing nothing vnattempted that he could possibly deuise for the winning of the city. Where whilst he yet thus lay battering the city both night and day, news was brought him, That *Giaffer Bassa* and the Tartars were comming with a great army to the reliefe of the besieged. Whereupon he considering his owne strength, and the power of his enemies, and that the aid promised him both from the Emperor and out of Hungary was not yet ready, with great griefe of minde raised his siege, and retyred with his army to Lippa, there expecting new supplies as well of his owne, as from his friends. Whilst he yet there lay, hee was certainly informed, That the Bassa of Natolia (the fore runner of the great Sultan *Mahomet*) was come to Belgrade with fourteen thousand horse I and four thousand Ianizaries, to joine with the Bassa of Buda for the relieuing of Temeswar; whose forces joined together were in number threescore thousand; and that *Mahomet* himself (of whose comming had been rife report all this yeare) was now comming after with a farre greater power. Wherupon he departed from Lippa, leauing therein a strong garrison, and so returning to Alba Iulia, called there an assembly of all his States, for the repressing of so puissant an Enemy.

Mahomet for the better successe of his wars in Hungary, had drawn forth the Tartar with a mighty power: who although he was at the first so vnwilling to that seruice (considering the great losses he had therin before receiued) that he would not, as hee said, send so much as one Asse therunto: yet ouercome with great gifts, and the respect he had to the Turkish Sultan, K was now ready with a strong army vpon the frontiers of Moldavia, to meet him in Hungary: vnto whom the late chosen Vayuod sent certaine presents, with such store of victuals as hee could possibly prouide for him. Yet forasmuch as hee was not that way to passe without the leaue of the Polonian, *Mahomet* had both by letters and diuers Embassadours intreated with the Polonian King for his passage, as also for the confirmation of the antient league hee and the Polonian kings his predecessors had to their good of long time had with the *Othoman* Emperors: from which he wel knew the Christian Emperor, with diuers other the Christian princes, to seek by all means to draw him. *Mahomet* also not ignorant, how hurtfull and dangerous the confederation betwixt *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, and the Transylvanian, was vnto him and his designes; sent vnto him Embassadours, by the shew of great danger to L deter him from the Transylvanian, and by many glorious promises to allure him to submit himself again vnto his protection, and in token of his fidelitie to deliuer vnto the Sultan two of his frontier towns such as he should require; in regard whereof he should together with the Sultans fauor receiue golden mountains. Wherunto the Vayuod answered, That as yet he was not weary of the friendship he held with the Prince: and for the towns he required, that they were not in his power to giue, as belonging to the Prince; vnto whom hee said hee would write, and stay the Embassador in the mean time vntil he had from him answer.

The Emperor on the other side had with al carefulnesse so far as in him was, prouided that his army might be ready to take the field with the beginning of the Spring: but as commonly it chanceth, the speedy proceedings of great actions (wherin the hands of many mighty are M required) to be much hindred by delaies, sometimes of one, and sometimes of another; so fell it out with him now: for albeit that his own forces were in some good time ready, yet was the Spring, yea and a good part of Summer also far past, before the aid promised from other princes, met together. At length after long expectance, when some conuenient number for an Army

A army was from diuers places come together at Vienna: they were by the lord *Swartzenburg* and their other cammanders brought forth into the field, and not far from Altenburg encamped, within the selfe same trenches that were the last yeare cast vp by County *Mansfelt* for the safety of his army; there to expect the comming downe of the great ordnance and other prouision by the riuer from Vienna, as also the rest of the Christian forces dayly looked for. From Altenburg the Christian army remooued to Comara, and not staying there long, the foure and twentieth of Iuly marched towards Vacia, otherwise called Woczen: but before it came thither, the Turks hearing of the approch of the Christians, forsooke the town, and with their cattell and best part of their substance fled to Pesth, carrying also away with them the great ordnance; the greatest whereof they buried by the way, which was neuertheless afterwards found out by the Christians. And although the Turks at their departure had set fire B both vpon the towne and castle, yet the Christians left there did what they might to quench the same: by whose diligence and the helpe of two thousand footmen, and certaine troups of horsemen sent thither by *Swartzenburg*, a great part both of the towne and the castle was preserued: the whole army of the Christians following after, encamped in the open field, and with their horsemen braued the Turks euen to the gates of Pesth. This so sudden a comming of the Christians brought a great feare both vpon them of Pesth and Buda, insomuch, that they sent their wiues and children, with the chiefest of their substance downe the riuer vnto places of more safety, and farther off from danger: which was done so disorderedly (as it hapneth in such common feares) that many of them for hast thrust one another into the ri- C uer, and so perished.

Vacia abandoned of the Turks, is taken by the Christians.

Hitherto in the former wars against the Turke, had *Matthias* bin Generall of the Christian armies: but now of late, *Ferdinand* the Emperors vncle County of Tirol being dead, *Matthias* was by the Emperor his brother preferred to the gouernment of that rich countrey and the prouinces thereabouts, not inferior to some kingdomes; and *Maximilian* his younger brother appointed Generall in his stead: who departing from Vienna in the later end of Iuly, came into the campe the fourth of August, where he was by the Lord *Swartzenburg* his Lieutenant, and the Lord *Palfi*, honourably and with great triumph receiued.

Now were the Christians threescore thousand strong, and hauing fortified Vacia, and therin placed a conuenient garrison, resolued by common consent to besiege Hatwan, a strong D towne of the Turks in the vpper Hungary. And thereupon rising with their army from Vachia the 13 of August, came the 15 of the same moneth about noone and sat downe before the towne, and that with such speed, that they were seene of the Turkes in the towne, before that they heard any thing of their comming: insomuch, that at the first shew of them, they of the towne tooke them to haue been some come out to seeke after booty; and therefore sallying out vpon them, skirmished with them a while, vntill they perceiued the whole battel comming. The Christians approching the town, encamped themselues as they thought most conuenient, and began in three places to batter the counterscarse. This frontier towne of the Turks, besides that it was kept with a strong garrison, was also strengthned with a broad ditch, and fortified with a broad counterscarse and strong palisadoes. Whilst the Christians thus lay E at the siege, the Turks sallying out of the towne, brake into their trenches, and there did great harme; and like enough they were to haue done more, had not the horsemen in good time come in vpon them and inforced them to retire. In this sally, amongst others was one *Greis* a notable captaine slaine, being shamefully forsaken of his owne men; who for that their cowardise, were all in the sight of the whole army disarmed, and so turned out of the campe as men vnworthy any longer to beare armes. One morning also as the Christians were at their deuotions in their trenches, a Turkish priest from out of an high tower not far off, railed most bitterly vpon them, cursing and deriding them: wherewith one of the Christian canoniers much moued, made a shot at the tower, which he so well bestowed, that therewith he strucke downe the tower, together with the idolatrous priest, as he was yet rayling and blaspheming. At length F the Christians had with exceeding labor & continual battery made the town sauleable: wherwith the Turks discouraged, offered (but all too late) to yeeld vp the town vpon the same conditions that they of Strigonium had: whereunto they receiued no answer; yea, commandement was giuen throughout the campe, That no man vpon paine of death, should haue any parley with them. Shortly after, all things being now in readinesse for the assault, the Christi-

Hatwan besieged by the Christians.

Cowardist punished.

Hatwan won by the Christians.

Extreme cruelty.

ans one a day about fiue a clocke in the afternoone, assaulted the town in foure places; and after three houres hard fight, by strong hand tooke it, with the scriching and lamenting of the women and children, and other fearefull people, who now gaue themselues all lost and forlorne. Foure houres execution was done vpon all that came to hand, without respect of age, sex, or condition: women were slaine great with childe, and young children hanging at their mothers breasts; it booted not to cry for mercy, the bloudy sword deuouring all. The fury of the Wallons here exceeded, who ript the children out of their mothers wombs, and made thongs and points of the skins of men and women, whom they had slain quicke. Which their cruelty they afterwards excused when they were therefore reproued, by pretending that thereby they did teach the Turks hereafter not so wickedly to blaspheme against Christ, or with such their wonted and barbarous cruelty to torment the Christians that fell into their hands, for feare of like themselues. In this assault and fury perished of the Turks about 4000, and of the Christians not past 300. In this towne beside that which the fire deuoured, was found a very rich prey. The first that entred the towne was one *Terskie* a notable captaine, with his company: after whom followed *Ruswurme*, who each of them were thought in their entrance at the breach, to haue slaine with their owne hand eight or ten Turks.

Mahomet the great Sultan commeth to Buda with an army of two hundred thousand men.

Now in the mean time *Mahomet* the great Sultan being come to Belgrade, remoued thence to come downe into the heart of Hungary, sending *Cicala Bassa* before him: and at length after long looking for, the second of September arriued at Buda, hauing in his army about two hudred thousand men, and three hundred field pieces. From thence he presently sent forty thousand to Temesware; but staied there himselfe with the rest of his army.

The Christians yet lying at Hatwan, & doubting left the Sultan suddenly passing the riuer should come vpon them not yet ready for battell, departing thence, and retiring backe againe, came and encamped not far from Vachia. And albeit that the Archduke before his departure from Hatwan, had left a conuenient garrison for the keeping of the towne; yet such was the terrour of the Turks approch, that the next day after, they that were there left in garrison forsooke the towne, and setting it on fire, followed themselues after the campe. This comming of the Turkish Sultan to Buda, brought also a great feare vpon them at Vienna, as much doubting left he should that way haue turned his forces, which caused them both day and night to labor for the better fortification of the city, and for the prouision of all things, as if it had bin for a present siege.

But *Mahomet* not prouided for the vndertaking of so strong a place, and not ignorant of the disgrace his great grandfather the victorious *Solyman* had sometime receiued vnder the wals thereof, had no purpose thereto, as hauing bent his thoughts quite another way. In the vpper part of Hungary is an antient famous city, well fortified and honored with a Bishops See, called Agria, not far from Hatwan: vpon this city, as the chiefe fortresse of the Christians in those quarters, had *Mahomet* at his comming into Hungary cast his eies, and began now that way to make head, with purpose by taking of that city, and placing therein a strong garrison, to hinder the vniting of the Emperors forces with the Transyluanians, for the mutuall strengthning of the one the other by the way of the vpper Hungary. Which the Archduke perceiuing, sent thither forthwith the valiant Colonell *Terskie* with a notable company of Italians and Germans, and a thousand other harquebusiers, who all arriued there in safety. At which time also the Lord *Teuffenbach* sent into the city three thousand footmen, vnder the conduct of County *Turne*, with good store of warlike prouision needfull for the defence thereof. The one and twentieth of September, *Mahomet* attended vpon by the great Bassaes, *Ibrahim*, *Giaffer*, *Hassan*, and *Cicala*, for old *Sinan* was now dead, with his army of an hundred and fifty thousand men, came and encamped betweene the two riuers of Danubius and Tibiscus, couering a great part of the country with his tents. Approching the city, he with wonderfull celerity cast vp fiue great mounts, and from them with such fury battered the wals, that the Christians were glad night and day to stand in armes for the defence thereof. And although that the wals were so great, and in many places so weakly fortified as that they were not but by a greater garrison to be defended against so puissant an enemy; and that therefore the defendants with their honor lawfully might euen the first day haue set the city on fire, & retired themselues into the castle, which was both faire and strong, and the only place to be trusted vnto; yet for the space of six daies they worthily defended the whole city against the fury of the enemies; and out of it did them

Agria besieged by Mahomet.

them great harme. But seeing the danger greatly encreasing, and that the city was not longer to be holden, they set it on fire; hauing before conueied all the best of their substance with themselues into the castle: which the Turks quickly perceiuing, brake so suddenly into the city, as if they would together with the Christians haue entred the castle also; but in the attempt therof they were notably repulsed & many of them slaine. Adioyning to the castle was a great and strong bulwarke, against which the Turks for certain daies furiously thundred with their great ordnance, and that without intermission: and hauing in diuers places sore shaken it, in the space of two daies assaulted it 12 times; but not without the wonderfull losse of their men: & yet gaue it not so ouer; but as men with their losse more enraged, came on againe with greater fury than before, and so at last by plain force took it: and there put to the sword all them they found therin, except such as by good hap got betimes into the castle. This bulwarke thus lost, the Christians the next day sallying out, again recouered; wherin they slew a great number of the Turks, with the losse of some thirty men, and as many moe wounded. The besieged now diuers times both by letters and messengers craued aid of *Maximilian* the General, giuing him to vnderstand, that they could not long hold out for want of shot and pouder, if they were not betimes relieued (whereof the enemy also was not ignorant) yet were they resolued to hold it out euen to the last man, although the great Sultan had oftentimes by messengers sent of purpose, willed them to yeeld it vp, with promise that they should in safety with life and goods depart; otherwise threatning vnto them greater extremities than was of late shewed vnto the Turks at Hatwan, if they should as obstinare men hold it out vnto the last. Wherunto they neuer answered him any thing: for *Terskie* had forbid them all parly with the enemy; and in the midst of the market place had caused a paire of gallowes to be set vp, threatning to hang him thereon, whosoeuer he were, that should once make motion of yeelding vp the city.

A bulwarke twelue times assaulted in two daies.

Whilest the besieged thus lay in hope of reliefe, the Archduke vpon the comming ouer of the Sultan towards Agria, hauing retired with his army to Strigonium, and there staid somewhat too long expecting the comming of more aid, began now at length to set forward, and to make some shew as if he had indeed purposed to haue relieued his distressed friends so hardly beset at Agria. But such was the foulenesse of the weather, hindring the passage of his great ordnance (not to speake of any thing else) that in fourteene daies he marched scarcely twelue miles forward. Whereby the enemy tooke occasion to preuaile as he did in his siege: who now hearing of the comming of the Christians, and seeing to how little purpose he had so long battered the castle, conuerted all his indeauors to the filling vp of the ditch of the old castle, with fagots, earth, and such like matter: for the hastening of which worke, *Mahomet* himselfe spared not to ride vp and downe in all places of his army, with his presence and cheereful speech encouraging his men in that desperat worke. But whilest the Turks were thus busie in fulfilling his command, the Christians sallying out vpon them made great slaughter of them, and put to flight *Ibrahim* the great Bassa with such as were about him: after whom they so eagerly followed, that he in the flight lost his tulipant for hast, & was there very like to haue bin taken. Neuertheless the worke went still forward, and was now at length with the restlesse labour of so great a multitude brought to such perfection, that the Turkes thought it now no great matter by assault to enter the castle: and thereupon the tenth of October gaue vnto it foure desperat assaults one vpon another, being still with greater slaught of his men repulsed. But comming on againe the fifth time with fresh supplies, and greater fury than at the first, they preuailed; and so entring, put to the sword all they found in the castle, in number about eight hundred: foure hundred of whose heads one of the Turks captains caused to be carried vnto *Mahomet* in the camp, in the beholding wherof, he is said to haue taken great pleasure, as in the vndoubted signes of his victory.

The old castle taken.

The old castle thus taken, nothing remained but the new castle, against which the Turks conuerted their whole forces, wherin they reposed not so much hope (although their battery were very terrible, and their power great) as in the secret mines wherewith they had in 14 places vndermined the castle, and were now almost ready to be blowne vp. Which the besieged perceiuing, and withall considering the state wherein they stood, and not hearing any thing of reliefe; resolued amongst themselues (without the consent of their chiefe Commanders) no longer to hold out, but to yeeld. And thereupon altogether as if it had been but one man, rise vp in a mutiny against their two Gouernours, *Paul Ntari*, and *Terskie*; who at the first by all the

the reasons they could deuise, dissuaded them from such cowardise, putting them in mind of G
the oath they had taken: which not preuailing, they afterwards vpon their knees requested
them as men to hold it out yet a while, in hope of speedy reliefe: yea, *Tenskie* with his hands
cast vp entreated them, that if they would no longer hold it out, but needs yeeld, then they
should first kill him with their owne hands, that he might not liue to see so great a dishonor.
But what auaileth persuasion with men possessed with so great feare? And in the meane time
two hundred and fifty of the common soldiers, among whom were many Italians, secretly es-
caping out of the castle fled into the camp, of whom diuers became runegats & turned Turk;
which added to the former feare, so much discouraged the minds of the rest, that they forth-
with required to come to parly with the enemy, and so agreed, That they might with bag and
baggage and their swords by their sides in safety depart: the great Sultan giuing his faith for H
Agria yeelded vnto the Turks. the performance thereof, with hostages deliuered on either side. So the 13 of October about
noone, the garrison soldiers came out of the castle in number about two thousand: but they
were not gone far, but that they were in a great plaine set vpon by the Turks and Tartars, and
there cut in pieces; some of them were slain quicke, and some other of them otherwise shame-
fully dismembred; the Turks in the meane time vpbraiding them, and saying, That faith was
not to be kept with them that had so cruelly before dealt with them of Hatwan. This perfidi-
ous dealing much offended diuers of the better sort of the Turks, insomuch that some of them
complained thereof vnto the Sultan; who (as is reported) caused some of the chiefe authors
thereof to be put to death: and afterward by open proclamation commanded, that if any of the
Turks or Tartars had taken any of them prisoners, they should forthwith set them at liberty. I
Thus is the famous city of Agria, of long time a Christian Bishops seat, now become a sure
receptacle for the Turks and Infidels.

Petrinia besieged by the Turks. Whilest *Mahomet* thus lay at the siege of Agria, the Bassa of Bosna with certain other of the
Sanzackes thereabouts, hauing raised a great army, came and besieged Petrinia in the borders
of Croatia: which he at his first comming so furiously battered by the space of seuen daies,
that it was of many thought not possible for it to hold out two daies longer. In the mean time
the Lord *Herbenstein* and *Leukowitze*, with all the power they could make out of Croatia and
Windismarch, came towards Petrinia: but hauing no meanes in so great haste to make a
bridge ouer the riuer of Kulp, they retired towards Siseg, there to passe ouer. The Turks hea-
ring of their retire, and supposing them to haue fled for feare, put six thousand horsemen ouer K
the Riuer to pursue them: Vpon whom the Christians turning, and charging them home,
ouerthrew them; and hauing slaine many of them, draue the rest headlong into the Riuer,
where most of them perished. The Christians neuertheless keeping on their way to Siseg;
there the next day by a bridge passed ouer the Riuer, and so marching towards Petrinia, and
being come neere vnto the Towne, were encountered by eight thousand Turkes, whom they
also put to flight; and by certaine prisoners there taken, vnderstood that the Bassa the day
before was risen from before the Towne and gone: which they at the first beleeued not, but
Petrinia relieued. comming thither found it so, to their owne good contentment, and the great joy of the late be-
sieged.

Maximilian the General marching on faire and softly from Strigonium, at length the seuen- L
teenth of October came to Cassouia, foure daies after that Agria was lost, and there met with
the Transyluanian Prince, who was come thither with eighteen thousand men, and forty field
pieces to aid him: of whom eight thousand were mercinary horsemen, fifteene hundred were
of the nobility of his country, and the rest footmen. The next day after, they setting forward
from Cassouia, joyned themselues with the rest of the army led by the Lord *Teuffenbach* and
Palfi, and so of all their vnited forces made one army, consisting now of two and thirty thou-
sand horsemen and eight and twenty thousand foot: who drew with them an hundred and
twenty field pieces, and twenty thousand waggons, wherewith they euery night enclosed their
army as with a most sure trench. So orderly marching, they kept on their way towards Agria,
with a full resolution to giue the Turks battell, whereof the whole army seemed to be very M
desirous. By the way at length they came to a faire heath two miles long and foure broad,
where they were to passe ouer a certaine riuer, the passage whereof *Giaffer Bassa* had before ta-
ken with twenty thousand Turks and Tartars, the rest of the Turks army lying still not farre
from Agria. Now the purpose of the Bassa was, to haue enlarged the passage of the riuer, and
so

A so to haue made way for the whole army, to haue afterwards passed to the other side, as most
commodious for many purposes, especially for water; wherof they so might themselues haue
had plenty, & yet kept the Christians from it. But of this his purpose, by the comming of the
Christians he was quite disappointed: for the next day being the 23 of October, they skirmi-
shed with him in diuers places, especially at the passage of the riuer; where at the first incoun-
ter he lost 300 of his men, and in the end seeing himselfe too weake to withstand the whole
power comming on, fled to the Sultan, hauing lost two of his ensignes & 20 field pieces, but of
his men not many, both for that he fled betime, and the approch of the night hindered the pur-
suit of the Christians, who were now become masters both of the passage of the riuer, and of
the place where the Bassa lay: which they finding not so commodious for them as they had at
B the first supposed (especially for lacke of wood, the weather being then extreme cold, as also
hearing of the approch of the Sultan with his whole army) they forthwith forsooke the same,
and retired again ouer the riuer to the place where they lay before, inclosing themselues with
their waggons, as if it had beene a city strongly inclosed with woodden wals. The next day
which was the 24 of October, towards night, *Mahomet* with all his army shewed himselfe vnto
the view of the Christians, and sent 3000 Tartars to passe the riuer: of whom the Christians
slew a great number with their great shot, and put the rest to flight. Both the armies were po-
pulous and strong, and couered a great deale of ground, a most goodly sight to behold: both
drunke of the same riuer, as well the men as their horses, and therfore kept continuall watch all
that night on both sides of the riuer, especially at the passage. In the morning betwixt six and
C seuen a clocke, *Mahomet* with his army ranged in order of battell, came within sight of the
Christians, his squadrons as it were couering all the country on that side of the riuer as far as
the Christians could well see; and now again sent part of his army ouer the riuer: with whom *A great and long skirmish betwixt the Turks & the Christians.*
the Christians skirmished from morning till night, both the armies parted but by the riuer, all
this while standing fast, and as it were facing the one the other. But being at length on both
sides well wearied, and many slaine, the Turks retired again ouer the riuer to the camp: in the
mean time (as if it had bin by consent) they resolued on both sides the next day to try the for-
tune of a battell; and so commandement was giuen through both the armies, for euery man
against a certaine appointed time to make himselfe ready. So the next day, being the 26 of
October, *Mahomet* brought forth his army again out of his campe, which was not far from the
D Christians; and began now to draw downe towards the riuer. Neere vnto this place were the
ruines of an old church, where *Mahomet* placed certain companies of Ianizaries, and 24 field
pieces, and commanded ten thousand of his select souldiers to passe the riuer, which they rea- *Ten thousand Turkes passe the riuer, and are together with the Tartars put to flight.*
dily did. The Christians also ready for battell, and now thinking it time vpon the comming
ouer of the enemy to begin; with part of their army thereunto appointed, so fiercely charged
the Turks that were already come ouer, that they quickly ouerthrew them, and not them only,
but certain companies of Tartars also that were in another place come ouer the riuer: and not
so contented, but following them they had in chase, put to flight them also that stood on the
farther side of the riuer, of whom they slew a great number, and by the comming on of the rest
of the army, tooke from them 190 great pieces of artillery: whereof so great a feare rise in
E the enemies campe, that *Mahomet* with *Ibrahim* the great Bassa seeing the discomfiture of the
army fled in all haste towards Agria, shedding some teares by the way as he went, and wiping
his eies with a peece of *Mahomets* garment, which hee for reuerence carried about him as
a relique. It drew now towards night, and the Archduke was about to haue caused a retreat
to be founded, and that day to haue done no more. But the Transyluanian Prince, the Lord
Palfi, and the rest, persuaded him in that so great feare of the enemy to prosecute the victory;
and the rather, for that the Turks began againe to make head, and to repaire their disordered
battels. Wherefore the Christians still keeping their array, charged afresh the front of the
enemies restored battell, consisting of forty thousand men, and that with such violence, as that
they in short time had slaine the most part of them, and put the rest to flight: and with the
F like good fortune charging the body of the maine battell, forced the discouraged Turks with
great slaughter into their owne campe. Now commandement was before giuen throughout
the Christian army, that no man vpon paine of death should in seeking after spoile breake
his array, or forsake his place, before the victory were assuredly gotten. But they in this hot
pursute breaking together with the Turks into their tents, and there killing a great number of
them,

them, and seeing in euery place great store of rich spoile, contrary to the aforesaid commande- G
ment, left the pursuit of their enemy, and disorderly fell to the spoile of the tents, vntill they came to the very tent of the great Sultan. But here began all the mischiefe, with a most sud-
The Christians in seeking too greedily after the spoile, ouerthrowne and discomfited.
den change of fortune. For here these greedy disordered men, not now worthy the name of soldiers, light vpon a strong squadron of resolute men, with good store of great ordnance ready charged, which they discharged amongst the thickest of their enemies, and rent in sunder a number of them, and after that came on resolutely themselues: when in the meane time *Cicala Bassa* with his horsemen yet vntouched, brake in vpon them also, and with the terrour of his comming brought such a feare vpon them, that they began amaine to fly, especially the Hungarians & Germans, most busied in the spoile. Neither could they in that feare, by any threats or intreaty of their commanders be persuaded to make a stand, or so much as once to looke H
backe, or to shew any token of true valour: which their hasty flight was the ouerthrow not of themselues only, but of others also that would haue sought; for whilst they fled headlong vpon the spur, and could not be staid, they ouerran their own footmen, and so furthered the enemies victory. Thus for want of good order, through the greedy couetousnesse of a sort of disordered men, the most notable victory that euer the Christians were like to haue had ouer the Turks, was let slip out of their hands. Many noble gentlemen & commanders, in seeking to stay the flight of their own men, were here slaine: & although the enemy followed the chase scarce halfe a mile, yet were the Christians possessed with such a feare, that they fled amaine all ouer the country with greater shame than losse, no man pursuing them. The Archduke himselfe seeing all desperat fled to Cassouia. The Transyluanian of all others most orderly retired him- I
selfe towards Tocaij, hauing not lost in this battell aboue 200 men, and of them neuer a man of name. All this losse he imputed to the couetousnesse of the Hungarians, and cowardise of the German horsemen. The Lord *Brenstein* hauing charge of the great artillery, fled also, and made shift for himselfe, as did *Palfi*, and in fine all the rest. Neither was the feare lesse amongst the Turks (a wonderful thing to be spoken) than it was among the Christians: for the night following they for feare of the return of the Christians, trussing vp the best of their things, fled also towards Agria. And it was afterwards known, that the Turks great ordnance, tents, and baggage stood three daies in their trenches, either altogether vngarded, or so slenderly garded, as that they might haue bin easily taken by the Christians, if they would but haue made head again. Yea, *Mahomet* himselfe is reported oftentimes to haue confessed the danger and feare he K
was then in to haue bin taken, and al his army destroied, if the Christians had (as they should) pursued the victory, and not so basely run after the spoile: by which danger he then warned, afterwards euer shunned to aduenture his person to the like perill in the field. In this battel of
Twentie thousand Christians slain, & threescore thousand Turks.
Karesta (for so it is of a place thereby called) and at the siege of Agria, were lost of the Christians about 20000, and of the Turks 60000. *Mahomet* after this victory fortified Agria, and for the keeping thereof left in it 10000 soldiers, and so returned to Belgrade.

The Bassa of Buda persuading himselfe that the Christians after so great an ouerthrow could not this yere to any purpose recouer their strength, came with all the power he was able
Vacia besieged by the Bassa of Buda.
to make, and the fourth of Nouember besieged Vacia, in hope to haue easily carried it but finding there greater resistance than he had before imagined, & hearing that the dispersed Chri- L
stians in the vpper part of Hungary were making head for to come to the reliefe of the towne, he more afraid than hurt, brake vp his siege, and so returned to Buda: for indeed the dispersed reliques of the late army of the Christians were drawing together, but vnarmed and vnserviceable, as hauing in the last flight shamefully cast away their armes, and therefore could haue done the Bassa small harme if he had continued the siege.

Mahomet thinking it honor enough for him to haue thus won Agria, and driuen the Christians out of the field, diuided his army into two parts at Belgrade: whereof the one he billetted in the countrey thereabout, to be ready for all euents, and with the other he returned to Constantinople: but by the way he was set vpon by *Bartholim Lanssobie* the Transyluanian prin- M
ces Lieutenant, and the Vayuod of Valachia, who with a great power both of horse and foot being got ouer the riuer Danubius, and secretly fauored by the country people, lay in ambush for him in places of aduantage, and still following in the taile of his army, cut off 7000 of his men before he could be rid of them: and so with much trouble arriued at length at Constantinople, where we will for this yeare leaue him, vntill we heare of him more.

Maximi-

A *Maximilian* with a small retinue arriued at Vienna in the later end of Nouember, where he found the Viscont of Burgaw, *Swartzenburg*, and some other of the commanders of his late army; most of the rest, especially the Italians, being slaine. The small remainder of this vnfortunat yere was spent with often skirmishes and inrodes one into anothers frontiers, as the maner of war is, without any great thing done worth the remembrance.

Rodolph the Christian Emperor, notwithstanding the late discomfiture of his army not farre from Agria, made choice again of his brother *Maximilian* the Archduke for the managing of his forces for his next yeares wars against the Turke. Whereunto the Pope by his legat *Fran. Aldobrandino* promised of his owne charge to send him 10000 Italians, vnder the conduct of the Duke of Mantua; as did also the German Princes their wonted aid, with some others. All
B which slowly at length meeting together neere vnto Possonium and Altenburg, in the months of Iuly and August, departing thence, marched to Pappa, which after eight daies hard siege
Pappa taken by the Christians.
they tooke, and so again retyred to Altenburg, where they took a generall muster of the army, and afterwards in the beginning of September shewed themselues before the strong town of Rab: where the lord *Bernstein* approching too neere the walls, was with a shot slaine. Neuertheless the rest there staied, vntill that hearing of the comming of *Mahomet Bassa* the Turks Generall with a great army, they left the siege, and the 24 day of September passing ouer the riuer Danubius, into the Island Schut towards Comara, there on the North side of the riuer encamped. Where they had not lien past 8 daies, but that the castle of Doris standing vpon the South side of Danubius, was by the Bassa before their faces, and as it were euen vnder their
C noses besieged and taken; the whole army of the Christians in the meane time as idle behol-
Doris taken by the Turks.
ders looking on, but not daring to relieue their distressed friends: but afterwards arising, marched to Vacia, where hearing of the Turks comming against them from Pesth, they set fire on the castle, and so retired alongst the North side of the riuer, vntil they came ouer against Vicegrade a castle of their owne on the farther side of Danubius; where by the good direction of the lord *George Basta* a most expert captaine, and lieutenant Generall of the army, they encamped so strongly, as that the Turks after many braue attempts giuen to haue forced them in their trenches, were glad with some losse to depart.

Neither went things this yere better forward with the Christians in other places than in this side of Hungary: for *Sigismund* the Transiluanian prince by his Chancelor besieging the strong
D city of Temeswar in October, was by the valor of the defendants, and the vnseasonablenesse of the weather enforced to raise his siege, and with dishonor to depart. *Michael* also the Vayuod
Michael the Vayuod yeldeth his obeysance vnto the Turke, and yet refuseth to aid him against the christians.
of Valachia, who moued with the example and persuasions of the Transyluanian Prince, had reuolted from the Turks, and don them great harme (as is in part before declared) now wearied with their often inuasions and the spoile of his country, almost brought to vtter desolation, many thousands of his subjects being by the Turks and Tartars carried away captiues, and his townes and castles for most part rased, to giue his people a time of breathing, submitted himselfe againe vnto the Turkish obeisance, solemnly receiuing at the hands of one of the Turks Chiaus (for that purpose sent from Constantinople) an ensigne in token of his submission vnto the Turkish Emperor, as also of his fauor towards him. Which the more to assure him of, he
E by another honorable messenger shortly after receiued from *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperour more kind letters than at any time before, with the confirmation of the Vayuodship of Valachia by the grand Seignior his solemne oath, vnto *Michael* the Vayuod and his son *Peter*, then about thirteene yeares old, for the terme of both their liues, without disturbance, paying but the halfe of the old yearely tribute by the Turks before demanded. So glad they were vpon any condition to haue reduced that martial man with his country vnto their obeisance; and in token of further grace, together with these letters he receiued also a goodly horse, most richly furnished, with a faire scimiter and an horseman's mace, in signe of the martiall power and gouerment committed vnto him by the great Sultan *Mahomet*. All which goodly gifts and honors the Vayuod seemed thankfully to accept: neuertheless not daring too far to trust vnto
F the Turkish faith, of the small assurance whereof he had before had sufficient experience, he still kept strong garrisons vpon the frontiers of his countrey, with such other forces also as he was wont, excusing the same to be done for feare of the Tartars; by whom he also excused himselfe, for not going with the Turks Generall this yeare into Hungary, as he was by speciall messengers from the grand Seignior himselfe requested; telling him that he might not in any

case

case so to do, for feare of the Tartars most horrible incursions, and the spoiles of his country: G
yet knew he right well, how that they were by the great Sultan his expresse commandement
charged not to do any harme either in Moldauia or Valachia, as they went into Hungary. But
this wary Vayuod not greatly trusting either the Sultan or them, as also loth himselfe a Chri-
stian to go against the Christians his friends and late confederats, excused himself by the ne-
cessary care he had of his subjects and country, and so requested that his reasonable excuse to
be in good part of the great Sultan accepted: but of him more is to be said hereafter. Thus
passed this yeare without any great thing done more than is before declared, both these great
Princes, the Emperor and the Turkish Sultan, being warned by the last yeres work, what it was
to put al to the fortune of a battel: & therfore now contenting themselues to haue shewed their
1598 forces, as not afraid one of the other, countenanced this yeres wars more in shews than deeds. H
What great things might by the Christian Princes at vnity amongst themselues be done
against the Turk, is by the considerat right easily to be gathered: but especially by the notable
victory of the famous Transyluanian Prince *Sigismund*, who confederated but with his poore
oppressed neighbours the Valachians and Moldauians, and strengthened with some small aid
from the Emperor and the Hungarians, not only deliuered those three countries from the hea-
uy burthen of the Turkish thraldom, but vanquished also their most renowned captains, ouer-
threw their mighty armies, burnt and spoiled their Countries, rased their townes and cities;
which as it hath been before in part declared, so if it should be all particularly set downe, be-
sides that it would be tedious, so also might it haply seem almost incredible. Besides which ca-
lamities of war (commonly more felt of the subjects than of the Prince) the great Sultan him- I
selfe found no small wants, as well in his coffers, as other his necessary supplies for the main-
tenance of his wars, especially in Hungary; the only countrey of Moldauia before these trou-
bles yeelding vnto him yerely a tun of gold, 2000 horses for seruice, 10000 great measures
of wheat, with as much barly, and a wonderfull proportion of butter, hony, and other victuals;
the other two prouinces paying the like or more, as a yerely tribute: whereof he had of late, to
his great discontentment, by the generall reuolt of these three countries bin quite disappoin-
ted. But this so wholesome a confederation (to the great hurt of the Christian commonweale,
and benefit of the Turks) now broken, and Moldauia by the Polonians disseuered from the rest,
and againe made tributary to the Turke, as is before declared, and now Valachia also in a sort
acknowledging the Turks obeisance; the noble Transyluanian prince, who hitherto with great K
cheerfulnesse and courage had fought the most Christian battels against the Turke, now left
as it were all alone, and doubting how with his own small forces to be able long to defend his
country against the Turke and the Polonian, whom he feared not much lesse than him: left the
same should together with himself, fal into the hands of the Turks or some other his enemies,
by a wonderful change voluntarily resigned this his country of Transyluania vnto *Rodolph* the
Christian Emperor and his heires for euer; and so leauing his wife in Transyluania, went him-
self into Silesia, thereto take possession of the Dukedomes of Oppel and Ratibor, which toge-
ther with the yerely pension of 50000 Ioachims, or the fourmes of the Bishopsick of Vratis-
lauia, he had in lieu thereof receiued of the Emperor: whereupon the possession of Transylua-
nia, by the generall consent of all the States of that country, was in the beginning of this yere
1598, deliuered vnto the Archbishop of Vacia, the Counsel *Nadasti*, and *Di Petzi* the Emperors L
commissioners; and a solemne oath of obedience and loyalty taken of them all in generall: al-
beit the aforesaid Commissioners, as also the Emperour himselfe would haue persuaded the
Prince, either not at all, or at leastwise not so suddenly, to haue forsaken his country, but to
haue still kept the gouernment thereof himselfe: yet for a yeare or two, well foreseeing, that
the same could not so conueniently be gouerned by any other, as by himselfe, a naturall Prince
therein borne, and exceedingly beloued of his subjects. The same Commissioners also in June
following, going into Valachia, there tooke the like oath of obedience of *Michael* the Vayuod
and his people: who loathing the Turkish soueraignty, willingly yeelded themselues vnto
the Emperors protection. These commissioners also at the same time came to agreement with M
the Tartars Embassadors, offering vnto the Emperor peace and aid for the yearely pension of
40000 duckats, and as many sheep-skin gownes, their vsuall manner of apparell.

A great tribute.

The Prince of Transyluania resigneth his country vnto the Emperor.

Michael the Vayuod submitteth himself with his people vnto the Emperors protection.

All this while continued the Diet of the Empire, begun in December last past at Ratisbon,
Matthias the Emperors brother being there his deputy, & in his Majesties name demanding a
greater

A greater aid for the maintenance of his wars against the Turks the common enemy, than was by
the Princes and States of the Empire offered: where after great and long deliberation, a large
proportion was by them all agreed vpon for the defraying of the charges of those wars, and de-
fence of the Christian commonweale, to be paied in three yeares next, and so thereupon was
the assembly dissolued. But as they were returning home, behold, contrary to all hope, Rab
one of the strongest fortresses in Christendome, three yeares before betraied vnto the Turks
by County *Hardeck*, was now by the wisedome and valor of *Adolphus* Baron of Swartzenburg,
the Emperours Lieutenant in the lower Hungary, againe recouered, to the great griefe of the
Turks, and wonderfull rejoycing of the Christians, in such sort as followeth:

This noble gentleman the lord *Swartzenburg*, of no lesse courage then experience, then lying
B at Comara, and still in doubt lest the Turks so neer vnto him at Rab, should attempt something
against him and his charge, prouided for his owne defence all that Winter time with a strong
garrison, keeping continuall watch and ward, although it were as then no time for the enemy
with any army to keepe the field. So Winter passing, and the Spring approching, it fortuned
that the 22 day of March, about 7 a clocke in the night, the gates being shut, were heard neere
vnder the walls of the towne, two men, who by their speech seemed to be Italians: with great
instance requesting, for the safegard of their liues, to be let in, for feare of the enemies pursuit.
Which by one of the sentinels was forthwith reported vnto the Gouernor: who doubting it to
be some subtill practise of the enemy, commanded them there to take their fortune vntill the
morning: at which time they were receiued into the city, and being brought before the Go-
C uernor, prostrating themselues forthwith at his feet, pittifully requested him to haue compas-
sion of their misery, & to comfort them with his charitable relief, that so they might at length
returne againe into their country. Who at the first asked them, what countrymen they were,
and from whence they came at that time of the night? Whereunto they answered, That they
were Italians, and that they had but euen then escaped out of the cruell hands of the Turks at
Rab. But desiring to know of them some news, they after their manner humbled themselues,
shewing by their gesture not to know any. Yet would he needs vnderstand of them the parti-
cularities, when and how they were taken by the Turks, and the means they had vsed to escape
out of that cruell seruitude, in all order as had befalne them. Where the yonger of them begin-
ning, told him, that now almost two yeres ago, at such time as the Christians were ouerthrown
D by the Turks vnder Agria, and euery man in that confusion then seeking the best and neerest
way to saue themselues; they hauing by flight now escaped the greatest danger of the enemy,
and so trauelling ouer the country towards Vienna, were to their great misfortune (by an hun-
dred Turks come out of Rab to scoure the country, and to seeke after prey) taken prisoners, and
as slaues committed to the chaine, where they had almost two yeres, vntill now, with great pa-
tience serued. These two fugitiues by their outward appearance seemed to be men of good spi-
rit and valor, which caused the Gouernor the more desirous to know of them the meanes they
had vsed for their escape. So the yonger proceeding in his tale, gaue him to vnderstand of the
whole matter, telling him, That they had bin three months before still carefully deuising how
to recouer their lost liberty, which now seemed to make some offer of it selfe vnto them: for
E that since the time that the Emperors army rise the last yere from before the towne, they were
not kept so streit or looked vnto as before, but lay as men by the Turks not much regarded:
which caused them the more cheerfully to take the offer of the time, and to resolue either the
sooner to die, or to set themselues at liberty. And that so one day as they were carrying certain
munition from the palace of *Giaffer Bassa* for the soldiers, they secretly conueied three pieces
of cord of some reasonable bignesse, therwith by night to let themselues down from the wall,
and as as they might to escape: which stolne cord that it should not be seene, and so their pur-
pose suspected, they buried in the ground. But the night being come for them to effect in, what
they had so long desired, and they roaming vp and downe in the darke, and still finding one let
or other, they were enforced for that time to stay, and to defer it vntill the night following:
F which being come, and choice made of a most conuenient place, they made fast the cord
aboue, and so thereby slid downe, first the elder, and then the younger; who not knowing
how to swimme, was yet by the good direction and helpe of his fellow conducted ouer vnto
the farther side of the broad and deepe ditch: and that so, in the night (so darke as that one
of them could hardly see the other) they were come by chance to Comara, thinking to haue
taken

Two Italian prisoners flying out of Rab, discouer the state of the towne to the Lord Swartzenburg.

taken the way to Vienna. The Gouernour, thus fully instructed of their escape, demanded of them further, how the strong towne of Rab was by the Turks gouerned and garded: who told him very ill, and with small care, especially since the departure of the Emperor campaine also that foure gates of the towne were filled vp with earth, which if they were broken open, would all fal into the town ditch, and so further them that would attempt to enter, with diuers other particularities. Whereof the Gouernor hauing well considered, though with himselfe, that if by some ingenious deuice he might by night with some good strength vpon the suddain enter the towne, it haply might be so againe recouered. Vpon which so great a designement he thought good to consult further with the Lord *Palfi*, whom he requested, in all hast & with as much secrecy as was possible, with 1600 foot, and as many horse as he could make, to come vnto him to Comara. Who vpon this aduertisement staid not, but presently giuing order vnto his men, set forward by night, and the 26 of March before day, with 1400 foot, and 120 horse arriued at Comara; where they were all ioyfully receiued, and the gates after they were entered, again fast shut, & so kept for feare of the enemies secret spies, of whom no man can be too wary, be he neuer so wise. Now whilest these souldiers were refreshing themselues, in the meane time, the Gouernor with the Lord *Palfi* discoursed to the full concerning the intended enterprise: which resolued vpon, they found themselues vpon the view of their men to haue 1600 foot of the garrison souldiers, and 300 horse all good and couragious men, and well appointed for the intended seruice: who there staying two daies after their comming, and many of them in the meane time (after the manner of their religion) confessing themselues, and receiuing the Sacrament, were become so couragious, as that they doubted not in the quarrel of the Christian religion to encounter a far greater number of the Turks than themselues. And the more to stir them vp, the Lord *Palfi* at the same time deliuered vnto them a notable speech; not for all that telling them whither they were to go but, That they were his Christian souldiers and brethren, vnder his leading both of long and late time; who neuer by him deceiued of their wonted pay at such time as it was due, would not now as he hoped forsake him. And albeit that he well knew them to haue deserued at his hands a greater contentment; neuertheles being himselfe depriued of his reuenue by these late warres, and his possessions subject & euery houre vnto the incursions of the Turks, could not therfore according to his desire, and their deserts, shew vnto them the great good will he bare them: Yet now and euen presently was come the time wherein they might not only abundantly enrich themselues, but also adorne their heads with an immortall crowne of glory, and make themselues for euer famous, by performing the most happy and glorious exploit that euer was by valiant souldiers attempted or atchieued in that part of the World. And to the intent that they might know how dearely he accounted of the life and honor of euery one of them, he would therefore himselfe with the Lord *Swartzenburg* (of whom proceeded all that faire deuice and new stratagem) be present with them in the action: and that therefore they were not to thinke that they were led forth to any priuat danger, farther than their commanders themselues; whose folly were to be accounted great, if rashly and vpon no good ground they should aduenture their liues and honours together: whereof they ought not now to doubt, hauing by a thousand proofes known, how much they had beene of them always regarded. And that therefore it behoued them so much the mose to shew their valor in this piece of seruice, vndertaken for the great benefit of the Christian commonweale, and the honour of Christ Iesu, vnto whom they were with one accord to make their praiers, with his mighty hand to strengthen their hearts; and with glorious victorie to bring to happy end the intended exploit against his enemies, to the honour of his name, and the aduancement of the Christian religion and faith. At the end of which speech all the souldiers cried aloud, That they were most ready to do any their commands, and to follow them whitherforeuer. So order was taken, that within three houres they should euery man be preast and ready with their armes according to their places; and so hauing well refreshed themselues, about eleuen of clocke the seuen and twentieth day of March they in good order began to set forwards toward Rab. But for that the multitude of souldiers oftentimes giueth the enemy warning of that is intended against him; *Palfi* gaue order to one *Iohn Stroine* his Sergeant Major, to follow faire and softly after him, with 1700 horse and foot, which he well performed. And so vpon the breake of the day they began to draw towards Rab, and there lay close in ambush all that day vntill night, about seuen miles short of the towne, refreshing themselues in the meane time

The notable speech of the Lord Palfi vnto his souldiers.

time with plenty of victuals, which they had brought with them from Comara. Night (the fauourer of deceit) being come, in two houres march they began to draw neere to Rab, and there staied about fiue houres; from whence they sent before them a French enginer, a man of great judgement, with thirteen others (before rewarded with 1500 duckats) hauing with them 4 petards, engines of force to blow vp into the aire any thing whereunto they be fastened, be it neuer so great and weighty; where by good chance they found the draw-bridge downe, and the portculleis vp: for that the Turks then casting no perill, expected euery houre for certain waggons with prouision from Alba Regalis. By which good hap the Christians vnpercei'ued comming to the gate, and thereunto fastning their petards, in good order gaue fire to the same, which presently tooke not hold; yet were they not far gone, but that they were by a sentinell descried, who demanding what they were, was presently answered by the violent engines, which in a trice tore in sunder the gate, with some part of the wall & of the fortifications neere vnto it. When now the watch (but all too late) began to giue the alarme, and the Christians in the foreward thrusting presently in, tooke the gate, none of the Turks yet comming to the defence thereof, or to hinder them from entring. The first that appeared were 200 Turks, which with their wonted cry *Alla, Alla*, in such hidious maner as if they would therewith haue rent the heauens, would haue staied the Christians for farther entring, but were themselues ouercharged by 300 which were already entred. At which time also the Bassa came on with more than a thousand following him, and that with such courage and fury as was neuer greater to be seene in any Turke: where after a most terrible fight maintained by the space of two houres, the Bassa himselfe being slaine, the Turks began a little to retire, whereby a thousand Christians moe had leisure to enter: when streitway after came *Giaffer* the great Bassa with aboue 1000 tall soldiers following him, all the inhabitants also of Rab running after him, and that with such force, that they constrained the Christians to retire vnto the gate whereby they entred. Who resolued rather honorably to die within the towne, than with dishonor to be forced out, there with incredible courage sustained the greatest impression of the furious enemy: where was to be seene the true Christian valour for the performance of so great an exploit well worthy of eternall memory. But this Bassa also (the other being dead of a wound in his necke) encountered by the Lord *Swartzenburg*, after he had in that sharpe conflict shewed great tokens of his valour, was there at length slaine also: both whose heads strucke off, were for a present afterwards sent to the Emperor at Prague, with all the particularities of the whole action. But now the Turks perceiuing that all their chief commanders were slain, retired most part of them into the city: some 300 of them crept vnderneath one of the bulwarks, where stood certain barrels of gunpouder, which they desperatly set on fire, and so together with themselues blew vp 300 Christians that were aboue vpon the bulwarke; the greatest losse the Christians had in all that victory, who were otherwise supposed not to lose therein aboue 200 of their men. Thus the Turks discomfited, and altogether full of feare, losing both their force and courage, fled in euery place before the Christians, they in euery corner making of them a most horrible slaughter. The Turkish women all this while out of their windowes and other high places, ceased not to cast downe stones, timber, and such like things vpon the heads of the Christians, whom they thought by all means to annoy, and to helpe the Turks. The bloudy execution continued all that day vntill night, the Christians still finding one or other hidden in the most secret places of the city, vpon whom to exercise their wrath: who ransacking also euery corner thereof, were by the wealth therein found greatly enriched. But comming to the palace of *Giaffer* the great Bassa, they found such great store of rich furniture, as better beseemed some great Prince than a Turkish slaue. There they found also letters written in characters of gold from the Bassa of Buda to this Bassa, greeting him, and promising him in his behalfe to deale with the Grand Seignior against the next Spring, with the first that his army should take the field, that he might therin haue some honorable place of command, to the end he might in the field shew his great valour, and no longer lie idle in that strong towne. So found they there also many things written from the great Sultan himselfe vnto this Bassa, with great store of coine, which all fell to the souldiers share; insomuch that by this so notable an exploit so well performed, the publique State, together with the souldiers priuat was not a little bettered. There amongst other things were recouered threescore and six pieces of Artillery, which were knowne to haue been sometime the Emperors, and foure and twenty others, which the Bassa had

Rab surprised by the Christians.

Two of the Turks Bassa's slaine.

A great booty.

had caused to be brought from Buda, with great store of shot and pouder and other small pieces, and meale sufficient to haue serued foure thousand men for a yeare and a halfe, but of wine (little vsed of the Turks) onely foure vessels. In the Bassaes palace was also found of armour and weapons of all sorts great store, with abundance of cloath and apparell, which was all giuen in spoile to the souldiers. Thus Rab one of the strongest fortresses of Christendome, not full foure yeares before besieged by *Sinan Bassa* with an hundred and fifty thousand men, by the space almost of three monoths, and then at length by the treason of the gouernor to him betraied; was now in one night by the valour and policy of a few resolute men, to their immortall glory againe restored to the Christian commonwealth the nineteenth day of March in the yeare 1598. Of which so notable a victory the Christians rejoyced not a little both in Hungary and elsewhere: the great Sultan with the Turks no lesse grieuing and storming, as well for the losse of the towne, before got with no small charge, as for the death of his people there slaine, to the number of about six thousand and moe, with the losse of scarce six hundred Christians.

Yet for all this, *Mahomet*, the great Sultan ceased not to make great prouision for his war in Hungary, and that greater than before, and so with greater fury also to prosecute his wrathfull indignation to be reuenged vpon the Christians. Whereupon order was giuen vnto *Ibraim Bassa* his brother in law, and Generall of his army, with all conuenient speed to take the field: which for all that fell out far otherwise; for that now thinking to haue had all things in good forwardnesse, a great dissention rise betwixt the Ianizaries and the Spahi; the Ianizaries being the best footmen, and the Spahi the best horsemen of the Turkish Empire; both the faithfull keepers of the person of their Prince, and the greatest strength of his state: whereby it commeth to passe, that in setting forward towards the wars, these two sorts of valiant soldiers, the one standing vpon their strength, and the other vpon their honor, and both jealous of their reputation and credit, haue no good liking of one the other, but oftentimes, and especially of late in this corruption of their martiall discipline vnder their degenerate Emperours, fall at odds among themselues, as now they did, to the great hinderance of their affairs, and trouble of their General. Insomuch that to appease this tumult he was glad to put to death certaine of the insolent Ianizaries refusing to set forward as they were by their Aga commanded. But proceeding further, and thinking to haue executed some others of them also, to the further terrour of the rest, he was by them and their adherents put in such feare of his life, that to auoid the present danger, he was glad to excuse himselfe by his lieutenant, laying all the blame vpon him as the cause thereof: who was therefore as a sacrifice deliuered vnto the fury of the Ianizaries, by whom he was there presently slain, with some others of the Bassa's followers. So these broiles with much ado ouerpast, *Ibrahim* hauing taken a generall review of his army at Sophia, there staied, expecting order from the great Sultan where to begin his wars, in Hungary or in Transyluania; for as yet that was in question: which could not well be before the beginning of Iuly, by reason of the scarcity of victuals euen then arising in the camp; for the supplying whereof *Mahomet* himselfe had no small care. But this long delay was the cause that a great number of the Ianizaries comming from Hadrianople, and hearing by the way, that the Generall would not as yet set forward; not knowing the cause of his stay, and doubting to be deceiued of their promised entertainment, were about to haue returned backe againe: which known at the court, commandment was presently sent thence vnto the General, without longer stay to set forward toward Hungary, which the more hastened his departure with his army.

A great tumult betweene the Ianizaries and the Spahi.

In this the Turks so long delay, the Christians had good leisure to prepare their new forces, being now the latter end of Summer: for well they might thinke that the enemy slept not, knowing what prouision he had made as well in Constantinople as in other places. Wherefore reasonably doubting, that Summer well spent, and August now at hand, he would not so late turne his forces into the lower Hungary, they thought it best to prouide for the safety of the vpper countrey: And to the end that the enemy approching those frontiers, might there finde forces ready to encounter him, the lord *George Basta* a man of great experience and valor was appointed Lieutenant Generall for that countrey; to the great contentment of the soldiers in generall, all shewing themselues most ready at his command. The Lord *Swartzenburg* in the meane time remaining in the lower Hungary at Rab, with eight thousand good soldiers: and the Archduke *Matthias* at Vienna for the dispatch of *George Basta*, and the hasting of him forward: for that the vpper Hungary, to the great hurt thereof, began now to feele the incursions of the Turks and Tartars. Besides that, he was afterward to return himself to speak with the Emperor his brother, still expecting a Chiaus of the Turkes by the appointment of the grand Seignior, sent by the way of Polonia for Prague, to intreat with the Emperor concerning a peace.

They of Buda in the mean while seeing the delay of the Turkes, of whom not one band yet appeared in those quarters; and on the other side perceiuing the great preparation of the Imperials, and the great garrison at Rab so neer at hand; began now to doubt some new resolution of the Christians: wherin they were no whit deceiued; for no army of the Turks being in field in the lower Hungary, and the country plain and open, the Lord *Palfi* with a conuenient power, & certain pieces of battery, set forward to attempt the enterprise; and the 16 of October with 16 pieces of artillery began to batter the city of Buda, to the great fear and discomfiture of them within: hauing first taken the fort S. *Gerard*, with hope to haue gained the rest also. For which cause, the men, the women, and all that dwelt in the City, most instantly besought the Bassa, not to endure the destruction of the same, with the inhabitants and wealth therof altogether; but being not able to hold out against so furious a battery, in time to hearken to some reasonable composition, that so they might yet euery man at least with life depart. Whereunto the Bassa for all that would not hearken, but put them still in hope, that they should be presently relieued. Howbeit the batterie still continuing, and they not able longer to endure the force of the Imperials; nor any relief yet comming, they were glad at length to abandon the city with the losse of two thousand of the Ianizaries, and but 300 of the Christians slain, and 800 hurt: the rest of the Turks at the same time retyring themselues into the castle, where they might for a space deem themselues safe. So the Lord *Palfi* possessed of the city, with all his forces laid siege vnto castle, which although it were in some places shaken with the continuall fury of the cannon, yet were the defendants still ready to make good the same: insomuch that *Palfi* in good hope of succes giuing thereunto a general assault, was by their valor inforced to retyre, they within in the mean time with great labor and industry repairing the breaches made by the artillery. So that *Palfi* considering the difficultie of the assault, thought it better by vndermining to make the rocke whereon the castle stood, than by a new assault to expose so many worthy men to so manifest a danger. Which his purpose by the enemy discouered, was by them also by countermining disappointed. Yet for all that were the Christians still in good hope, by another mine not yet by the enemy perceiued, to attain to the full of their desire; and the more, for that they saw not so much bradery or shew of courage in the defendants as before: Who now kept themselues silent and quiet, as if they had bin consulting about yeelding vp of the castle, as men bereft of all hope of reliefe or succor. The Christians hauing now possessed of a strong abby and fortresse fast by, and hauing broken down all the bridges ouer the riuer Danubius; in such sort as that the besieged could receiue no relief either by land or water. But forasmuch as the time of the year began now to grow tedious, and the winter weather sharpe, the Christians thought it not best there long to protract the time, and therfore resolued to present vnto the castle another general assault, and at the same time to blow vp the mine: but in giuing this assault they were againe repulsed, with the losse of 200 men. At which time also a number of Turks sallying out of the Castle courageously incountred the Christians, but not with succes answerable to their valor, being there almost all cut in pieces. Neither did the mine take the desired effect, but being blown vp did little or no harm at all. So the Christians weary of their long suffering of the extreamitie of the weather, and withall considering the great courage of the defendants, were euen vpon the point to haue rifen: yet willing to giue a fresh attempt vpon the mine, they began again to work in the same; and hoping to preuail, began to parley with the defendants about yeelding vp of the castle. But all to little or no purpose; for that the mine hauing taken no effect, the soldiers could hardly be drawn on through the deep and muddy ditches to giue a new assault. In fine, seeing no hope to preuail, and hearing also of the comming of a great Army of the Turks for the relief of the besieged, they raised the siege, and at their departure burnt their suburbs, carrying away with them a great booty; and so retyring towards Strigonium, expected further direction in what places to winter. Where shortly after order was taken, that the forces disbanded should be dispersed, some into garrisons, and some into the

Buda besieged by the Christians.

The Christians depart from Buda.

the country therabout, to the intent they might so be in the more readinesse with the first of G
the next Spring to take the field, or as occasion should serue, to be otherwise imploied.

But *Sigismund* the Transylvanian prince in the mean time repenting himself of the vnequal change he had made with the Emperour, in disguised apparel hasting in post out of Silesia, came to Clausenburg in Transylvania, and there was ioyfully receiued of his subiects; and taking of them a new oath of obedience, by messengers sent of purpose certified *Maximilian* the Archduke (appointed by the Emperour for the gouernment of Transylvania, and now vpon his way as far as Cassovia) of the causes of his return; persuading him rather to conuert his forces against the Turks, for the recouery of Agria, than to trouble himself to come any farther for Transylvania, now againe by him to the great contentment of his subiects repossessed. As did also the Princesse his wife (*Maximilian* his Cousin germane;) wishing him M
to consider, what hurt and dishonour hee should do vnto the Emperour his Maiesty, himselfe, the Roman Empire, and the whole Christian Commonweale in generall, if in so dangerous a time hee should attempt any thing against the Prince her husband; and vnto him by her so neerly allyed.

Veradinum besieged by the Turks.

Now the Turks great army being come into the vpper Hungary, lay incamped vnder the walls of the strong city of Veradinum, where that worthy Captaine *George Basta* was Lieutenant General for the Emperor; but not hauing sufficient strength to go against so mighty an enemy, or to relieue the besieged city, hauing as then but a weak garison; he gaue knowledge therof to *Maximilian* the Archduke, who (as is aforesaid) with a conuenient power was but a little before come to Cassovia, to goe into Transylvania, had hee not there by the way been I
stayed by Embassadors from Prince *Sigismund*, but lately before returned out of Silesia; and hauing again taken vpon him the gouernment, by these his Embassadours requested him, no further to trouble himself in that journy; offring to giue him aid against the Turks whensoeuer he should require it. The besieged neuertheles in the mean time notably defended themselues, and with certain braue sallies did the enemy great harm: stil expecting that *Basta* the Lieutenant, or the Transylvanian prince, or *Maximilian* the Archduke, or they all with their vnited forces, should send them relief. Vnto whom they gaue knowledge the 19 of October, how that the Turks with all the force and fury they had vsed, had as yet little preuailed, beeing by their valor stil repulsed, and with many sharpe sallies to their great losse incountered, and some of their great ordnance cloied, in such sort, as that they were in good hope to pro- K
tract the time vntil they might by them their friends be relieued: yet not doubting but that the Turks according to their wonted manner would do what they might to subdue them. According to whose expectation, the Transylvanian prince with a great power taking the field to haue relieued them, was letted so to do by the Tartars, to that purpose stirred vp by the Turks: so that he could by no means, join his forces with *Maximilian*, for looking to the safety of his own people and country. Yet in token of forwardnes he sent certain Companies of braue soldiers vnto the Lieutenant *Basta*; who vnderstanding that of two thousand good soldiers in garrison in the city in the beginning of the siege, there were scarce 700 left aliue, all the rest being with continuall assaults either slain or mortally wounded; vsed a notable stra- H
tagem to delude the enemy withall; for hauing put his men in good order, and comming brauely on, as if he would euen haue presently joined battel (which the Turkes most desired) whilst they likewise with great stirre were putting themselues in order of battell, and wholly busied therin, he by another way of the Turks least suspected, cunningly thrust into the City 800 good soldiers; and that don, presently retyred again into his trenches, wherin he strongly incamped, feared not all the Turks forces; who thinking euen then to haue come to a day of battel, and stil in vain expecting the same, returned deceiued by this sineneste. And so shortly after, inforced by continual foul weather, raised their siege, not without great difficultie and danger (reliefe lying so neer at hand, and the defendants strengthned with new supplies) to haue bin longer maintained. So passed the troubles of this year with no gain but great losse of the Turks: who at their departure inforced by the vnseasonablenes of the weather, be sene M
together, left behinde them in their trenches many Tents, with some great pieces of Artillerie, being not able to conuey the same by water to Buda; and withal fearing greatly to bee incountred by the forces of *Basta*, strengthned with new supplies euen then sent vnto him from the Emperor.

Veradinum relieued.

The

A The Archduke *Matthias*, *Swartzenburg*, and the other commanders of the army in the lower Hungary, being twelue thousand strong, with the garrison soldiers of Rab, Strigonium, & Komara, in the mean time because they would not stand idle, together with the Hungarian horsmen, ouer-ran all the country therabouts euen vnto the gates of Buda; in good hope also to haue met with eight thousand Turks (as they were by their espials aduertised) comming toward Pesth with victuals for relief of the castle of Buda.

Whilst things thus passed in Hungary, *Mahomet* to shew his greatnes, as also the more to keep the Christian princes in suspence, sent *Cicala Bassa* (or as the Turks call him *Cigala*) his Admiral with a great fleet to sea: wherwith being come vpon the coast of Sicilia, he requested the Viceroy of that kingdom, to send him aboord his fleet the Lady *Lucretia* his mother, B who dwelt in Messana, for that he greatly desired to see her, and to do her honor; promising so quietly to depart without any harm doing. And the Viceroy again considering, how that the angry renegat for the like curtesie to him at another time before denied, had in his rage done great harm all alongst the sea coast; couenanting with him to send her in safety back againe, sent her honorably accompanied aboord the Admiral gally: whom *Cicala* her sonne receiued with great ioy and triumph, and hauing kept her with him one day with all the honour that might be; according to his promise sent her backe againe to Messana, and so without any harme done for her sake to any part of Christendom, peaceably returned back again with his fleet.

Now in the mean time *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia with good forces of his owne, bee- C
cause he would be doing somthing also, resolued to giue an attempt vpon Nicopolis, a City of the Turks in Bulgaria; and so giuing order to his people, caused a bridge to be made ouer Danubius, to passe that great riuer by. Wherof the Bassa's of Silistria and Badoua vnderstanding, thought it good with al their power to disturb him in that work: & so comming as the said bridge was by the Vayuods soldiers layd ouer the riuer vpon boats, without further stay attempted to haue broken the same, to the intent that the Vayuod should not that way passe. Who hasting thither with his army, rescued his work, and inforced the Bassa's to forsake the exploit by them begun: where betwixt them for a space was fought a most hard conflict, till at length the Turks were with a great slaughter ouerthrown, & so glad, some here, some there, by flight as they might to saue their liues. After which victorie, he without let passing ouer D
the riuer with his whole forces, came and incamped vnder the wals of Nicopolis; where they of the city vnderstanding of the late slaughter of the Turkes, and finding themselues vnable to hold it out against the force and valor of the Valachies, and now out of hope of any help or relief to come in time from the Turkes, without further resistance yeelded themselues into the power of the Vayuod, who hauing sacked the city and set it on fire, carried thence a great spoil and booty, with a number of the Bulgarians, chusing out the best and most able bodies among them to serue him in his wars, and appointing the rest to inhabit and manure the wasted places of Valachia. The report of this ouerthrow giuen vnto the Turks by the Valachian, with the sacking of Nicopolis, running abroad, brought a general feare vpon the Turkes euen in the Imperiall city of Constantinople. For the staying wherof, *Mahomet* commaunded E
the chiefs of his Bassa's, with a great power of tumultuary soldiers taken vp in haste, to go forthwith against the Vayuod, to stay the course of his further proceedings, to the dismaying of his people, himself thundering out most horrible threats against him. Who incouraged with his late victorie, and well acquainted with the Turks maners, little regarded the same, as knowing that he was not with words but with arms to be vanquished.

Nicopolis sacke and burnt by the Vayuod.

Now *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperor oppressed with melancholy, to see himself at once assailed with the plague then raging at Constantinople, the bloudy Wars in Hungary, and the horrible mortalitie and losse of his people in both places; and withal not ignorant of the euil successe of his Army at Veradinum, and of the great harm don at Nicopolis by the Valachian, yet for all that doubted not in what he might to prouide for so many euills, but gaue order F
to *Tude Bassa* with all speed to set towards (as wee haue said) from Constantinople towards Valachia, as from whence he feared the greatest danger. Who without delay to make the Vayuod vnderstand how highly the great Sultan was displeased with him, put himself vpon the way with six hundred Ianizaries towards Hadrianople, with purpose there to Winter vntil the next Spring, and so to expect the comming of the rest of the Army, that so with the

1599.

same,

same, vnited to the forces of *Mehemet Satergi* (who the last year besieged Veradinum) he might appear the more terrible vnto his enemies. The Christian Emperor also at the same time rested much discontented, that his people in so fair a way for the winning of the castle of Buda, had yet failed therof. The Wallons laying the fault vpon the Lords *Swartzenburg*, *Palfi*, & the rest of the commanders, that it was not won; for that when they as valiant men offred to haue don therin the vtmost of their deuoir, their leaders had made choice by the spade & mattock, rather than by the sword, to perform the same.

The Turkes again spoiled by the Vayuod.

But *Michael* the Vayuod seeing the Turks not a little dismaied with the sacking of Nicopolis, began afresh to their greater terror and hurt to make new inrodes vpon them, in such sort, as that he was entred an hundred miles into their territory; against whom *Mehemet Satergi* (as yet the Turks General in Hungary) comming with his forces, he again retyred, carying away with him the spoil of the country by him wasted.

They of Buda in the mean time fearing some sudden assault to be giuen vpon them, & suffering within great want of victuals, expected long to be relieued both with victuals & other necessaries: vnderstanding yet withall, That the grand Seignior had caused it to be giuen out at Constantinople, That he was raising a great power of his best and most expert soldiers, and had therfore sent for vnto the court all his old men of war, such as had serued in the Wars of Persia, to be now again imploied in Hungary. Where the Turks in the mean time providing to relieue the distressed city of Buda both with men and many other necessaries; certain resolute Hungarians vnderstanding by their espials, that one of the Turke Bassa's with 3000 soldiers was comming thither to increase the garrison, laid themselues close in ambush in a place wherby the Turks were to passe. Where they had not long staied, but that the Turkes without fear disorderedly passing by, were by them with such force and fury assailed, that in a moment, when they least thought, they were ouerthrowne and put to flight, with the losse of many of their horses, much mony & jewels, and many captiues there taken prisoners; the Bassa himself with much ado hardly escaping into the City. But shortly after, 400 Christians scouring the country about Buda, and hauing taken a good booty of cattel and other pillage, returning loded with the prey, were by the way assaulted by the Turkes, and inforced to forsake the same, and to fight for their liues; whom for all that they notably repulsed, with the slaughter of diuers of them, and so again recouering their booty, returned with victory: And about this time or not long after, in the vpper Hungary, a great power of the Turks and Tartars hauing forraged a great part of that country, and don the Christians much harme, came before Cassovia, making shew as if they would euen presently haue besieged that city. Which put the inhabitants in such a fear, that many of them without further deliberation fled forthwith as fast as they could into the mountaines, thinking themselues more safe there, than in the city. Neuertheless by the persuasion of *George Basta* the Emperours lieutenant in those parts, 2000 valiant and expert soldiers staid there with him, expecting what the Turke would do: who approching the walls, demanded of them in the city a great sum of money by way of contribution, threatning otherwise the vtter ruin and destruction therof. Which their proud demand was by *Basta* stoutly rejected, and they with the losse of a great many of their liues inforced to get them farther off. Wherfore seeing themselues not able to preuaile against a city so wel furnished, they for feare by night rise, and departed quite another way, than that wherby they came, doing great harm stil as they went. The free Heiducks of Valachia also, a warlike kind of people liuing for most part vpon prey, & willing to shew some token of their hatred toward the Turks, by certain bridges passing ouer the Danubius, encountered with the Bassa of Natolia with a great power, whome they ouerthrew with much slaughter of his people, and the losse of his brother there slain also, and so afterwards ouer-running the country, did there exceeding great harm, and took the son of the same Bassa prisoner. Thus passed the Winter, with many lights kirmishes and incursions in diuers parts of Hungary and other the frontier countries; which had don great harm, had it not beene before hand well prouided for by the Imperials; who in most places strengthned with new supplies, stayd the fury of their barbarous enemies. *Maximilian* the Archduke in the mean time comming from Prague to Vienna, found himself there to haue in his Campe but foure and twenty thousand Foot and ten thousand horse ready against the next Spring (diuers of the Germane Princes this year not sending thither any aid at all, by reason of their troubles neere home with the Spaniards

the Spaniards in the lower side of Germany) which made him the more to dread the enemies comming, which had he (according to his accustomed manner) would that summer appeare in the field with a far greater number. But to haue ho pe he had want, the great Duke of Muscouie about this time, by his Embassador amongst other things requested leaue of the Polonian, for forty thousand horsemen to passe thorow his country: which horsmen he determined (as he said) to send in aid of the Emperor against the Turke. Which his request the Polonian would by no means grant, as dangerous to his estate. Wherfore the Muscouit offended with the Polonian, sent other his Embassadors to the Emperor by sea; who embarqued in an English ship in the port *S. Nicolas*, and sailing about the kingdoms of Sweden, Norway and Denmark, after long trouble at sea, at length arriued at Stoad, and so from thence by land trauelled to Hamborow, Lubleck, and Maidenborow, & in euery place honorably entertained, came at last to the Emperour into Bohemia, then lying at Prisona, for that the plague was very hot at Prague: where they hauing with great state deliuered their Presents and letters of credence vnto the Emperor, had audience, and were by him most honorably vsed. Yet the Polonian hauing thus denied the Muscouit passage, suffered the Turke Embassador (who called himselfe *Gabriel*) a Iew, to passe through his countrey vnto the Emperour, to treat with him of a peace to bee made betwixt him and the Turk. Which *Gabriel* comming to Prague as Embassadour from the Great Turke, and hauing no Letters of Credence to shew for his Negotiation (for that they were, as he said, vpon the way taken from him by the Polonian Cossacks, and certaine of his retinue slaine) was there taken for a Spie, and so sent to Vienna: where at his first arriuall he was well vsed in a common Inne; but the night following, being taken in his chamber by the Marshal, was so clapt fast in prison, with as many irons vpon him as he could beare, and all his followers with gyves vpon their legs compelled as Slaues daily to worke in the Towne-Ditch.

About this time also *Sigismund* the Transylvanian Prince (whom hitherto all men admired, as a maneuen sent from heauen, for the benefit of his country and of the Christian Commonweal) by a wonderfull change gaue a most manifest token of a diuers and vnconstant nature, to the great wonder of the world; for hauing broken the agreement made with the Emperor the last yeare, and being secretly in post returned out of Silesia into Transylvania, and again taken vpon him the gouernment (as is before declared) and hauing withall requested himself & the Transylvanians his countrymen to be discharged of the oath of obedience and loyaltie by them before giuen vnto the Emperor; and the city of Veradinum with the Country therabout, to be again restored vnto him; and the Emperor pausing therupon, did now, (doubting of his own abilitie for the keeping of that country) in the beginning of this yeare 1599, by his Embassadors, the Bishop of Alba-Iulia and *Stephen Paschai* his Chancellor, sent of purpose vnto the Emperour, request him to haue the first agreements again renewed, and the Principalitie of Trebnits in Morauia to be added to the two dukedoms of Oppel and Ratibor in Silesia, with fifteen thousand ducats to be yearly paid vnto him out of the Chamber of the Empire; and a generall pardon giuen vnto all the Transylvanians, that following him, had of late reuolted from the Emperour, and their antient Liberties to be vnto euery one of them again confirmed. With all which Conditions obtained at the Emperours hands (as of him who saw how needfull it was for him by any meanes to keepe that strong Countrey in his power) the same Embassadours with their dispatch returned from Prague the nineteenth of April.

But *Sigismund* in the mean time at home, was entred into new conceits with certaine of the Polonian Nobility, far differing from the former agreement with the Emperour: and hauing sent for one of the Turkes Chiaus from Constantinople, and for his Cousin *Andrew Bathor* the proud Cardinall out of Borusia, and so meeting with them in an obscure Village in the Confines of Transylvania towards Polonia, accompanied with certaine of the chiefest of the States of his Countrey: there in the presence of the Polonians and of the Turkish Embassadour, resigned all the right and title he had in the Countrey of Transylvania, vnto the Cardinal his cousin, commanding all the States there present, to sweare vnto him their obedience and fidelity: who shortly after together with the Polonian Embassadour, sent one of his especiall Fauourits to Constantinople, to desire safe conduct for his Embassadours to be sent thither to conclude of all matters with the Turke. Which messenger so sent, together with the

Sigismund resigneth Transilvania to his cousin the Cardinall.

Polonian Embassador, were both curteously rebuked in the Turks court, and in token of special fauor rewarded with sumptuous garments, and charge giuen them, That the Cardinall within three months next should send thither a solemn Embassador, with the old accustomed tribute by the Turk demanded. Thus through the inconstancie of the Prince, the ambition of the proud Cardinal, and the foule collusion of the Polonian, the Countrey of Transylvania (one of the strongest fortresses of that side of Christendom) falling from the Emperors obedience, and so in a sort cut off from the Christian commonweal, became again tributary vnto the Turk: most good men detesting the lightnes of the one, the ambition of the other, and the sinnes of the third.

Now the Turks of Buda not able longer to endure the great famine therein, had most earnestly intreated relief from the other Turkes their friends in Hungary; who on all hands ran to haue relieued them but comming neere thereunto, could not put in such prouision as they had brought for relief of the same; being letted so to do by the Imperials, who about a league off diligently attended euery motion of the enemy: from whence the Lord *Swartzenburg* in the night secretly approching one of the gates with his followers, thought with a petard to haue broken it open, and so to haue entred. Which his deuice taking not effect, as did the set Rab (the gate being within strongly fortified by the enemy) he was inforced to depart, being also discouered by the Turkes from the wall. Now shortly after, the Bassa of Buda with fiue hundred horse issuing out of the city, to haue met with victuals that were comming thither, fel into the hands of the Haiducks, who after their maner fiercely incountering him, put him to flight, and took him prisoner, his horse in the chase falling vnder him: whom his souldiers seeking to rescue, there began a new skirmish, which increased their former ouerthrow, with the losse of the greatest part of them that were left; amongst whom the Bassa's son, with the Aga of the Ianizaries, there lost their liues also. Which conflict thus ended, the Bassa was in safety brought to the camp, and there with great threats inforced to reueal the state of his city, with other the secret designes of the Turks. Wherupon the Haiduckes returned back toward Buda, seeking by all means to stop the comming of victuals thither, so in hope at length to haue gained the distressed city. But whilst they thus lay vpon the passages, behold news was brought them, That the Bassa of Bosna, with the Sanzacks of Sigeth, Quinque Ecclesiæ, and Coppan, with 10000 Turks were comming to oppresse them, and to open the passages by them holden. But they knowing their own strength, and nothing fearing so smal forces, staid not for their comming, but went to meet them, and in a place of good aduantage waiting for them, vpon their first appearance, with great assurance and courage charged them, brake their array, and slew the most part of them, together with the Bassa himself; yet with so much ado, as had not the Lord *Palfi* in good time sent in vnto their aid certain companies of fresh men, it was not without cause doubted, but that the Haiducks had bin put to the worse, about 300 of them hauing there already lost their liues. The Tartars yet neuertheles in good number held on their way towards Buda, with purpose to haue ouerrun the country, and so haue withdrawn the Imperials from the city: but forasmuch as that base nation was known to be good for nothing but to rob and spoil, the Lord *Swartzenburgs* Regiment onely going against them, and incountering them ouerthrew them, in such sort that part of them beeing there slaine in fight, and part for fear driuen into Danubie, the greater number of them there most miserably perished.

The Bassa of Buda taken prisoner.

The Bassa of Bosna slain.

Basta the Emperors lieutenant in the vpper Hungary, at the same time lay at Cassovia with eighteen thousand men, doubting lest the enemies army, which he heard to be at hand, should come to besiege that City. In the meane time *Ibrahim Bassa* Generall of the Turkes forces came to Solnoc, with an army of fifty thousand strong, amongst whom were ten thousand Ianizaries. But for all that, vnderstanding that *Basta* nothing dismaied, awaited his comming at Cassovia, not thinking it good to go any farther (his souldiers being already wearyed with long trauell) neither yet safe there to stay so neer vnto his strong enemy, retyred backe againe vnto Belgrade, a place of more strength and security, expecting a great fleet of ships, which charged vpon the Danubius were to bring victuals for the army, as also for the relief of Buda, Alba-Regalis, and other such distressed places, with diuers great pieces for battery, and other lesse artillery vpon cariages, with a number of wagons and other instruments of Warre, declaring their purpose for the performance of some notable exployt; all guarded with fiue thousand

sand Turkes which conducted it vp the riuer. Of all which the Imperials vnderstanding, the Lord *Ralfi* dispatched his Lieutenant with a conuenient power, and the Captain of the Hussars with his followers, with good and valiant souldiers, to cut off this Conuoy: who suddenly assailing them, and so comming to a hard fight, cut them in pieces, & rifled the ships, of whom the greater part were there sunk in the deep riuer, and so took an exceeding great booty, deemed to be worth a million of gold, whose among other things of great value, there was found aboord 100000 Dollars, which were all diuided among the souldiers as a reward of their trauell. This great ouerthrow once known at Buda, Alba-Regalis, and the Cities thereabouts, brought vpon them a general feare; yea, the army of *Ibrahim* grew therby much discontented, as being at once disappointed both of their victuals and their pay. Besides that, the Imperials ouerran all the country therabout, ransacking, sacking, and destroying all the country villages and castles without mercy, although the poor inhabitants offered them a large Contribution to haue stayd their fury, which would not be accepted. Vpon this notable ouerthrow also, the Lord *Swartzenburg* was determined with all his forces to come again to the siege of Buda, in hope in so great a discomfiture and want of victuals to haue had it deliuered to him; and for that purpose sent for certain great pieces of Artillery to Vienna. But whilest things went thus wel in the lower Hungary, Colonel *Rodolet* of S. *Andrews* in the vpper country, took occasion also vpon this ouerthrow of the Turkes, with 500 horse and 600 foot to shew himself with this small company before Agria, hauing yet left the greatest part of his forces a little off in secret ambush. Which small company the Bassa of Agria beholding, presently put himself in arms, and so sallying out, began a hot and braue skirmish; when suddenly the other souldiers left in ambush, starting out, and couragiously assailing their enemies, brake their order & put them to flight, pursuing them at the heels euen to the gates of the city: & had there bin a greater force of footmen, it was verily thought that the Turks, dismaid with the flight, and altogether confounded, had abandoned the defence of the place, and the Christians had become masters of the city, which had bin the cause of their notable ouerthrow in the yeare 1596. Neuertheless they with great brauery and smal losse retyred, hauing slain a great number of the Turks, and carying away with them 100 prisoners, with a booty of 500 horse, and much other cattel.

The Turks receiue a great ouerthrow by the christians.

The free Haiducks also strengthned with new supplies, had don great harm in the country about Buda, scouring freely all ouer it without any resistance: for which cause the poor Christians which yet dwelt in that Country, rise vp against the Turkes, promising their obedience vnto the Emperor: and moreouer, to the intent they might be no more molested by the Imperials, offered to take vp arms themselues against the enemy, & to the vtmost of their power to hinder his passage both by land and water. These same Haiducks also had broken down all the bridges which the Turks had made betwixt Buda & Alba-regalis, to the end they should not that way commodiously bring either victuals or munition from the one place vnto the other. And the Lord *Palfi* and *Nadasti* vnderstanding by their espials, that the Tartars diuided into three companies, had ouerran a great part of the country, and with a great booty were retyring toward Buda; presently went out against them, and inforced them to fight: which barbarous people better inured to filching, there lost all their liues, together with that they had before stoln. After which victory, these valiant men turning their forces against certaine other places of the Turks there by, took two of their castles, with much rich spoil; which Castles they sacked and burnt, together with the great towne of Zolna, breaking downe also the bridge vpon the riuer Trava.

Now at this time the Turkes of Buda held themselues male-content within the City, hauing no Gouernor, their Bassa being before taken by the Haiduckes, and they themselues pinched also with great want of victuals. Wherfore doubting some sudden attempt of the Christians, as men dismaied, for their better safety retired themselues into the Castle, a place of great strength, leauing the city to the Imperials; who ready to besiege it, but doubting of the Turks great Army, which as they heard was marching thitherwards, the auauntgard thereof being come to Mohatesh, where *Sartes Bassa* was also looked for, (the report being giuen out, That the Turks hauing relieued Buda, would go to besiege Canisa or else Strigonium) they stayed to goe any farther, as men in doubt what to resolue vpon. So certaine Colonels and other Captaines were sent with their souldiers, to fortifie certaine passages whereby the

Turkes

Turks army was to passe. The rest in the mean time reuying, for that the puissant enemy began now to approch, as also for that they knew the great desire that *Ibrahim Bassa* had to recouer again Strigonium, and had therfore sent eight or nine thousand of his men to forage and wast the country, and so suddenly hauing relieued Buda and Agria, there sore some whither to turn his forces. The Imperials in the meantime incamping neer to Hatwan and Zolnoc, to hinder the Turks from victualling of Buda, as they deuised, cut off fiue hundred of them at their first arriual, who to that purpose were going toward Buda, and tooke fourtie of the Turks Chiaus prisoner; who sent from *Ibrahim* the General was going to Agria, to put them in hope of their speedy relief. They also at the same time attempted to haue surprised Zolnoc, where a good number of them with certain petards approching the gates, in hope to haue broken them open, being discouered by the watch were inforced to retyre, leauing forty behind them slain, and carrying away with them many more of their fellows wounded. In reuenge whereof the rest shewed their fury vpon the country, therabout, destroying the villages, & intercepting a great deal of munition, which together with other victuals, they met by the way as it was going toward Buda and Agria.

Summer now almost spent, *Ibrahim* the great Bassa in the beginning of September came to Buda, with an Army of an hundred and thirty thousand strong; and from thence in the name of his great lord and Master gaue the Emperour to vnderstand, That for the sauing of further effusion of innocent bloud, and not for any feare or distrust of his own strength and power, hee could be content to hearken to some reasonable conditions or treaty of peace. Whereunto both these great princes (hauing wel wearied themselues with these long wars, and exhausted their Treasures) seemed not now vnwilling; expecting, as was thought, nothing more, than for the honour to be first entreated. And the rather, for that the old Sultannesse *Mahomet* his mother (who by the weakenes of her sonnes gouernment, such as neuer was in any the *Ottoman* Kings or Emperours before, did beare the greatest sway in his affaires) did what shee might to further the same. Wherefore in the later end of September a place was agreed vpon for a parley for peace, which was in an Island in the riuer of Danubius, beneath Strigonium. Whither the Lords *Swartzenburg*, *Nadasti*, *Palfi*, and the Bishop of Vacia being come for the Emperour; and *Amurath* Bassa of Buda, with the Lieutenant Generall of the Tartars, and some others, for the grand Seignior; The Turkes at the first, after their vnreasonable manner, demaunded to haue Rab, Strigonium, Fileck, Setchin, and all the rest of the Townes and Castles in fiue years before taken from them by the Christians, to be now againe surrendred vnto them, with a certaine yearly tribute by the Emperor to be payd vnto the great Sultan at Constantinople; as also there to haue his Embassadour Lieger continually attending vpon the Turks Court: for which they offered to deliuer vnto the Emperour the city of Agria onely. All which their proud and vnreasonable demands being by the aforesaid Commissioners on the Emperors behalfe rejected, they were contented to come to some more reasonable talke, offering to leaue vnto the Emperour Rab and Agria (whereof Rab was his own already) onely for Strigonium, exchanging as it were Strigonium for Agria. Which when it could neither be obtained, the parly was so broken off and nothing concluded; and so the wars again continued, without any memorable thing more this year betwixt them don, either on the one side or on the other; the Christians contenting themselues to haue distressed the chief Cities the Turkes held in Hungary; and the Turkes no lesse apayed to haue relieued the same.

A parley for peace.

But whilst things thus passed betwixt the Christians and the Turks in Hungary, *Michael* the Vayuod of Valachia, yet the Emperors friend and Confederat, and vnder his protection, certainly informed his life to be sought after in the Turks Court, by the ambitious Cardinal *Bathor* his enuious neighbour, but lately become the Prince of Transylvania, as is before declared; by commandement from the Emperor, and to be reuenged of so great a wrong, as also betimes to prouide for his owne safety, with an army of threescore thousand strong suddenly entred into Transylvania, in most horrible manner burning the countrey, and killing the people before him as he went. Where whilest the Cardinall (who was thought to haue purposed to haue serued him in like sort, had hee not beene by him preuented) was making head against him: he in the meane time had the city of Corona (commonly called Brasso) with the strong castle of Fogaras yeelded vnto him: from whence hee marching towards Alba Iulia, the

the 26 of October, with all his Army, before diuided into three parts, but now againe vnited, came into the plains neer Temison, about 3 leagues from Hermenstat; where vnderstanding that his lieutenant, corrupted by *Ibrahim Bassa*, had promised to kil him, and now well assured therof, to rid himselfe of that danger, with his owne hands presently cut his throat, and so dispatched him. When by and by after came vnto him the Popes Nuntio, sent by a finenesse from the Cardinal, accompanied with another embassador, the better to countenance out the matter, telling him, That the same Embassador had commission from the Emperour, to will him forthwith to desist from armes, and without further delay to depart out of Transylvania. Which thing seeming vnto the Vayuod very strange and almost impossible, he desired to see the Commission. Whereunto the Nuntio, before instructed, answered, that he had left it with the Cardinal. But I (said the Vayuod) haue another here present from the Emperor, of another purport, which I purpose fully to put in execution: Yet was he for that day intreated by the Nuntio to stay his army. And so in the mean time lying both still and in great suspence, the Vayuod desired to know of the Nuntio, the cause why the Cardinal forgetting himself, so troubled that country by intruding himself therinto, to the great prejudice of them to whom it of better right belonged, not attending the gouernment of the Church, better beseeming his calling than the mannaging of arms, to the disturbance of the Christian peace. Wherunto he receiued no answer. So the 28 of October, a day dedicated to the commemoration of the Apostles *Simon* and *Iude*, these messengers were sent back again vnto the Cardinall: Who presently returned them back vnto the Vayuod with new instructions (being then busie with his yong son, in setting his men in order of battell, presently to go against the Cardinall) of whom they could get no other answer, but that he was resolued forthwith to come vnto the triall of a battel with him. So the two Armies lying incamped not past a quarter of a league the one from the other, and the same day meeting together, joined a most terrible and cruell battel, which for the space of fiue hours was with much desperat resolution fought, as if they had euery man vowed to haue caried away the victory ouer his enemy, or there to haue left themselues dead vpon the ground; vntil the Cardinals people at length ouercome in a long and bloudy fight, were there vtterly ouerthrown: amongst whom were 30000 Turks & Tartars, sent vnto him from *Ibrahim Bassa* the Turks General. The Cardinall himselfe seeing the discomfiture of his army, was by some reported to haue saued himself by flight, but by others was said to haue bin drowned in passing a riuer, as hee fled from the Valachians that had him in chace. But the truth was, That the Vayuod now master of the field, sent out certain troups of horsemen diuers ways to pursue him, and himself with the rest of his Army prosecuting the victorie, came to the Cardinals campe, now by the Transylvanians & Turks forsaken, wherein he found 25 pieces of artillery, with great store of coin & wealth, beside a number of tents and horses, all which became vnto him a prey. From thence he marched to Alba Iulia, where he was with great ioy receiued of his friends and confederats there: for although the greater part of the Transylvanians, especially the Nobilitie, had together with the Cardinal, submitted themselues to the Turks protection, & followed his ensignes; yet were there diuers others also who still fauored the Emperour, and therfore rejoiced not a little at this victory. The Vayuod after that sent his Lieutenant to Claudiopolis, to see if they would yeeld also. Which they willingly did, with many other Cities and Castles in diuers parts of that Countrey, which hauing none to rest vpon, now yeelded also; in such sort that shortly after, all Transylvania submitted it self againe vnto the Emperours obeysance and swore vnto him obedience; most of the Nobility of the Countrey being either slaine in that battell, or afterwards put to death by the Vayuod: amongst whom were fiue, which corrupted by the Cardinall, had before vnderta ken to kill him. Now the fourteenth of Nouember, after diuers reports of the Cardinals escape, his vngracious head was for all that presented vnto the Vayuod. Which to the terror of others beeing for a while set vp in Alba Iulia, (where hee had but a little before commanded as a Prince) it was afterwards taken downe, and sent as a Present from the Vayuod vnto the Emperour and the Archdukes his brethren. His headlesse body being afterwards by the commandement of the Vayuod honourably buried in a Monasterie at Alba Iulia, in the same Tombe which he had before made for his brother, beheaded by his cousin Prince *Sigismund Bathor*. The Cardinalls treasure also fell into his hands, which was said to haue bin valued at three millions of gold. Thus the Countrey of Transylvania, lately before

The Cardinall ouerthrown by the Vayuod, & his head sent to the Emperor.

before by the Cardinal yeelded vnto the obeisance of the Turke; was againe by this worthy Vayuod recouered and restored to the Christian commonweal, the proud Cardinall cast out and brought to confusion, hauing not yet possessed these his new honours full eight months. His cousin *Sigismund* the late Transylvanian Prince, who almost all this while had staied at Borusia, and in disguised apparel seen Dansk and diuers other the free cities therabouts, now hearing news of the Cardinals ouerthrow, secretly got him away into Polonia, to seek againe his new fortunes. The Lord *Swartzenburg* at the same time vniting his forces in the lower Hungary with them of Stiria, and now 20000 strong, sought by all means to reduce so many places vpon those frontiers as he could, vnto the Emperours obeisance, and so tooke in aboue 200 villages: but afterwards thinking to haue surprised the strong castle of Capisuar, and by night secretly approching one of the gates with a petard, which took not the expected effect, he was discouered by the watch, and so by the garrison soldiers (now raised with the alarme) repulsed, and inforced to retyre with the losse of about a hundred men, & diuers others wounded, all men of good account. In reuenge whereof *Swartzenburg* afterwards sent out diuers troups of horsmen, which scouring all ouer the country as far as Sigeth, did great harme, and so returning, caried away with them a great booty.

Ibrahim Bassa hearing of this ouerthrow of the cardinal, with all the forces he had sent him, much troubled therwith, sent post news therof to Constantinople: the brute whereof brought a general fear vpon the whole city also; insomuch that Commission was forthwith sent vnto him from the great Sultan, giuing him power (if it might bee) to come to some honourable peace with the Emperor, and to bring it with him to Constantinople, whither he was shortly to return, being now no longer time to keep the field with his army, which besides the cold season of the year, suffered great want of bread, the plague also raging therein, with the death of many his best soldiers both horse and foote, besides the wonderfull mortalitie of their Cattell also: in such sort that the soldiers not able longer to endure the famin and want, inclinedfel to robbing one of another, and so at length into mutiny, wherin diuers of them being slain and cut in pieces by their fellows, the rest for the most part brake in pieces of themselues, and so by diuers waies returned home, not wel trusting one another. Such an nothing more was now done with the preparation of the Turks, their Army being discomfited with wants and the euil succes of their affairs as wel in Hungary as in Transylvania. Neither did *Ibrahim* the great Bassa, for relief of those euils, at his return bring any conclusion of peace vnto his great Lord and Master, as was commonly expected.

The Bassa of Caramania rebelleth against the Sultan.

Now beside these troubles of Transylvania and the other reuolted countries, *Cusabin* (or as some call him *Cassan*) the son of one of the Sultanesses, brought vp in the Saraglio according to the maner therof, and hauing long serued in the wars of Persia, and Hungary, and so at length made Bassa of Caramania, a man of great spirit, and not able to endure the imperfections he daily saw in the *Othoman* empire, and the cowardise of the grand Seignior, vpon the report of the euill succes of the affairs of Hungary on the one side, and the desire he sawe in the Persians to recouer their lost fortresses, on the other, and grieued also with more particular wrongs concerning himself; as a man altogether discontented, resolued to take vpon him, and calling vnto him his soldiers, and (as he was a well spoken man) laying before them the deformities of the present state, gallantly persuaded them, with the promise of honor, soueraintie, and rich rewards, what an easie thing it were to chase the grand Seignior out of Asia, and to set themselues with all that part of the empire at liberty. And so euen at the first having won vnto him three thousand harquebusiers, and 1000 horsmen, took the field, to the great hurt of the Turks, and trouble of their state; a strange matter in that tyrannical gouernment. The news wherof comming post to the Court, commission was forthwith directed vnto foure of the Sanzackes of Asia neerest vnto him, for the speedy suppression of that rebellion but euen then arising. Whereof *Cusabin* vnderstanding, and that they with ten thousand horse and foot were comming to oppresse him; without further stay vp courageously to meet them, and so incountering of them, ouerthrew them with a great slaughter, and tooke from them their baggage, with six pieces of ordnance, and after with his people seised vpon all the castles therabouts, giuing whatsoeuer he found there for a prey to his soldiers, who also vsed inriched themselues with the spoil of the Iewes, an the people whom they most hated, and neuer rested vntill he had made almost all the country of Caramania his owne. After that, he had

laid siege to Cogna a city in the confines of Natolia, which was forthwith yeelded vnto him. And yet not so contented, gaue it out by open proclamation, That for the reformation of the disordered state, he would ere long go to besiege the Imperiall city of Constantinople: And therfore all such as would follow him should be intreated as his friends and companions; threatning vnto the rest most cruel death and destruction. Of which his proceeding *Mahomet* (as then disporting himselfe in his gardens of pleasure in the countrey all alongst the side of Propontis) vnderstanding, and fearing to be there surprised, or that some sudden innouation might be raised in the city, hasted with all speed to Constantinople, and from thence in haste dispatched *Mehemet* one of the Visier Bassa's the son of *Sinan*, with al the forces he could raise to go against him. Who passing ouer into Asia with a great power, and yet fearing to come to the trial of a battel with him, whom he knew to be a man of himself desperatly set, & not a little fauored of his own soldiers; so secretly wrought by large promises, that *Cusabins* footmen were euen vpon the point to haue forsaken him. Which hee quickely perceiuing, fled forthwith thorow Syria into the countrey of Arabia with his horsemen and the horsemen of *Simon* the Georgian; purposing the next Spring by the help of the Arabians and Persians, to appear in field with greater forces than before. After whom *Mehemet* the great Bassa following, came with his army to Aleppo, there to winter, and to expect the return of the Rebell together with the Spring. This so dangerous a rebellion, with the troubles of Transylvania and Valachia, were the cause, that the grand Seignior, seeing himselfe in so many places forsaken of his subiects, was the readier to encline vnto peace with the Emperour. Whereunto for all that, the Emperor was not hasty to hearken but vpon honorable conditions; as knowing that the Turke required the same, not for that hee had any desire to liue in quiet, but for that his troubled affairs both at home and elswhere abroad so required; his Ianizaries and other men of war in this his so weak gouernment being grown so insolent, as that they were hardly to be by him commanded; openly threatning in their discontented humors, not only to depose the chief officers about him, but himself also, and the banishment of the Sultanesse his mother; saying, That she had bewitched him, to the end she might her selfe rule, as indeed she did in all his chiefest affairs. But the rebel *Cusabin* the next year grown again very strong, was now come into the field, and euen ready to haue giuen the Bassa battell: Who as he was a man of great wisedome and experience, well considering with what a desperate enemy he had to doe, thought it best again to proue, if his rebellious followers might by fair means be drawn from him: and so comming neer vnto him, by open proclamation promised a free and general pardon to all such as had followed the rebel in those Wars, if forsaking him they should forthwith return home to their dwellings, and so to the obedience of their iust and lawfull Prince and Soueraign. Which general pardon so proclaimed was the ruine of *Cusabin*; for that the greatest part of his followers, now inriched with the great booties they had gotten, and now also hauing free pardon offered them, returned home into their own Countries, there at ease to liue of their euil gotten goods; leauing their Captaine with some few others that stayed with him, with little hope to be saued. So that within a few daies after, *Cusabin* thus forsaken of his followers, was himself taken and brought to Constantinople, where shortly after he was with most exquisit torments tortured to death.

Cusabin taken and tortured to death at Constantinople.

The troubles of this year thus past, *Rodolph* the Christian Emperor with the beginning of the next (whilst the ground yet couered with snow, and the vnseasonablenesse of the weather would not suffer the soldiers to keep the field) caused a Diet of the princes of the Empire to be called, to consider with him of such helpes as were by them to bee giuen against the next Spring for the maintenance of the wars he yet had against the Turk. Who all promised to send their soldiers, with their pay and such further contribution as might serue for the maintenance of that defensiue war against the common enemy. Whereto also *Clement* now bishop of Rome (this year of Iubilie) put to his helping hand, as he had often before, by sending thither such aid both of men & mony as he had before promised: so that by this means great preparation was made by the Christians for the taking of the field with the first of the Spring. At which time the Turks also began to stir: who although *Ibrahim Bassa* their Generall, by his great lords appointment, was then in some speech with the Emperour about a peace; yet ceased not they in the meane time that this treaty was from day to day prolonged, with their troups dispersed here and there, to do what harm they could vpon the frontiers of the Emperours

1600.

The Emperor prepares against the Turks.

rors territories, the cause why he with more speed called vpon his friends for their promised G
aid. And for the better managing of this yeares wars against the Turk, hee appointed Duke *Mercury* (who had drawn a great number of Frenchmen both horse & foot out of France) General of all his forces, sending *Ferant Gonzaga*, surnamed the Lame (whom for his approoued valour and experience in martiall affairs, he had sent for to Mantua) gouernor into the vpper Hungary. So the souldiers now day by day by Companies resorting from diuers parts into Austria, were from thence sent to such places as were by the Turks most molested, so to repress their often incursions, as in many places they did. For eight thousand of the Turks going out vpon the sudden to haue surprised Pappa, were by the garrison souldiers of the place incountered and ouerthrown. And on the other side, Vpbilst *Ferdinand* the Archduke was assembling his people in Croatia, for the defence of that Country against the incursions of the enemie, H
six thouland Turks without resistance entering the same as far as Buccari, and burning the country villages as they went, had taken many prisoners, with a great booty of cattell: and so merry and out of feare, being about to return, were suddenly set vpon by County *Berinus* in certain streit and troublesome passages, where they least feared any such matter, & ouercharged with their prey, were (I say) easily by him for the most part ouerthrown, and the rest put to flight, and so the prisoners with all the rest of the booty again recouered. At the same time also one of the Imperial colonels with fifteen hundred horse making an inrode into the country about Alba Regalis, and meeting with the Turks and Tartars therabouts, slew six hundred of them, and took diuers of their captains prisoners. Six thousand other Tartars also, at this time returning out of Hungary home towards their own country, were by the Cossacks neere I
vnto the Black sea set vpon with such force, that many of them being slaine, the rest for feare ran into the sea, leauing all the prey they had got in Hungary, vnto their enemies. In the heat of these broiles, the noble Lord *Palfi* gouernor of Strigonium, a man that all his life long had don great seruice for his prince & country, and whom we haue so often in this history remembred, died the three and twentieth day of May, in his Castle of Bibersburg, to the great grief of many, but especially the Hungarians his Countreymen. And for that Strigonium (so neer vnto the enemy) required in his stead to haue a right valiant and courageous Gouernour, the Emperour appointed the Lord *Swartzenburg* vnto that charge; the same still running. That *Ibrahim Bassa* would come thither with the great army he was in prouiding, if the peace went K
not forward; which was now still lesse and lesse hoped for, by reason of his proud and insolent demands.

The death of the lord Palfi.

A dangerous mutiny of the garrison soldiers in Pappa.

But whilest these troubles, with others too long to rehearse, thus passed in diuers parts of this miserable country of Hungary, 3200 Frenchmen and Wallons in garrison in Pappa (a strong frontier town of the Emperors in the lower Hungary) for wants of pay began to mutine. Wherfore it was thought good by the chief commanders, to haue them thence removed and others placed in their roome. Which they perceiuing, and knowing themselues too strong for the rest of the garrison, all Hungarians and Almaines, not partakers of their conspiracy; they first resolued to thrust their own captains out of the town, as less vnto their desires, and then laying hands vpon *Michael Marotti* the pay-master, with other the Hungarian and Dutch commanders with their soldiers, took from them their weapons, & cast the said *Marotti*, with L
the other captains, and some of the better sort of the soldiers into irons, & caught the rest, as well Hungarians as Dutch, in number about a thousand persons, a thousand diuers; threatning otherwise to deliuer them into the hands of the Turks. And albeit that *Marotti* offered for his liberty eighteen hundred ducats, yet would they not bee so contented, but spoiling both him and the rest of all they had, with their apparell and weapons furnished such Turks as were there prisoners, and so sent them away to Alba Regalis: and afterwards rifling euerie mans house as if they had bin enemies, took from them whatsoeuer pleased themselues and that which was worse, to encrease these outrages, compared with the Turkes of Alba Regalis and Buda, for the pay which they said the Emperour owght them, to deliuer vp the towne vnto them. Certifying them withall, how that the Lord *Swartzenburg* within two daies was M
comming with money to giue them full contentment: promising, if he came into the town, to deliuer him with the same into their hands. Or to be the more sure of him, they might, if they so pleased, intercept him at the passage Zesnegkh, whereby he must needs come. For the more assurance of which their wicked purpose, they shew an ensigne of the Emperors, as

token

A token vnto the Turks at Alba Regalis; who for all that altogether beleeued them not, yet willing further to try them, sent them for hostages two Chiaus; for whom the rebels sent also two other of the better sort of them to Alba-Regalis; with conclusion, that the fiue and twentieth of Iune at the farthest the mony should be paid, and the town deliuered. For the receiuing whereof, and for feare of some hidden treason, the Turks and Tartars began to make themselues strong: the Imperials also doing what they might for the appeasing of so dangerous a tumult. So the tenth of Iune the Sord *Swartzenburg* with two thousand horse and foot came within two miles of the towne, and from thence sent 24 horsemen to dissuade the rebels from yeelding the towne vnto the Turks, & to tell them that they should shortly receiue their pay: who shamefully deriding them, sent them backe againe as wise as they came: so that B *Swartzenburg* perceiuing himselfe with so small forces to be able to do nothing against them, neither yet by faire means to persuade them, retired again to Rab, vntill some greater strength were come vnto him. Immediatly after, Dr *Petzen* Counsellor for the wars, a man of great authority, gravity, and wisedome, was by *Matthias* the Archduke with foure hundred horse conducted to Pappa, to see if he by his discretion could haue dissuaded them from their so vngodly a purpose; for the yeelding of the towne vnto the enemy: whom they not only refused to heare, although he spake vnto them most kindly, but also bent their muskets and harquebusies vpon him, threatning to kill him if he did not forthwith depart. When shortly after, twenty of the Hungarians imprisoned in a cellar in the town, brake out, and comming to Rab, brought newes thither, That the Frenchmen and Wallons in Pappa were at variance amongst themselues about the yeelding vp of the towne vnto the Turks (some better minded than the rest, C not willing to consent thereunto) insomuch that they in the castle shot at them in the towne, and they again at them in the castle: and that they had already receiued from the Turks twenty thousand duckats, with some prouision of victuals, and were shortly after to receiue from them the rest of the mony promised them, and so deliuer the towne. For preuenting whereof, the Lold *Swartzenburg* the 22 of Iune sent the Lord *Sharpfenstein* a French Colonell, with 3000 souldiers, certaine Petards, and a number of scaling ladders towards Pappa: whom the false rebels suffered peaceably to enter the towne the foure and twentieth of Iune, still encouraging them to come on, calling them their countrymen and brethren, and in token of friendship shaking them by the hands, telling them that hauing assurance of their pay, they desired no more: D But hauing now receiued in so many of them as they thought good, and as they knew they more well able to deale with, shutting the rest out, they cut them all in pieces, and afterwards in derision called vpon the high Dutches to come on in like manner. Three hundred of these rebels at the same time had laied themselues in ambush by a mill fast without the town, who by the Wallons & Haiducks without discouered, were also by them charged: vpon whom for all that, by reason of the shot out of the towne, they could do no good; but hauing lost three hundred men, and amongst them *Hannibal Kralzs* the Lord *Sharpfenstein* his Lieutenant Generall, and one *Del la Malgosse* the chiefe enginier, they retired: which losse the desperat rebels (if it had bin in their choice) had wished rather to haue happened vnto the Dutches than to the Wallons or Hungarians. About three daies after, three of these rebels being by chance taken E prisoners by the Imperials, and brought to Rab, were not only apparelled but also trimmed after the Turkish fashion, as men not desiring longer to be accounted Christians, the rest of their fellows in the town also imitating the Turks fashions, as well in their apparell as in their manner of seruice: yet for all that, would not these metamorphosed monsters yeeld the towne vnto the Turks, before they had the full summe by them agreed vpon, the Bassa of Bosna being commanded from the grand Seignior in all haste to prouide it for them, and so to receiue of them the towne. Neuertheless, for their more strength and their more credit with the Turks, they receiued into the town one ensigne of the Turks, with certain wagons of victuals, brought thither with so strong a conuoy as that the Imperials durst not meddle therwith: in which wagons (being discharged) they sent in bonds 600 Hungarians and Dutch, men, women, and chil- *A most wicked fact.*
F dren, prisoners to Alba-Regalis, being all of them glad to be so sent away, in hope to find more fauor and curtesie at the hands of their enemies, than they had found with these renegat Christians. So shortly after, these rebels sent out certaine messengers vnto the Gouernor of Alba-Regalis, to know his full resolution: which messengers (conducted by certain Turks of great account) were vpon the way by the free Haiduckes all intercepted, and the messengers taken,

with

with 100 Turks mo. In the meane while *Michael Marotti*, before imprisoned by the rebels in Pappa, by letters secretly aduertised the Lord *Swartzenburg* of a certaine place, whereby he might (as he said) easily enter the towne, and the rather, for that the rebels were at variance amongst themselues. Who thereupon the 12 of Iuly came to Pappa with nine thousand horse and foot; but disappointed of his purpose for entering the towne, hardly neuertheleſſe belaied the same: vpon whom the mutiniers many times desperatly sallied out, and right valiantly encountered them, albeit that they were still, without any notable losse, by their enemies (too strong for them) beaten backe againe into the towne. In one of which sallies it fortuned one of their captains to be taken, who to the terror of the rest was presently slaine quicke, and his head and skin vpon a pike set vp before the towne, for his fellowes to behold. But the Lord *Swartzenburg* still more & more preuailing vpon them, they sent secretly for aid to the Turks: whereof he for all that getting intelligence, sent also for three regiments of souldiers moe to come vnto him to the siege: by whose comming he well strengthened, and bringing his approches neere the towne, tooke from the rebels the mill, a strength which they very vnwillingly lost, as in hope therby to haue the more easily receiued aid from the Turks; who hauing made preparation to haue relieued them, were letted so to do by the rising of the water, which had spoiled all the prouision for their reliefe at the bridge of Esseg, as also hindred them from marching forward. At length the Imperials were come with their trenches euen to the towne ditches, out of which they had let all the water: where some of the townsmen escaping out of the towne, declared, how that the mutinous soldiers within labored both day and night to fortifie the towne, but to be in their worke much letted by the continuall assaults of the Imperials: as also that they now had neither bread nor wine, nor other victuals left, more than a little salt, and threescore horse, of which they had already begun to eat: and that although they were not altogether so valiant, yet that they had resolued to die by the hands of the souldiers, as men expecting no other mercy. Yet shortly after, *viz.* the nine and twentieth of Iuly, they desperatly fell out vpon the trenches of *Marſpurgiſch*, a Dutch captaine; of whose souldiers they slew many, being drunke, and driuing the rest out of their trenches, raised a great alarme. Which the Lord *Swartzenburg* hearing, hasted thither to the rescue; where with an vnlucky musket shot he was strucke in the head and slain. Wherof the rebels got knowledge the same enening, and *Del la Mota* their Generall in reward of that seruice gaue vnto them that had made that sally a thousand dollars to be diuided among them. The dead body of that so worthy a man, as had done great seruice for the Christian common-weale, was afterwards with great solemnity brought to Rab, and there honourably enterred. The like desperat sally they made againe the next day, and slew of the Imperials an hundred and thirty, and tooke certain prisoners: and in retiring backe againe into the towne, cryed aloud, That when they lacked meat, rather than they would yeeld the towne, they would eat Christians, whereof *Marotti* should be the first.

The Lord Swartzenburg slaine.

The Lord *Swartzenburg* thus slaine, the gouernment of the army was by *Matthias* the Archduke committed to the Lord *Redern*, a noble man both valiant and learned; who although he were very sickly, came vnto the camp before Pappa the 8 of August; where vnderstanding that that the rebels now brought vnto extremity, had a purpose by night to fly away and so be gon, he caused a more vigilant and strong watch to be kept; when lo, according to his expectation, the next night after, about two houres before day they began to issue out: whereof the watch giuing knowledge to the Generall, they were indeed suffered to goe out as vnperceiued, but presently after at their heels were sent out the Lord *Nadasti* and the Earle of *Thurn*, with 200 Hussars, and after them the chiefe Colonell and County *Solms*, with part of their horsmen also, who in three diuers places ouertaking them neer vnto a great wood called Packem, slew most part of them: *Del la Mota* their chiefe captain or ringleader being slain by the chief Colonell, because he would not yeeld, and his head by him afterwards presented vnto the Generall in the campe: 200 Wallons the Hussars vnder the leading of the Lord *Nadasti*, County *Solmes*, and County *Thurn*, found out in the wood; who albeit that they for a space made great resistance, yet in the end were enforced to yeeld, and so with their two ensignes were brought into the campe. The Hussars also vpon another passage light vpon other 200 moe of these rebellious Wallons, who because the stood strongly vpon their guard, and were more desperatly set than the rest, the Generall sent out other 200 of the Colonels horsemen vpon them, by whom

Pappa abandoned by the mutiniers.

whom and the Hussars they were almost all slaine: diuers others of them also were slaine in comming out of the towne, and in the marishes thereabouts. Their Generals Lieutenant with such other of their principall commanders as were taken, were by the Lord *Rederns* commandement deliuered vnto the Prouost Martiall; the rest of the rebellious traitors he at the request of the souldiers diuided into diuers parts of the army, there to the terror of others to be executed, from whom the souldiers could hardly be persuaded euen for the present to hold their hands. But afterwards hauing brought them to Rab, & leaue giuen them to do with them their pleasure, they as farre exceeded in the cruell manner of their execution, as they had before in their outragious dealings, especially the Hungarians and Wallons, notwithstanding most of them were of the Wallon countries. Some of them they impailed, some they brake vpon the wheele; some of their skins they cut off their bodies as it were into thongs, and so poured into the wounds vineger, salt, and pepper; from some others they cut off their priuities, some they rosted, and some they put into the Tenalia; vpon some they dropped molten pitch, and then casting gunpouder vpon them, so burnt them to death; othersome they hanged vpon yron hookes; and some they put in the ground vp to the chin, and for their desport with yron bullets bouled at their heads. In all which torments no signe of compassion was to be seene, the tormentors to make their pain the greater, doing nothing but deride them: the miserable wretches in the meane time confessing the hainousnesse of their offence, and crauing for death as a fauor. A most horrible thing it was to see, how whilest some were thus tortured, others were brought to see the same misery they themselues were by and by to endure. Amongst the rest of these exquisite torments, one *Peter Orsy* caused one of the mutiners to be sowed vp in the belly of a mare, with his head hanging out, and so to be rosted, in which miserable torment he liued three houres, and then died: after which he caused the loathsome body so rosted, to be giuen to them that lay staruing vpon the wheele to eat. Thus was the dangerous mutiny at Pappa with much ado ended, and that strong towne like to haue bin lost, preserued: the rebels themselues being become a dreadfull example to all posterity, for all them to looke vpon that shall attempt the like villany.

Now at this same time also, though neither the Christians nor the Turks had as then any great army in the field, yet many a hot and bloudy skirmish passed daily betwixt them in one place or other of Hungary: all which to recount, as it would be much tedious, so in silence to passe them all ouer, were greatly to wrong those worthy personages by whom they were not without their great aduenture done. Amongst the rest, one *Nicholas Horbath* County *Serinus* his Lieutenant, with 150 souldiers, and *Andrew Thuſſi* another great Commander, going forth to seeke for booty; *Thuſſi* hearing that the Turks were abroad for the surprising of certaine Haiducks then gone out, staied fast in a secret place vntill he might heare further newes, *Horbath* another way still going on. Now it happened that the Bassa of Sigeth hauing bin abroad, in returning home by chance met with *Horbath*, and encountering with him ouerthrew him, and slew most of his men, *Horbath* himselfe by flight hardly escaping. But *Thuſſi* hearing this skirmish, as lying close not far off, and now hasting thither to haue bin partaker thereof, found the Bassa yet in the field on foot, viewing the bodies of the slaine: vpon whom he came so suddenly and with such force, as that the Bassa with his disordered men had much ado to take horse, and so without any great resistance to betake himselfe to flight: after whom the Hungarians fiercely following, slew many of the Turks, and amongst the rest the Bassa himselfe, whose head presently cut off, *Horbath* sent to the County *Serinus*, who shortly after by *Thuſſi* himselfe sent it to *Matthias* the Archduke. This Bassa was a man of great strength and courage, a most expert and aduenturous captaine, about 36 yeares old, and for his valour of a common souldier created a Bassa by the great Sultan. His head being brought to Vienna, and there shewed to the Bassa of Buda then there prisoner, and he demanded, whether he knew it or not, sighing answered, that he knew it well, and that it was the head of the Bassa of Sigeth, a brauer man than whom the Sultan had none in all his Empire, earnestly withal desiring to know how he was slaine. And not long after, the aduenturers out of Comara, Strigonium, and other places therabout hauing made a great party, and taken a great booty from the Turks at a faire at Gombat, and by Tra and Bssig, thinking to haue passed Danubius in hope of a greater booty, seuen hundred of them being passed the riuer, were by the new Bassa of Sigeth and others, with fiue thousand Turks in an hot skirmish ouerthrowne; yet not without their great losse also:

Two Bassaes of Sigeth slain one after another.

also: the Bassa himselfe with two other Sanzackes and fiue hundred Turks being there slaine, G
and but fifty of the Christian aduenturers left dead in the place, the rest disordeiedly retiring
to their boats, being for most part drowned in the Danubie. The free Haiducks also surprised
Iula and set it on fire, in which confusion the Turks flying into the castle, for haste thrust one
another from the bridge into the castle ditch; wherein so many of them were drowned, that a
man might haue gone dry foot ouer vpon the bodies of the dead. They took there also six hun-
dred prisoners, with much other booty, and deliuered two hundred Christians which were
there captiues. And albeit that these Haiducks after this exploit done were hardly pursued
by the Turks from other places, yet they in safety retired with such boty as they had already
gotten.

Iula surprised and burnt by the free Haiduckes.

But now to leaue these the troubles of Hungary for a while, as the forerunners of greater H
ere long to ensue; let vs againe looke backe into Transyluania and Valachia, to see how *Micha-
el* the Vayuod now in the meane time behaued himselfe there. The Cardinall *Bathor* ouer-
throwne and slaine, and the country of Transyluania againe brought vnder the Emperors obe-
dience: the Vayuod by his Embassadors gaue him forthwith to vnderstand of all his proce-
dings, with the whole successe thereof, as also of a purpose hee had to inuade Moldauia: for
that it was commonly reported and also beleeued, That *Sigismund* the late Prince (not a little
moued with the death of the Cardinall his cousin, and the reuolt of his country) aided by the
Turks, the Tartars, the Polonians, and Moldauians, would now attempt some great matter for
the recouery of Transyluania: All which was shortly after the rather thought to be true, for
that diuers of his spies being taken, some at Clausenburg, some at Nessen, beside the Letters I
that were found, about them from him vnto the Nobility and States of Transyluania (persua-
ding them to reuolt from the Vayuod vnto him, and that his meaning was shortly to come
with a great army out of Polonia for the repulsing of him) they also of themselues confessed,
How that *Sigismund* in disguised apparell had himselfe been in Transyluania, to conferre with
diuers his secret friends concerning that matter. Which his Embassadours the Emperour
honourably entertained, and by them confirmed vnto the Vayuod the gouernment of Tran-
syluania, sending also vnto him diuers honourable Presents; forbidding him nevertheless to
inuade Moldauia, for feare of raising a new and dangerous war against the Polonians also, vn-
der whose protection and the Turks the Palatine thereof then rested: According vnto which
command the Vayuod staied his intended expedition; yet sending some good part of his K
forces vnto the frontiers of Moldauia, for feare of *Sigismund* whom he heard to be searching
some mischiefe in Polonia, and euen then to lie vpon the frontiers of that country. Some few
moneths thus passing, *Husraim Agda* (a graue reuerend old man and much employed by the
Turkish Sultan) with fiue other Turks of good account, Embassadours from the great Sultan,
and a great retinue following him, came to Cronstat in Transyluania where the Vayuod then
lay. Of whose comming the Vayuod hearing, with foure thousand horsemen most brauely
mounted, went halfe a mile out of the city to meet them: the footmen in the meane time on
both sides of the streets standing in good order, from the gate of the city whereby they were
to enter, euen vnto the Vayuods lodging, where stood also his guard all in red and white silke.
So meeting in the field, they both alighted from their horses, with great reuerence saluting L
the one the other: when presently the Embassadour embracing the Vayuod, vngirt his scimi-
tar, and in the name of the great Sultan put another about him, so richly garnished with gold
and pretious stones, as that no part of the scabard was therefore to be seene besides this he
presented him with a faire plume of blacke Hearnes feathers mixed with some white (a right
goodly ornament, in forme of a great bush) which the Vayuod would not in this field put
on his head, although hee was thereunto by the Embassadour most earnestly requested, but
caused it to be carried before him: he also presented him with two very faire red ensigns in
token of the Turks fauour and protection; the one for himselfe, and the other for his sonne
Petrasco: moreouer, he gaue vnto him two exceeding faire horses richly furnished, with some
others, and a most faire Fauleon. The Vayuod himselfe was most brauely mounted, and after M
the manner of his country) had ten very faire spare horses led before him. At whose entrance
into the towne all the great ordnance was discharged, which greatly delight the Turks: and so
the Embassadour still riding on the left hand of the Vayuod, being brought to his lodging, had
six of his chiefe followers euery one of them presented with a richrobe of cloth of gold in
requitall

A requitall whereof the Embassadour rewarded an hundred of the Vayuod his followers euery
one of them with a good suit of apparell: with this Embassador of the Turks was also the Po-
lonian Embassador, whom the Vayuod in like manner honourably entertained. These Embas-
sadors (as was thought) did what they might to haue drawne this worthy and renowned man,
together with the countries of Transyluania and Valachia, from the Emperor vnto the Turks
obeisance: howbeit he seldome or neuer spake with them, but that either before or after he
had conference with the Lords *Vngnad* and *Zechel* (the Emperors Commissioners) concerning
their requests; alwaies protesting vnto them, not to yeeld to any thing without the Emperors
consent and good liking. Whereof *Mahomet* aduertised, and that he was not by any thing yet
said or done, to be remoued from the Emperour, gaue him by the same Embassadors to vnder-
B stand, How that he was with some speech with the emperor concerning peace (as indeed he then
was by messengers from the Bassaes at Presburg) which if it sorted to effect, that then it should
be well; but if not, that then it should be good for him whilest yet he had time, wisely to con-
sider of his owne estate, and to submit himselfe vnto his protection who was able to defend
him, rather than for the vain praise of a certain foolish constancy, to aduenture himself with al
that he had vnto most certain danger and destruction: promising him in recompence of that
his loyalty, to giue vnto him for euer, the countries of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia,
and at his need to furnish him both with men and mony; offering moreouer to make him a
great Commander in his army in Hungary, and the Bassa of Temesware as his friend to be at
all times ready with fifty thousand horse and foot (as need should be) to assist him against the
C Emperor, reseruing to himselfe what soeuer he should more win from him: for all which boun-
ty and kindnesse, requiring only to haue him vnto him loyall. All which his large offers the
Vayuod little regarding, declared the same vnto the Emperors Commissioners: yet still pro-
testing neuer to start, but to stand fast for the Christian Emperor. Notwithstanding as a man
desirous to better his estate, he tooke hereupon occasion to request of the Emperour the coun-
try of Transyluania, by him so lately taken in, vnto him and his sonne in inheritance for euer,
with such frontier towns as in former time belonged vnto Transyluania: and that what soeuer
he should win from the Turks, might be his and his sonnes: he also requested, that all the pre-
ferments and dignities in former time granted by his Imperiall Majesty vnto *Sigismund* the
late Prince, might now be bestowed vpon himselfe; and for his seruice done, to be furnished
D with mony for the payment of his souldiers: And that the Emperor with the other Princes of
the Empire should assure him, That if he were taken by the Turke, they should ransome him:
but in case he were by the great power of the Turke driuen out of those countries, then by the
Emperors appointment to haue some conuenient place allotted vnto him in the vpper Hun-
gary to liue in, with the yerely pension of an hundred thousand dollars. All which his requests
if it would please him to grant, he promised this yere to do so much against the Turke, as had
not in an hundred yeares been done before: with vaunt, That if he had had the imploiment of
the money which was spent in the time of this warre, he would not haue doubted but to haue
brought all the countries from the Euxine (or blacke sea) to Buda, Alba Regalis, and Solnock,
vnder the Emperors obeisance. A large promise indeed, but hardly to haue bin performed by
E a far greater Prince than he.

Thus whilest things stood in discourse after the Cardinals death, *Sigismund* the late Prince
in the meane time supported by the Polonians, with the aid of the Turks, the Tartars, and the
Moldauians, was ready to haue inuaded Transyluania: yea, the Tartars (as the forerunners of
his greater power) were already entred the country, and had out of the frontiers thereof carried
away some booty. Whereof the Vauyod vnderstanding, in great hast assembled his forces
out of all places, which in short time was growne to some good head, the countrey people
together with the free Haiducks (an aduenturous and resolute kind of souldiers) in great num-
ber daily resorting vnto him. So being now eight thousand strong, and most of them braue and
lusty men, he with them and 20 pieces of artillery remoued to Cronstat the foure and twen-
F tieth day of Aprill, sending part of his army (which euery day more and more encreased) be-
fore him to Nessen: where all his forces being assembled to the number of almost fifty thou-
sand horse and foot, he with great celerity passed the rough and high mountaines into Mol-
dauia without resistance, but yet not without some trouble, his souldiers by the way being
glad sometimes to eat the leaues of trees, the enemy hauing of purpose before carried away
what-

Michael the Vayuod goeth against Sigismund Bathor & the Vayuod of Moldauia.

whatsoeuer he could that might haue yeelded him reliefe. Of whose speedy comming and great strength, *Sigismund* and *Ieremias* the Vayuod of Moldauia hearing, and vpon the reasonable estate of their owne forces finding themselues too weake to encounter him, retired themselues out of Moldauia into the frontiers of Polonia, there to gather greater strength, and so to meet him: for as yet *Ieremias* the Vayuod had not receiued from the Turke such forces as were vnto him promised, and as he still expected. *Michael* the Vayuod in the meane time (his enemies thus fled) with fire and sword entering into Moldauia, tooke in the greatest part thereof, the fearefull country people still yeelding vnto him as he went: and the rather, for that *Ieremias* their Vayuod (placed by the Polonian, but tributary vnto the Turke) had laid vpon them a most grieuous imposition, as vpon euery man a duckat a month, for which they exceedingly hated him. But here in Moldauia, *Michael* the Vayuod (hauing still in his company one of the Emperors Commissioners in Transyluania, most trusty seruants, who might faithfully report vnto them the whole manner of his proceedings) after the departure of *Sigismund* and *Ieremias* his enemies, staied not long; but hearing that they were retired toward the confines of Polonia, without longer delay made towards them, and the eighteenth of May found them by the castle Othune neere vnto the riuer Nester, being thirty thousand strong; Polonians, Moldauians, Turks, and Tartars: with whom he joyned a most fierce and cruell battell, which begun about ten a clocke before noone, was with great courage, but greater obstinacy on both sides maintained vntill the enening. At which time the fortune of the Valachian preuailing, his enemies at last betooke themselues to flight, of whom were there slaine eight thousand, besides many others of them drowned in the riuer Nester: where of the Valachians were lost two thousand only. Concerning *Sigismund* and *Ieremias*, diuers reports were after this ouerthrow giuen out; some saying that they were slaine, and some that they were in flying drowned: howbeit the truth was, that they both by flight escaped, to the greater trouble of themselues, as of their afflicted countries also. *Michael* after this so notable a victory, taking in the rest of Moldauia, caused the people to sweare their obedience vnto the Emperor, himselfe, and his son, to the great offence of the Polonians, not a little (as they tooke it) wronged therin; but especially of the great Chancellor, an old enemy vnto the house of Austria. Wherof ensued greater troubles in those frontier countries than before, to the further effusion of more Christian bloud, much better to haue been imploied against the fatall enemy, in defence of the Christian commonweale. Yet thus the three warlike and frontier countries of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia, the surest bulwarkes of that side of Christendome, and most exposed vnto the fury of the common enemy, were now once againe vnited vnder the obeisance of the Emperour, to the great benefit (no doubt) of the Christian commonweale, and hurt of the Turks; if they might haue so continued, as God wot they did not long.

Sigismund and the Moldauian ouerthrown by Michael the Vayuod.

Moldauia subdued by Michael.

Now the Vayuod notwithstanding this so great a victory, well considering that he of himselfe could hardly keep this new gained prouince of Moldauia against the power of the Turk, (pretended that to him it belonged as his own to giue to whom he pleased:) as also against the Polonians (not more desirous to restore *Ieremias* againe into Moldauia, than the Prince *Sigismund* into Transyluania) without the helpe of some other more mighty Prince whom he might rest vpon; by his Embassadors (sent for that purpose) offered the souereignty of al those three countries vnto the Emperor, with condition, that he should appoint him perpetuall Gouernor of the same vnder him. The Emperour also vnderstood, how that *Mahomet* the great Turke had not long before againe sent vnto him another of his Chiaus, commanding him without delay to restore the country of Transyluania vnto the Prince *Sigismund* (vnto whom he was by the mediation of the king of Polonia now before reconciled) threatning otherwise with fire and sword to destroy Valachia, and by force of armes to depriue him both of Transyluania and his life together. Wherefore the Emperour doubting left the Vayuod either for feare or for the better assuring of his own estate, should to his prejudice fal to some agreement with the Turke, yeelding to all that his Embassadors had of him requested; with condition that he should be bound as need should require to serue with his people against the Turke; and that in Transyluania neere vnto his owne person should be alwaies resident one of the Emperors counsellors, as superintendent ouer the whole country. Wherewith the Vayuod being contented, The Emperour sent thither Doctor *Petzen* with six thousand souldiers, and a great summe of money to pay the Vayuods souldiers, as he had before requested; and so

so to take of them an oath, That they should from thenceforth become his Majesties faithful seruants. Which superintendent so by the Emperor sent, the Vayuod receiued with great honor, as vnto him of all others most welcome. Neuertheless being againe returned into Transyluania, it was not long but that (without regard of him) he began with new exactions to oppresse the people of the country, and in some sort to tyrannise ouer them; vsing great seuerity against diuers of the nobility also, especially such as he knew to haue taken part before with the Cardinal, or now of late with *Sigismund* his cousin, or any way to haue fauored his quarrel. All which he did without the consent or good liking of *Petzen*, contrary to his promise made, No more to imbrue his hands in the bloud of the nobility of Transyluania, without the knowledge or consent of his imperiall Majesty or the Superintendent by him appointed: which for all that, if he had not don, he could not possibly haue kept them (disdaining to be gouerned by him) vnder his obeisance. Neuertheless the Transyluanians taking it in euill part to be so oppressed, and the nobility almost extinguished, yea, and indeed to be at all ruled by him; by general consent as if it had bin but one man, rise all vp in arms against him: insomuch that he finding himselfe with his Valachians and other his fauorits too weake for them, retired with all such as would follow him, into the mountains; and from thence sent presently for aid vnto the lord *George Basta* (a worthy captaine, and then the Emperors lieutenant in the vpper Hungary) for the subduing of these rebellious people, and the reducing of them vnto their former obedience. Who by letters from *Matthias* the Archduke, at the instance of the Vayuod commanded so to do, with about 6000 horse and foot and 8 field pieces remoued from Cassouia in the vpper Hungary the 4 of September. Where by the way came vnto him Embassadors also from the people of Transyluania now vp in armes, and confederat also against the Vayuod: who in like manner also requested his aid, pretending themselues to be the Emperors most loyal subjects, but not vnder the gouernment of such a tyrant as was the Vayuod: alledging and exaggerating many his most cruell actions, and cleerely protesting, That for the present want of a good Gouernor, they were enforced for the safegard of their liues to band themselues together: which if haply it might be in any thing prejudiciall vnto the Emperors claime and interest, which he with so great toile and cost had procured in that prouince, it was against their wills, as enforced by necessity to do that they did in defence of themselues. Which Embassadors so sent from the people, *Basta* with all speed dispatched away backe againe, comforting them without further stir to expect his arrival in Transyluania: yet couenanting withall, That they should before conceiue into writing the oath of their fidelity & allegiance vnto his Imperial Majesty. Now might many and important considerations trouble the mind of *Basta* in so doubtfull a case. To giue vnto the Vayuod against the people, was the expresse order from *Matthias* the Archduke the Emperors Lieutenant Generall: but to aid the people confederat against him, as they had requested, seemed now both more profitable and honest, especially hauing most certaine tokens of the small and doubtfull faith of the Vayuod; who only by dispensation interessed in that prouince, was not so carefull of another mans; neither seeming to haue regard of *Petzen*, or of his owne word giuen for not further embruing his hands in the bloud of the Nobility of Transyluania, without the Emperours knowledge and leaue: vpon which promise was likewise grounded the archdukes order for giuing of them aid: so that such breach of his faith, & contempt of *Petzen*, had hastned the conspiracy of the people against him, despairing of all other health than that which by force of armes they could procure vnto themselues. To stand doubtfull himselfe, or to hold others in suspence, vntill that by currors in this new case he might receiue new instructions from the Emperor or the Archduke, had in it too much danger, as giuing leisure to each party to make sides, & to increase the slander of the last yeare, That he might so easily (and especially from the Valachian) haue assured that prouince to his Majesty, had he not bin an heartlesse man of no resolution, euen such a one as durst not looke vpon a cat (as some had said) all which might not a little pricke an honourable mind. To take part with the people confederat against the Vayuod, if it should not haply fall out at the first encounter, might betwixt the two contendants giue an entrance vnto the third, either the Turke or the Polonian in fauour of *Bathor*: but if it should sort to the quite contrary, and so himselfe to lose the day; then he saw himselfe void of all defence against the malitious, especially in that the World commonly measureth the wisedome vsed in any action, according to the successe thereof, than which nothing can be more vnreasonable, but aboue all others, in

in matters of war. In this so troubled a tempest of contrary winds, of power to haue driuen a G
right good mariner out of his course, *Basta* laid hand vpon the helme of good meaning, and
spread the sailes of such discretion, as taught him in matters of war to be lawfull for a General
to depart euen from the instructions of his Prince, not concerning the end, but the means lea-
ding to that end; especially when the present occasion so requireth, which the Prince could
not with reason before comprehend, as depending of the most mighty fortune of war, which
suffereth not so much delay as to expect counsel from far. So in this ambiguity *Basta* resolued
to joyn himselfe vnto the confederats, most in his judgment concerning his Imperial Majesty,
as being the vttermost scope of his so great cost and charge, to keep the country of Transylua-
nia at his deuotion, which consisted in the people, and not in the woods or mountains: the mat-
ter being not great by what means soeuer it were done, so that it were honourable and honest. H

Basta taketh part with the Transylvanians, against the Vayuod in whose aid he was sent.

Vpon this desire *Basta* set forward, and the 14 day arriued at Torda, and there joyned him-
selfe vnto the confederats, to the great wonder of the Vayuod, in whose helpe hee was sent:
where reposing himselfe one day, consulting and considering of their forces, about 12000
strong, with foure field pieces, besides eight of his owne, with the six thousand souldiers he
brought with him, in all about eighteene thousand, he determined not to giue leisure vnto the
Vayuod to call vnto him further helpe, hauing now with him about twenty thousand foot and
twelue thousand horse, with seuen and twenty field pieces: amongst whom was diuers of the
Siculi, in hope of their antient liberty, men of good account and sort, with a mixture of the
Cossackes, Valachians, Rascians, and Seruians, people of prey seruing only to spoile: whom
Basta knew to be far inferior in courage to his twelue thousand foot and six thousand horse, I
not onely for the valour of his owne men accustomed vnto the frontier seruice, but also for
the confederates, who engaged with their goods, liues, and honour, and desirous to be reuen-
ged of the Vayuod, were like enough to stand well by it. Wherefore hee set forward the six-
teenth day, and in two daies march came within sight of the Vayuod: who hauing sent out
certaine great troups of horsemen to take view of the enemy, and seeing them repulsed, set fire
on Mirisso a village fast by, out of which they had before drawne certaine small field pieces
into the campe.

Mirisso is a village two leagues on this side of Alba-Iulia, directly vpon the high way stret-
ching from the side of Maraçz a nauigable riuer, vnto the foot of an hil, alongst which the riuer
running, somtimes neerer, and somtimes farther off, together with the rising of the hill, maketh K
an vnequal list of ground, in some places half a mile broad and more, and in some other shut vp
as it were into a narrow throat, as in the selfe same place where the aforesaid village standeth,
& where the Vayuod lay incamped in a place of great aduantage, behind a great trench drawn
from the riuer, crosse that little space of ground betwixt the mountaine and the riuer. On this
side, which from Mirisso the farther a man goeth the farther the plaine enlargeth, *Basta* encam-
ping close vnto the village, opposed against the comming of the enemy 3 great *corps du gard*,
two of them Hungarians, towards the hill fauored with a Church, and the third toward the ri-
uer, of the Almane footmen, vnder the charge of County *Tomaso Caurioli* of Brescia, Sergeant
Major of the field, with all the artillery: who as in a place neere and very open vnto the enemy,
there intrenched himself, stil approching neerer and neerer both on the one side and the other. L
Towards the euening of the selfe same 17 day came to *Basta* one *Peter Armenio* with Letters
from the Vayuod, containing, That hauing vnderstood of his arriuall in the camp of the Con-
spirators, he now further desired to know whether it were by the consent and commandement
of the Emperor, or not: and how it came to passe that he would so doe, considering the diuers
chances of war, the sword hanging as it were euen ouer his head if he should chance to lose the
battell? Whereunto *Basta* answered, That the morrow following he would shew him the au-
thority he had from the Emperor (alluding to the Imperiall Standard he carried with him:)
and that as concerning the fortune and danger to ensue, he referred that wholly vnto the will
and pleasure of the Almighty, the just Iudge of all controuersies. But in the meane time he ex-
horted him to leaue that prouince he had so euill gouerned, vnto his Imperiall Majesty, as he M
was in duty bound; promising him free passage into Valachia, and giuing him time to consider
thereupon vntill 8 a clocke the next morning, after which time it should be free for euery man
to do for himselfe what he could. Which answer the Vayuod hauing read, inflamed with dis-
daine, with many proud words full of threats and disgrace, although it was then night, pre-
sently

A sently caused by the sound of the drum and trumpet the battell to be proclaimed against the
next day.

On the other side *Basta* after he had assured his campe, hauing not only sent, but gone him-
selfe to haue the counsell of his owne eies, for his better vnderstanding how the enemy lay; and
finding no reasonable means for him there to attempt any exploit by, as well for the strength
of the trench before the front, & in part along the side of the enemies camp, as also for the dan-
ger of a rising ground on the left hand, whereunto all the plain betwixt the enemies camp and
the village was subject, thought it best to remoue, and to make a short retreat about the space
of an Italian mile, according to the commodiousnes of the place; thinking it no hard matter,
of so proud an enemy, and not altogether so well acquainted with martial stratagems, to gain a
B notable victory. This his purpose propounded in counsel, was greatly disliked of the captains
of the confederats: vnto whom it seemed more safety to assault the Vayuod, yet lying in his
strength, than to retire before the face of an enemy so strong and aduenturous: for that such a
retreat according to the maner of that country, would be deemed no other than a plain flight;
and to breake his order & arise, was (as they said) but to discourage his own people, and to en-
courage his enemies. But *Basta* the better to persuade them, promised therin to shew to them a
more cunning kind of fight than was yet vnto them knowne; and declared the assurance that he
in his own person, with the Almains in the rereward would giue them in that retreat, in such
sort, as that they should not lose so much as a man, much lesse they needed to feare to fall into
any disorder in so short a space, his purpose being onely to giue the plaine vnto the enemy,
C wherein to shew himselfe into the open field. So the retreat being agreed vpon, the morning
following beeing the 28 of September, the three *Corps du guard* (before spoken of) were
betimes called backe, and the baggage sent away: after which followed the Transyluanians
and Hungarians, the Almaines in the rereward enclosing the great ordnance.

The battell of Mirisso betwixt Michael the Vayuod & Basta the emperors lieutenant.

The Vayuod aware of their departure, sent forthwith a great troup of horsemen, especially
of the Cossackes, to take view of them, and to skirmish with them; which were so far kept off
by a company of musketiers in the rereward, as that they could not come so nigh as to do any
harme, although that all the way they went they were by them still charged, to the great con-
tentment of *Basta*, to see so good a beginning of his designes as might bring them all to their
wished effect. But when he saw the great artillery vpon the carriages to come out of the vil-
D lage, a certain signe that the enemy set forward with al his forces, he marched faire & softly to
giue him time to ouertake him: and so retired as far as he thought good from the village, ha-
uing before thought of a conuenient place wherin his people might with roome enough vpon
aduantage stay: when as about halfe a mile from him, and as far from the village, he might see
the enemy march with his people in order of battell; then began he to march towards him al-
so: and perceiuing the enemy to come in one only thicke front, by reason of the straitnesse of
the place, hauing on the right hand towards the riuer placed as it were all his horsmen, and to-
wards the mountaine his footmen alone, and 500 foot placed aloft without any artillery, as it
seemed he would haue done, hauing planted some below at the foot of the hill in the way, and
in the midst, euen before the front of the battell, where the horsemen came after the footmen;
E he also placed his squadron in one front onely, to the intent not to be inclosed by the enemy
on the flanke of his army. The body of his maine battell consisted of one great squadron of
about 3000 Almaine footmen, flanked on each side with 1500 Rutters of Silesia: before the
squadron toward the right hand he had set a loose wing of three hundred musketiers: in the
right wing toward the hill he placed a company of launces, with two squadrons of the coun-
try footmen: and in the left wing toward the riuer one squadron of Transyluanian footmen, &
two of launces, for that the enemy was at that time very strong in horsemen: the Cossacks, ar-
chers and harquebusiers he placed in the rereward: of his great artillery he would make no
vse, for that hauing not much, he would not stand vpon the defence thereof, but desired rather
with all speed to come to the sword with the enemy, vnacquainted with such close fight, foot
F to foot, and well the lesse fit, by reason of their light armor. And therefore he thought it best
first to set forward his squadron of Almaines to giue the charge, bending towards the right
hand, amongst the thickest of his footmen towards the artillery at the foot of the hill, as there
whereas was the strength of the enemies infantery. And doubting in the performance hereof,
to be charged on the left side with a great squadron of about 3000 launces, which seemed
to

to ſtand vpon that wing to giue the firſt charge; he gaue order vnto *Sodeviz* his Lieutenant, G
and Colonell of the Rutters, which had the leading of the left wing, that he ſhould at a cer-
taine ſigne giuen, ſet forward towards the left hand, for the charging of that great ſquadron.
So his people being ſet in order, and the manner of proceeding ſet downe, he putting on his
helmet, with cheereſull countenance ſaid, That at that time he truſted he ſhould ſhew vnto
the Vayuod, that his Truncheon could do more than his Scimitar: And himſelfe ſetting for-
ward betwixt the ſquadron of the Almaine footmen and the wing of the musketiers, about
two houres after noone, marched faire and ſoftly towards the enemy: who without mooning
expected the diſcharging of their artillery; whereunto the neerer that the enemy came vnto
it, the leſſe harme it did him, by ſhooting either ouer or ſhort in the field, which eaſily aſcen-
ded. The wing of musketiers went directly to giue a charge vnto the artillery; and the ſqua- H
dron toward the foot of the hill, where *Baſta* deſired forcibly to charge, that thereby they
might be enforced to ſpend their firſt vollies, and with ſome diſcouragement or diſorder to
retire, preſently came in, all afront, juſt vpon the ſigne giuen; and ſo with his Almaine foot-
men and the Rutters on the right hand, encloſed and compaſſed in behind the greateſt part of
the enemies footmen. At which very inſtant, the Rutters on the left hand alſo ſo courageiou-
ſly charged vpon the three thouſand launces, that better could not haue beene deſired of any
band of moſt old and expert ſouldiers. The lances retiring without any hurt, and the firſt vol-
ley diſcharged, forced the infantery and ſo diſordered the reſt. Whereupon the wings char-
ging, there enſued preſently a great ſlaughter and ouerthrow, onely forty of *Baſta* his men be-
ing ſlaine, and as many hurt; where of the enemies were loſt in the battell ten thouſand: and I
greater had the ſlaughter beene, if the village and appoch of the night had not couered many
of them that fled, and ſtaied the purſuit of the victors that followed them. Which putteth me
in remembrance of the great victory that *Scipio Aſiaticus* had againſt *Antiochus*, wherein were
ſlaine of the Romans but three hundred (although that in the fight one of the wings ſtood for
a time doubtfull) there being loſt of the enemies aboue fifty thouſand. Howbeit there were
afterwards found in all (as was by the peaſants of the countrey reported) twenty thouſand
ſlaine in this battell. By this victory *Baſta* recouered many enſignes and much armour, be-
fore ſent by the Emperour vnto the Vayuod, together with all his tents and baggage. And
preſently after the ouerthrow, there were many troups of horſemen ſent out euery way with
proclamation, to ſpare the liues of ſuch of the Siculi as ſhould lay downe their armes: of K
whom many were ſent priſoners vnto diuers places, eſpecially to Fogaras, a ſtrong Towne
towards Valachia. As for the Vayuod himſelfe, hee with certaine Coſſackes escaped by
flight.

Michael the Vayuod ouerthrowne.

The morrow following, *Baſta* diſpatched away the County *Cauriolli*, to enforme the Em-
perour of all the particularities of the ſucceſſe of that expedition: who ſeemed to be there-
with pleaſed, yet neither gaue reward vnto the County, neither commended *Baſta* in that bee
had done (foreſeeing perhaps what was to enſue thereof) although he had in writing before
approued of his reſolution and motion made in fauour of the Confederats. Staying that day
in that quarter, *Baſta* gaue order vnto the Chiaki, to ſend out a thouſand horſemen to purſue
the flying Vayuod; who in ſtead of ſo doing, joyning themſelues with other their conſorts, L
ſetled themſelues to ranſacke Alba-Iulia, vnder the colour, that there was the Vayuods wealth
and ſubſtance; yet (as the manner of ſuch men is) ſparing neither Merchant nor Citizen:
which worthily ſeemed vnto *Baſta* a great wrong, for to ſee the innocent puniſhed, and the
guilty to eſcape free. And albeit that he made what haſte he might thitherwards with all his
campe, and ſo ſtaied one day not far from thence, to haue giuen ſome redreſſe vnto the ſpoile
that had happened; yet was all that his labour loſt, for that ſo many of the greater ſort and
chieſeſt amongſt them had their hands therein, with whom he thought it more wiſedome as
then to diſſemble, than to fall into any tearmes of ſeuerity, without hope of doing any good.
So he reſolued in all haſte to march towards Fogaras (whither he heard ſay the Vayuod was
come with new forces out of Valachia and Moldauia) and in ſix daies march came to Cibi- M
nium, where he receiued certaine newes, That the great Chancellor of Polonia, and *Sigismund*
(ſometime the Tranſyluanian Prince) were with a ſtrong army vpon the frontiers of Molda-
uia; hauing ſent before them *Moyſes* the Siculian, with about eight thouſand of the Siculi
(his ſouldiers) to what purpoſe was eaſie to be ſeene. Which aduertiſement interrupted the
courſe

The Chiaki was the chiefe man, and as it were the king-maker of the Tranſyluanids into rebellion.

A courſe of *Baſta* his victory; for that it ſeemed not reaſonable to purſue the enemy, and to leaue
behind him a doubt of ſo great importance: and eſpecially, for that he thought he could not
aſſure himſelfe of the aid of the countrey people, in caſe that *Sigiſmund* their old Prince were
once ſeene in Tranſyluania. Wherefore he thought good to ſtay where he was, to prouide for
all euents as need ſhould be, and ſo reſolued to ſend the Chiaki, and one *Ladiſlaus Pithi*, to par-
ley with *Moſes*, who made a ſhew of no great moment of his good will towards the confede-
rats. In the meane time came two meſſengers from the Vayuod, offering in his name, that he
ſhould doe what ſoeuer were in the behalfe of the Emperour to be impoſed vpon him. Vnto
whom theſe conditions were by *Baſta* and the reſt of the Commanders propounded; Firſt,
That he ſhould for euer reſigne all the claime he had or might haue in the countrey of Tran-
B ſyluania: then, That he altogether with his army, ſhould giue his oath of fidelity vnto his Im-
periall Majeſty: alſo, That he ſhould forthwith through Valachia go with his army vnto the
frontiers of Moldauia, to ſtay the Polonians from farther entrance: and moreouer, to giue his
wife and little ſonne in hoſtage for the performance of theſe things. With which meſſengers
was ſent one *Sebaſtian Techelli*, to receiue the oath and promiſed hoſtages: vnto whom was ap-
pointed for the place of their ſafe keeping, the Biſhops caſtle in Alba-Iulia, the Vayuod ha-
uing before requeſted, That they might be ſo kept in Tranſyluania: although *Baſta* thought
it much better to haue had them kept in the vpper Hungary. This agreement being made,
Baſta kept on his way towards Fogaras, which he found already poſſeſſed by the Chiaki, & ſo
from thence to Corona. After which, the Vayuod diſtruſting of the articles agreed vpon,
C went directly into Valachia, but not at all into Moldauia; not ſo much diſcomfited with the
forces of the Polonians whom he went againſt (not doubting to giue them a great ouerthrow)
as for the diſtruſt he had of *Moſes* the Siculian, who in the battell might ſhew himſelfe his
enemy behind him. Now whether it were for the diſtruſt he had in his own followers, or on-
ly for feare of treaſon by the Polonians plotted, being not likely that they with ſo ſmall forces
were come to fight, without ſome greater ſecret deceit; he not knowing whom to truſt or to
feare, of his owne accord tooke his flight into the ſtrength of the mountaines, without any
great loſſe of his people, hauing left his baggage behind him, which was aſſailed and taken by
the Haiducks and ſuch other ſharkers enured to prey, who alwaies ready in like occaſion, help
to ſpoile and chaſe them that are already running: although that afterwards in diuers skir-
D miſhes with the Turks (who to cauſe him the rather to turne his backe vnto the Polonians,
had preſumptuouſly ſcoured vp and downe the country) he loſt many. In fine, giuing Molda-
uia loſt, he was now out of hope how to be able to hold onely Valachia his old gouernment.
Euen he which but a little before commanded aboue an hundred thouſand ſouldiers in field;
he, which in deſpight of who ſaid nay, was able to command Valachia and Moldauia, and hap-
pily the other countries alſo neere vnto him, as hauing receiued the command of Tranſylua-
nia as Gouernour for the Emperour; he that made Conſtantinople to tremble, and found no
Empire equall to his deſignes. But it fareth oftentimes with the Great, as with birds of prey,
who greedily ſeeking to prey vpon others, become themſelues a prey vnto others greater than
themſelues: for they neuer contented, and attributing onely vnto their owne valour and wiſe-
E dome, their owne proſperous proceedings, are the true ſhewers of the vnſtable wheele of For-
tune: or what ſay I of Fortune? being rather the very children of Folly. So commonly fal-
leth it out with Princes (eſpecially the new) which in the garboiles of war betwixt their migh-
ty neighbours, not gouerned by their owne wiſedome, reſt themſelues onely vpon the aduice
of their Counſellours, are by them led they wot not whither, for the greateſt intereſt they
haue in them. For had the Vayuod had but the leaſt in ſight into politicall gouernment, he
might well haue vnderſtood, that amongſt ſo many mighty Princes he could not much grow,
or yet well root himſelfe, without the aſſured ſtay of ſome one or other of them. He ſhould al-
ſo haue knowne within what compaſſe a new Prince ought to haue vſed ſeuerity and rigour;
and that he ought to obſtaine from all offence in good or otherwiſe, which might any way
F procure vnto him the diſpleaſure or hatred of his ſubjects. Whereas his Counſellors not ſo
much reſpecting his profit as their owne, had not the power or not the will to perſuade him ſo
by good meanes to plant himſelfe ſure in Tranſyluania; but ſo both caſt him headlong from
his high eſtate, and at the ſame time furthered the loſſe of Camiſia, a matter of important con-
ſequence.

A reconciliation made betwixt Michael the Vayuod & Baſta.

Michael for feare of being betraied vnto the Polonians, takes his flight into the mountaines.

Now

Now lay *Basta* encamped in the field in Transyluania, when a messenger came vnto him G
from the great Chancellour of Polonia, to declare vnto him, That it was not his purpose to
trouble Transyluania, hauing no such order from the King: albeit that he would aduise the
Transyluanians, if they wished to liue in quiet, to make choice of a Prince of their owne nati-
on, and such a one as the Turke should well like of, whereas otherwise they should but seeke
their owne destruction, together with their neighbors. Which his counsell was well marked
of them all, albeit it was thought by many of the wiser sort, not so much to proceed of any
good meaning he had towards the Transyluanians, as of an old grudge and inuetcrate hatred
he had alwaies borne against the house of Austria, as also, that he euen then countenanced the
Prince *Sigismund* with his army to no other end, but by him to raise vp new stirs in that Pro-
uince, and so to draw it from the Emperors obeisance, although thereby it became againe tri- H
butary vnto the Turke, who in all these matters had a great hand. Yea, some sticked not to say,
That he couertly aimed at that principality for his sonne, howsoeuer he masked the same vn-
der the shew of *Sigismund* the late Prince. But vnto him answer was giuen by the Transylua-
nians, (with thanks for his good will) That in all their consultations they would haue a princi-
pall regard of their owne welfare, together with the common. Which answer he hauing recei-
ued, forthwith placed one *Simon* (the brother of *Hieremias* the Moldauian) Vayuod of Vala-
chia in stead of *Michael* by him driuen out, and so leaving a conuenient number of souldiers
with him, returned himselfe towards Polonia. Vnto which election so made by the Polona-
ans, the Turks craftily gaue place, knowing well to play the foxes where they could not play
the lyons; wisely for a time comporting the injury: and the old Chancellor as crafty as they, I
hauing a secret purpose by occasion of these present troubles, to prefer at length his son vnto
the principality of Transyluania, and thereunto also to joyne the countries of Moldauia and
Valachia, had therin of purpose placed the aforesaid *Simon*, a man of no valour, and of a small
apprehension, whom he might againe at his pleasure displace, and joyne those prouinces vnto
his new purchase; which he could not so well do if he should haue there placed a man of grea-
ter reach and courage. So worke the heads of the Great, and so trauell the braines of the am-
bitious aspiring.

The Chancellour placeth a new Vayuod in Valachia in stead of Michael, by him driuen out.

Basta vnderstanding of the retiring of the Polonians, entered into consultation with the
Chiaki and other the principall men of that Prouince (which lodged with the army in the
country villages thereabout) for calling together the States and people, to make choice of K
some such men as they thought meetest to be sent vnto the Emperor, to know his pleasure for
the gouernment of that Prouince. But now in the meane time, whilest there was no suspition
of the forreine enemy, began to worke certaine malecontents, which thinking with greater li-
berty to liue vnder a weake Prince, than vnder one of greater power, with one voice cried out,
That *Sigismund* with a great power was entred into the confines of Transyluania, hee whiles
towards Valachia, another while by the way of Moldauia, and that the strength of the coun-
try and others there by still resorted vnto him: with other such like inuentions, of purpose
deuised to haue made *Basta* suddenly depart, or at leastwise to haue troubled the Dyet or
assembly called, and the consultation also. But he well aduised of their purpose, maueu not
out of his quarter, but there lay very priuatly, to declare thereby the great confidence he had L
in the thankfulnesse of the nobility of that country, as by him deliuered from the oppression
of the Vayuod: as also to make them to vnderstand, That the gouernment to be appointed was
not to be setled in the sole power of a tyrant, but in the fidelity of the subjects, protected vn-
der a most gentle, royall, and most fatherlike gouernment, not ambitiously sought after, but vo-
luntarily of themselues offered, and for the common good, by the Emperor accepted. Beside
that, he knew right well, how that *Gastaldo* (in like case before in the yeare 1551, sent into Tran-
syluania with 8000 Almaines) left behind him his army, and without any precedent courtesie
went priuatly to Alba-Iulia, where Queene *Isabel* had for her defence assembled a Dyet of all
the States, and there by well handling of the matter, got to *Ferdinand* the Emperor that king-
dome, which he could not by the feare of his forces haue gained: for which doing Vniuers M
attribute vnto him the name of great wisedome, notwithstanding that the yeare following
he was forced to abandon his conquests, but yet not though any default in himselfe.

False rumours raised to haue terrified Basta.

But it is truly said, That men pleasured, according to the occasion change their manners, as
doth the camelion his color according to the place: nothing being by nature so short, nothing of

A of lesse life than the remembrance of a benefit with the vnthankful, which the greater it is, the
more it is repayd with ingratitude, either by making it to haue bin of little worth, or to haue
proceeded not of curtesie, but from some other more priuat and proper considerations of the
giuer. The Diet aforesaid being assembled, diuers broiles were there raised by the male-Con-
tents; as vsually it commeth to passe where the people haue to do with the gouernment, apt to
be moued with euery humor, alwaies ready to change their opinion, as straight glutted ther-
with, headstrong, faithlesse, all in words to no end: some of them in that assembly cried out,
That the Almaines might be payd, discharged, and thanked for the paines they had taken for
them as their neighbors, with offering to do them the like pleasure as their occasions should
require; others cried to haue them put all to the sword, so much they were deuoid of reason:
B others cried out as fast, That they were not by any means to indure the gouernment of *Maxi-
milian* the Archduke, but by some nominated vnto them, would needs haue a prince of their
own country, and such a one as the Turk should wel like of, as the Chancellor had persuaded
them. *Basta* for all that not dismaied with so vnexpected an incounter (albeit he began to su-
spect that he had lost all his labor, if he were not in short time with greater forces relieued) at
such time as the Chiaki, with other chief men amongst the people, came as their manner was,
euery other day to visit him; with couragious speech and vnapalled countenance told them
plainly, That he wel perceiued their drift and purpose, and yet doubted not either of their oth *Basta his stout speech to the Transilvanians*
of obedience giuen vnto his Imperiall Majesty, either of the fresh remembrance of the great
benefit they had from him so lately receiued; and in case it might happen them, little to e-
C steem of those things (greater than which could not happen among men) that yet they should
wel know, that he was not a man to be feared with words, but fully resolued not to stir one
foot thence with his forces, but rather to lose his life, which he would for all that sel as dear as
he could. Wherunto answer was giuen with much curteous speech, That he should not giue
eare vnto any the speeches of the light vulgar people, but rather to content himselfe that the
Nobility, in whose hands the chief power of that prouince was, had not don any thing not be-
seeming themselues. So after much dispute, were appointed three persons according to the
three Estates (the Nobility, Commons, and State in generall) to go vnto the Emperour, to re-
quest of him *Maximilian* the Archduke for their gouernor: with special request also, That it
would please him not to ouercharge with forrein soldiers that prouince already sore impoue-
D rished, especially hauing in it self people sufficient for the defence thereof, and more nimble
to incounter with the Turks, than the heauy & slow Almains, and they also of double charge.
These difficulties with much ado thus appeased by such as stood fast for the Emperour, *Basta*
thought it not good againe to call any such assembly; hoping that time, and the Emperours
great wisdom, would for al these matters find conuenient remedy. Yet saw he plainly, the peo-
ples mind was, to resolue to remain for euer free, if they should haue come to a second Con-
sultation; and rather a princely desire to command, than to be commanded: yea, in that selfe
same Diet the Chiaki was declared gouernor on the behalf of the people, with authoritie of
himself in many things to determine, without calling together of any assembly of the rest of
the States; which they said they did only, vntil they were by his Imperiall Maiesty prouided
E of a Gouernor. Neuertheles *Basta* well perceiued more than a Tribunitiall power to be now
joined by the people vnto the Emperors Commissioners; knowing that this Chiaki well ho-
ped to haue bin proclaimed Prince of the Confederats, in case they had not bin presently re-
lieued against the Vayuod: and hauing in him yet noted stil his great ambition, for that mar-
ching from Torda toward the Vaiuod, he caused to be caried before him a spear, with an Hun-
garian cap, and a plume of feathers vpon a lance, in token of his chiefe command; albeit that
afterward at the complaint of Basta, pretending therin a wrong to be done vnto his regiment,
marching vnder the Imperial standard, he took it down: neither was he then a little suspected
to haue suffered his soldiers to sack Alba-Iulia, as also to haue surprised Fogaras, and to haue
vsed diuers other means all tending to popularitie and ambitious aspiring. Wherin he dee-
F med it better to dissemble, than to proceed further, and then to do it indeed when hee had suf-
ficient power.

The next day following came al the Counsel of that prouince, with the Deputies appoin-
ted to haue gon vnto the Emperour, and the people, to the house of *Basta*, requesting him (al-
though such their manner of comming might seem to exceed the bounds of request) that he

would send his Germans out of the country, and so after so many troubles to giue it leaue to breath a little: as for himselfe, he might stay at Alba-Iulia vntill the men deputed to that purpose might go vnto his Majesty with their requests. *Basta* not a little troubled with such an imperious request, and now, but not before, perceiuing the occasion of this great discontentment, saw himself much deceiued in a most material point, and the ground of all this action; by trusting too much to his owne too small forces, too weake for the defence of his person, much lesse to keepe vnder so populous a prouince, such as before in the yeare 1552, vnder the leading of *Castaldo*, had of it self sent out 70000 fighting men for the besieging of Lippa, and now vpon the sudden 12000 with a few noblemen in the face of a mighty and armed Enemy; where they now held an armed consultation with him, the Nobility meeting together with their great retinues, & so much the greater, by how much the suspition was the more by them feared, for them to be inforced to resolue vpon any thing contrary to their good liking: whereas he contenting himself only with their oath, without any other hostages, and so giuing ayd vnto the Confederats, had put himselfe vpon their faith, together with all his people, into the midst of Transylvania; a matter of far greater importance than any pledge they were able to haue giuen him. Besides that, of the 6000 men which hee had brought with him into that Country, three thousand fiue hundred of Silesia now brought to 2000, could not be persuaded longer to stay without their pay before hand, the pay of their Country being spent already: and the rest drawn out of the garisons in the vpper Hungary, or els there pressed, were at a certain time to return home. Yet neuertheleſſe he attempted in some sort to satisfie their request, for not grieuing of the Countrey, by requesting them to deliuer vnto him some strong place, wherinto he putting his men into garison, they might so lie without any further charge or trouble to the Countrey, liuing vpon their owne wages. Which when hee could not obtain, and withall considering, that if those few of his people which yet remained could bee contented to stay with him, the retaining of them might giue occasion vnto the desirous of new stirs, vpon euery the least disorder of the soldiers to alter the matter at their pleasure (as had hapned vnto the eight thousand Almains of *Castaldo*, driuen somtimes out of that Country vnder the colour of some insolencie by them committed; although others had beene the chief doers therof, namely about some twenty Polonians) hee resolued of all these things to giue notice to the Court, and so fair and softly to march with his souldiers vnto the frontiers of that country, and to saue his eight pieces of artillery with other munition in Samos Vivar castle, a strong fortres a good way within the confines, which together with the strong castle of Kuivar, *Aga Leche* an Albanoise, and Generall of the Vayuods horsmen, deliuered to *Zakel* Captain of Zaccomar, one of his Majesties Commissioners, who there prouided for the Gouernor *Basta* his familiar fauourit: although that the Transylvanians had with great promises sought to haue crossed such deliuery of the aforesaid Castles, and to haue had them in their own power.

The error of Basta.

Wherfore *Basta* not deceiued, but by necessity inforced, yeelded that hee could not hold; and gaue that he could not sel, making a vertue of necessity; deceiued in the euent of the matter which he had propounded vnto himself from the beginning, for assuring that Country to the Emperor: by an excusable error, if it be true that some wise men say, Nothing to bee more vnreasonable, than by the euent of matters to iudge of their wisdome by whom they were managed; which consisteth not in diuining before of the certainty of the euent, but in the reasonable coniecture therof by the means leading therunto, than which nothing is more deceitfull, as not depending from their own actions only, but from other mens also more grosse and vnreasonable: none knowing better how much the wisdom of man deceiueth it self, than those which are vnto themselues true witnesses of the euent of their own consultations. Neuertheleſſe the matter was afterward so wel handled by *Basta*, *Petzen*, and others the Emperors great fauorits in Transylvania, that in a Diet holden among the Transylvanians, he was with a conuenient gard again by them receiued as the Emperors lieutenant, vntil further order were by him taken for the gouernment and assurance of that countrey: the Chiaki and his Complices faintly consenting therunto, as not greatly pleased therwith. Neither had *Basta* much cause to be proud of such his gouernment, hauing thereof no longer assurance than pleased that sickle people to afford him: yet sith no better could be had, he must take it as he might, deeming it better in some sort for the present to hold it for the Emperor, than not at all. With which his weak

A weake state amongst more enemies than friends we will for a while leatie him.

But whilst things thus passed, as we haue said, in Transylvania and Hungary, the treaty for peace betwixt the Emperor & the Turks being vanished into smoke, *Ibrahim Bassa* the Turkes General in Hungary, hauing all the last Winter made great preparation for the inuasion of the Emperors territories, and the doing of some notable enterprise for the recouery of his reputation, somwhat impaired by the euil succes of the last yeares Wars; and euen in these his preparations of this year, not a little troubled by the mutiny of the Ianizaries and Spahi, for want of their pay at Constantinople, as also with the rebellion in Caramania; now at length in the later end of August, by order from the grand Seignior his great Lord and master, began to set forward with his army from Belgrade, supposed to be aboue two hundred thousand B men strong. And comming to Babatsca, a strong fortresse of the Christians in the neather Hungary, sate down before it, and hauing planted his artillery furiously battered it, with purpose to haue the next day assaulted it: but the captaine of the castle considering the weaknes of his garrison to withstand so puissant an enemy, and that the walls were already sore shaken with the fury of the great ordnance, came to a reasonable Composition with the great Bassa, and so deliuered vnto him the place. Which exploit don, and the Castle to him surrendred, he marched from thence to Canisia, a strong town in the frontiers of Stiria, of most men before supposed a place impregnable; for that it was scituat in a very deepe marish, and furnished with a strong garrison of valiant soldiers, part Hungarians, and part Almains. After this strong town *Ibrahim* the great Bassa especially longed, so to free those frontiers of the Turkes C from the often incursions that the garrison soldiers of that place made therein; as also by the taking of that so strong a fortresse from the Christians, to open a more free and safe passage to the Turkes for Austria, to the indangering of those places of the Empire also farther off. Wherefore incamping his great army on the side of the marish which compassed the Island round wheron the town stood, he began with sagots and earth to fil vp the marish, so to passe ouer his army; they in the town in the mean time not ceasing with their thundring shot to disturb them, and to do them what harm they might: who for all that proceeding in their work had brought it now almost close to the Island; where while they were about to haue landed, they were by the garrison souldiers so incountred, that hauing lost a number of their men, as wel Ianizaries as others, with two of their best captains also, they were by plain valor inforced D to retyre. But preparing themselues against the next day, with greater force to haue againe returned vnto the assault of the Isle, they saw the Imperial army now at their backs, and come so neer them, that with their artillery they did them great harm; which put them in no small fear, seeing themselues inclosed betwixt the town and the camp, and both out of the one and the other to receiue no small hurt, as wel with the small shot as the great: besides that out of the camp diuers whole bands sometimes sallied, discharging great vollies of shot euen into their trenches. In the Imperial army were but two and forty thousand horse and foot, men of diuers nations, vnder the leading of Duke *Mercury*, now Generall of the Emperours forces in Hungary, with whom were the Lords *Nadasti*, *Esdrin*, *Bacchian*, and the gouernour of Croatia, with diuers other famous Captains come thither for the relief of Canisia (a place of so great E importance for the defence of that side of the Country) and to helpe that it fell not into the power of the barbarous enemy. But *Ibrahim Bassa* vnderstanding by his espials the smal number of the Christians, and wel knowing how much he was too strong for them, by reason of his great multitude, went out against them, and finding them as ready as himselfe, joined battell with them, with great slaughter of men both on the one side and on the other. Which bloudy fight (the victory yet standing doubtfull, but in mens iudgements more inclining to the Christians than to the Turks) was at length by the comming on of the night broken off. At which time the Christians retyring themselues into their trenches, the Turkes stood all that night in the camp, with their weapons in their hands, as fearing to haue bin again in the night by their enemies assailed. Mean while the Christian Captaines at variance amongst them- F selues, and so not now to be commanded by Duke *Mercury* their General; at such time as the Turks presuming on their multitude, dared them to battell the next day, could by no means be persuaded to go forth against them, or once to stirre out of their trenches. Insomuch that the General of the Tartars thereupon beeing incouraged, made an inrode into the Countrey thereby, and meeting with two hundred Waggons laded with victuals going vnto the Christian

Canisia besieged by the Turks.

A battell between the Christians & Turks before Canisia.

stian camp, slew the conuoy that garded them, and so caried them quite away. Wherby such want arose in the Christian Camp, that hauing not what to eat, and out of hope of any new supply of relief in time to come, they were glad by night to dislodge & retyre. Which could not so secretly be don, but that it was of the Turks perceiued: who presently following after them, in the tail of the army cut off about 3000 of them, with certain pieces of great ordnance and most part of the baggage; the rest of the army in the mean time retyring farther off into places of more safety. From this victory the Turkes returned again to the siege of Canisia, where after a few daies, the garison soldiers now out of hope to be in good time relieued, suddenly fel into mutiny, refusing any longer to defend the towne, now hardly layd vnto by the Turks; and the rather, for that diuers of the Hungarians were already fled out of the Towne vnto the Bassa, hauing, as it was thought, reuealed vnto him the whole estate of the besieged. So that now there was no remedy, but that the Towne must be deliuered vnto the enemy: although *Paradiser* with some other of the captains did what they might, as they said afterward, to haue persuaded the contrary. Wherupon they came to parly with the Bassa, and couenanting with him, That they might with bag and baggage depart, and with a safe Conuoy bee brought ouer the riuer Mur, promised to yeeld the town vnto him. All which the Bassa granted, fearing how to haue bin able to haue kept the field, if they should any long time haue holden out, Winter now so fast approching. So the 22 of October the town was vnto the Bassa right cowardly deliuered, and the garrison soldiers with their baggage, in 100 waggons lent them by the Turks, safely conducted ouer the Mur, as was vnto them promised. After the agreement made for the yeelding vp of the towne, the Bassa in courtesie sent vnto *Paradiser* the gouernor a very rich gown of cloath of gold: which albeit hee refused, yet was it afterwards layd to his charge, as a presumption of some treacherous collusion betwixt him and the Bassa for the betraying of the town, which it was thought he might much longer haue kept. *Ibrahim* now thus possessed of the town he had so much desired, fortified it more strongly than euer it was before; and for the more assurance thereof, put into it a strong garrison of 4000 foot and 500 horse, all old expert soldiers: and immediatly after without resistance forraged the country round about Canisia, burning all before him as he went; the poore Christian inhabitants flying as fast as they could for safegard of their liues. But hauing thus with the spoile of the country wel pleased his soldiers; he desirous to haue the same againe in time repeopled, as therby to yeeld vnto the Turks the more profit, staied their further outrage, vpon great paine forbidding the same; by open proclamations in euery place set vp, inuiting the Christians without fear of farther harm, to return again into the country, where submitting themselues vnto the great Sultans obedience, they should vnder his protection safely dwell, without any tribute to be of them exacted for three years space next following. Which proclamations were in his name thus published.

Canisia yelded to the Turks.

Canisia forraged by the Turks.

Ibrahim Bassa, to the Inhabitants of the Country about Canisia, Greeting.

Ibrahims proclamation.

WE Ibrahim Bassa, *by the grace of God Visier, and Cousin vnto the most puissant and inuincible Sultan* Mahomet, *Emperor of the Turks: Vnto all the inhabitants of the marches about Canisia, and the rest of the country of Steirmarck, from the greatest vnto the least, Greeting. Wheras we haue willingly heard, that some of you willing to submit your selues vnto the great Sultan, and to sweare vnto him fealty, are again returned vnto your old dwellings: We promise and assure you vpon the faith of the said Emperor, that whosoeuer shall be found neere the fortresse of Canisia, now belonging to the great Sultan with all reuerence submitting himself as his subiect vnder his gouernment, acknowledging him for his Soueraign, shall enioy more priuiledges than he did before, and also be protected in the same. And for that we know that your houses are for the most part destroyed, as also your posterity; you shall therfore for these three years next following be exempted and free from all tributes and charges whatsoeuer, to the end you may the better recouer your selues. Of which grace if you shall willingly accept, we promise you, that neither you, your wines, or children shall be in any thing wronged, or your goods in any part impaired, but so much as in vs possibly is, to be defended: so that so many of you as please, may in safety return into your old dwellings, giuing before knowledge therof vnto the Gouernor of this our fortresse.*

Giuen in our Camp after the conquest of Canisia.

Many

Many of these poor countrey people before fled for feare of the Turks, and not knowing where to bestow themselues, now vpon this proclamation returned to their antient dwelling places, there to begin the world again vnder the Turkish obeisance. But for that County *Serinus* was the man whom of all others in that Countrey the great Bassa sought after, as him whom he most feared after his departure to trouble this his newconquest, and to seek to be reuenged (hauing in this calamity of Stiria his country lost twenty villages of his owne, quite burne by the Turks, and the people most slain or els taken prisoners) hee many times before hauing sought to persuade him to yeeld his obedience vnto the Turkish Sultan, and now in hope after so great a losse to bring him in, before all his fortunes were vtterly ruined (by the losse of Canisia, and the entrance of the Turks into Stiria, not a little indangered) writ to him as followeth:

Ibrahim Bassa his letters vnto Count Serinus.

WE Ibrahim Bassa, *chiefe of the Visier Bassa's, and cousin to the most puissant Sultan* Mahomet, *to the County* Serinus *sendeth greeting. We haue oftentimes hertofore written vnto thee concerning the matter thou knowest of, but what the cause is we receiued no answer, we know not. Yet could I not but write vnto thee again, That if thou canst be content to begin the matter aright, and to submit thy self vnto our protection, we will be ready to receiue thee. Thou seest, that what we foretold thee is now more than fulfilled both vpon thee and thine, which thou wouldst neuer beleeue. Neuertheles, for the staying of the further effusion of the bloud, as well of thy subiects as ours, and to come to some good attonement, it is high time for thee to lay thing hand vpon thyne heart, and to consider how much more it concerneth thee then vs, and that the benefit thereof redoundeth more vnto thine than ours. What our affection is toward thee,* Hieromi *the Vayuod can tell thee. Fare thee well.*

From our Camp, after the conquest of Canisia, the 7 of Nouember, 1600.

But these letters being also as the rest, answered with silence, the great Bassa hauing disposed of all as he thought best at Canisia and in the country therabout, returned with his army to Belgrade, there to winter: hauing before fully certified the great Sultan of all his proceedings, and the succes of this war, vaunting after his vain maner, the next year to besiege Vienna also, if he so commanded. Of all which *Mahomet* vnderstanding, & not a little pleased therwith, caused great triumphs to be made four daies together at Constantinople, and in token of his loue and fauor, sent a rich robe of cloath of gold, with a leading staffe all set with pearl and pretious stones, vnto the Bassa yet lying at Belgrade.

This losse of Canisia much troubled all that side of Christendom, especially them of the territories belonging to the house of Austria; in a sort dismaied, to see the Turkes so easily possessed of a town, before thought almost impregnable, and the strongest defence of all that country against the furious impressions of the Turks, to whom it was now become a most safe and sure receptacle: all men with one voice blaming the discord of the captains in the Imperial army, for so retyring without any good doing; but aboue all detesting the cowardise of *Paradiser*, who known to haue in the town a strong garrison, with good store of munition and victuals (as was supposed) had so basely deliuered the same vnto the enemy, not doing his vtmost deuoir for the defence therof: wheras if he had so don, haply in the meane time the cold and vnseasonablenes of the weather (though no other relief had bin) winter being now come, might haue inforced the Turks to raise their siege. Wherupon he was for this so foule a fact by the Emperors commandement apprehended and cast in prison at Vienna; where after he had long lien, and his cause oftentimes examined, he was the next year after condemned of felony and cowardise, and so the fifteenth day of October executed; hauing first his hand at four strokes of the Executioner struck off, and after that his head. With him also was in like maner executed his Ensigne-bearer: and after them his lieutenant with the Maior of the said town; who both bound fast to a stake, had first their tongues cut out, and afterward their heads chopt off.

Paradiser executed for yeelding Canisia.

Now the rebellion before raised in Caramania by *Cussahin Bassa* (as is before said) was not with his death altogether appeased; Orfa Also a great city of that country (which hauing tasted the sweetnes of liberty in the time of *Cussahin*) yet still holding out against *Mahomet* the great Bassa the Sultans lieutenant General there. At which time also a companion of *Cusahin*

the

the late rebel, called the *Scriuano*, and one of his chiefest fauorites, seeing how hardly not only *Cassahin* himself, but the rest of his followers, had bin handled by the Turks, began to stirre hard, and to call vnto him all such as loued their liberty vnto the same name, whereof so many in short time were come about him, that out of them he formed such an army as made him now dreadful vnto the Turks, his enemies. Against whom *Mahomet Bassa* going with all his power to haue oppressed him, found him with those his rebellious followers so courageous, (for the desire they all had to break out of the *Ottoman* slauery, and to liue in such liberty as was promised them by their Captain and General) that joining battell with them he receiued a dreadfull ouerthrow, insomuch that fearing to haue lost his whole army, he was glad to retire, and to send out commissions for the raising of greater forces. Sultan *Mahomet*, in the meane time, whether it was for feare of this new rebellion, or for that hee vnderstood of the Embassadours sent from the Persian vnto the Christian princes, began to suspect lest that king should break the league he had made with him, and so to his further trouble take vp arms also against him. Wherfore vpon a Turkish pride, he sent an Embassador into Persia, to certifie the king, That for the more assurance of the league betwixt them, he demanded, to haue one of his sons sent vnto him in hostage, as a pledge of his fathers faith. Which his so proud demand the Persian King took so disdainfully, that in his rage he commanded the Embassadour to be slaine. But that his fury being by his graue Counsellors somewhat appeased, he remitted the seuerity of that his rigorous command, and sparing his life, was content, that in despight of him that sent him he should endure the bastinadoes, and so grieuously broken, sent backe again to his master. Who hauing received this shamefull answer, and doubting some further matter from angry King, commanded new and strong garrisons to be put in all his strong Holds confining vpon the Persian kingdom.

The Turks embassadour vsed intreated in Persia.

1601. This troublesome year of Iubilie that past, the Emperour much troubled with the loss of Canisia, and in doubt of worse to come (albeit that *Ibrahim Bassa*, whom for all that he trusted not, did afresh treate with him concerning peace) and seeing also his great need he had of greater aid now in hand, the mighty power of the Turke, with great instancie requested aid of the Pope, and of other Princes of Italy. Who considering all how much it concerned the rest of the Christian commonwealth to haue the frontiers of Hungarie defended, and seeing vnto the Emperours request, and to the Popes with the beginning of the Spring deth him eight thousand Horse, (to pay vnto the Iacking *[illegible]* *[illegible]* *[illegible]* time) their General whereof is *[illegible]* had long serued vnto since the year 1590. King *Philip* so at the instance of the Emperour gaue right vnto the Count *Fuentes* to send into Germanie certain bands of Dutch, which vnder the Count *Fuentes* his brother, from Milan. The Great Duke of Florence also sent to him a thousand footmen vnder the leading of *Francisco de Medicis*, whom also by his great instance he gaue the band *de Medicis*, whom *Ferdinand* the Archduke for the like request lent to the Market of his Campe. Thither came also the Duke of Mantua, with an honourable company both of horse and foot, being sent thither by the Archduke, made his Lieutenant Generall. And so while the people assembled together into Germanie, the Emperour sent a great and good Army into Hungary, drawn for most part out of Germany, which vnder the leading of the Archduke *Matthias* his brother, and the Duke *Mansfeld* his Lieutenant Generall, went into those parts to withstand the Turk. A third Army also made of the Imperials, which strengthned with the Forces of *Don Bernard Gonzaga* Governour of the vpper Hungary, joyned themselues with *Basta* for the recovery of the country of Transylvania, out of which he had bin forced to drisney, as shall be hereafter declared.

The death of Ibrahim Bassa.

And so whilst these armies were in preparing, many battels were fought in Hungary betwixt the Christians and the Turks, the losse falling sometime to the one side, and sometime to the other. But the time being now come that souldiers might well take the field, *Ibrahim Bassa* being before dead at Belgrade, whilst he was in treating of a dissembled peace, and *Hassan* one of the Visier Bassa's by *Mahomet* appointed Generall in Hungary in his place, yet delaying his comming: the parley for peace laid aside, (not indeed by the Turks intended, but only by them ordained to delay the time to their own more aduantage) *Duke Mansfeld* General of the Emperors forces, taking the occasion of so fit an opportunitie, came with his army from Comara (where he had lien expecting the event of the parley) and layd siege vnto Alba Regalis

A Regalis, one of the chiefest & strongest cities in Hungary, which seated in the midst of a marish, was thought almost impregnable: beeing hardly to bee approached but by the suburbs, which strongly fortified and defended by the marish, serued the City in stead of 3 most sure bulwarks; within which stood also the city it self, wel defended with a good wall and a ditch. This city the Duke for certain dayes continually battered, as if he had purposed at length to haue taken it by assault: but in the mean time certainly informed by a fugitiue lately fled out of the city, That the broad lake on the other side of the City, ouer against the place where he lay, was not so deep but that it was to be passed (contrary to the opinion both of the Turkes captiues, and of the natural inhabitants, whom he had vpon that point examined) and that the Turks presuming vpon the strength therof, & thinking themselues on that side safe, had bent B almost all their care and forces to that side of the City now by him battered, not regarding any great peril to be from the other side feared; he appointed the Lord *Rusworm* with his soldiers to make proofe if the Sigeth suburbs (for so they were called) on the aforesaid side of the city, so little regarded by the Turks, were not to be surprised; for that these suburbs being taken, the City would not long hold out. For the vndertaking of which enterprise *Russworm* was by the captiue Turks and country people thereby dwelling, much discouraged; they all with one consent affirming, That albeit he should find no other difficulties in attempting of it, yet the lake it self was not possible to be passed. Who neuertheles not altogether trusting them, sent certain of his owne men secretly to try the matter: who having so done, brought him word, That the lake was vndoubtedly (though with much difficulty) to be passed. Wherfore he with 1000 select soldiers, with euery one a good fagot at his back beside his Armes, to C fil vp the deepest of the marish, by night entred the same: where in he had not gon far, but that almost with the danger of his life, he found it much deeper and more troublesome than the Spies had vnto him before reported. But carried with an inuincible courage himself, and his soldiers mooued by his example, he stil went on, they also following of him. It is a thing almost incredible to tel what these aduenturous men endured, plunged in the deep mud among the flags and bulrushes, going stil vp even to the waist where the marish was the shallowest; where also if one missed but a step, he was by and by ouer head and eares, and in danger to bee drowned, if he were not by his fellowes presently holpen. Yet at length by Gods helpe, having but with the losse of six or seuen men a little before day got ouer, the Duke by an ap- D pointed signe aduertised therof, with greater stir and tumult than at any time before, assailed that side of the city were he lay, as if even then and there he had only meant to haue ingaged his whole forces for the winning therof. When in the mean time the Lord *Russworm* on the other side with his resolute soldiers, with scaling ladders prouided for the purpose, scaled the wall of the suburbs, and almost vnperceiued recouered the top therof (the Turks being at the same time wholly bent for the defence of the other side of the city, where most stir and apparent danger was) and so beeing got into the suburbs, with a great and terible cry assailed the Turks, who surprised with much feare, and not well knowing which way to turne themselues, without any great resistance fled into the city, the Christians following them at the heels, and making of them a great slaughter. In which so great a confusion, euen where least was feared, E the Duke by other his soldiers took the rest of the suburbs, as he had before determined; the Turks even then for feare forsaking them, retyring with all the haste they could to their fellows in the city, there to liue and die together. The Christians in these suburbs, besides other rich prey, took also 4 great pieces of artillery, with good store of shot and pouder. The suburbs, the greatest strength of the city, thus happily taken, the Duke again summoned the city, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him. Whereunto the Turks gaue no other answer but by their pieces, which they discharged vpon the Christians so persuading them to yeeld. Wherwith the Duke mooued, sent them word, That hee would send them other manner of messengers tomorrow, and by Gods help sup with them in the city, although he were not vnto them welcome. Neither failed he of that his promise; for the next day out of the suburbs F having with the fury of his artillery made two great breaches in the city, he by the ruins therof with great slaughter of the enemy entred the City; albeit that the Turkes did what they might to haue defended the same, by casting downe vpon the Christians as they entered, darts, wildfire, and such other things, vsually prouided for such purposes. But seeing now no remedy, but that they must needs giue place to the fortune of their enemies, they fled amain into

Alba Regalis besieged by the Christians.

The suburbs surprised.

The city taken.

in their houses, there to defend themselues, os els to die: many of which houses they had before of purpose so vndermined, as that they could easily ouerthrow them, and so ouerwhelme as many as should come within the danger of them. Which so strange a resolution was by many of them as desperatly performed; insomuch that the goodly Church, the palace, with many other sumptuous buildings, were left to the Christians all rent & torn, not much better than rude heaps of rubbish and stones: howbeit the Bassa vpon promise of life, yeelded himself, and was by the Duke presently sent vnto the camp; the rest of the souldiers beeing (as in such case it commonly hapneth) all or most of them put to the sword: the greatest part of the prey fel vnto the Wallons; who by heaps breaking into the richest houses, not only took what themselues light vpon, but stript the Germans also of such things as they had by chance gotten, to their great heart-burning and grief: yet these rauenous and irreligious men not so contented, opened the tombs of the Hungarian Kings, there long before buried, to spoil euen the dead of such things as had for honors sake bin interred with them. Shewing themselues therin more barbarous than the Turks, who by the space of sixty yeares hauing had the City in their possession, had yet spared those reuerend monuments, and suffered the Reliques of those worthy princes to rest in peace. Of this taking of Alba-Regalis, the Bassa of Buda (not long before taken prisoner, and as then lying at Vienna) hearing, abstained from meat with his two seruants a whole day, prostrat vpon his face, praying vnto his prophet *Mahomet*, who had (as he said) all this year bin angry with the Turks. Which had the siege of Canisia taken the like effect, had then vndoubtedly bin vnto them most vnfortunat: but God in his wisdom stil tempereth the sweet with the sour.

Now in the mean while was *Assan* the Visier Bassa, and General of the Turks Armie, with such soldiers as were already assembled at Belgrade, comming to haue relieued Alba-regalis, and albeit that he vnderstood by the way as he marched, that the City was by the Christians won; yet held he on his intended journy; and so taking with him the Bassa of Buda, with the other Sanzacks and commanders of the towns and castles therabout, had formed an Army of about threescore thousand strong, but for most part raw and vnexpert soldiers, with the which power he stil held on his way toward Alba-Regalis, as wel thereby to give some contentment to the angry Sultan his master, as in hope also to ouerthrow the Christian Army, or at least wise to find the city as yet vnrepaired, and so to regain it. But vain was that his designment, especially for the recouery of the city; for that the Duke had no sooner taken it, but that he forthwith caused the breaches to be repaired, and for the more assurance of it, put into it a strong garrison of old expert soldiers; and being himself about twenty thousand strong, and hearing of the Bassa's comming, set forward to meet him, and being come neer vnto him, began an hot and bloudy skirmish with him. Yet the Bassa to prosecute his intended purpose for the recouery of Alba-Regalis, the next day sent away part of his Army, to make proofe, if haply the city might yet be again recouered, and himselfe in the mean time with the rest of his army offered battel vnto the Christians; so to busie them, that they should not be able to trouble them whom they sent to Alba-Regalis, or to relieue the city, if it should chance to be by them oppressed. When as the Duke before informed of the baseness of the souldiers in the Bassa's army, and that although he were for number of men far aboue him, yet for old hardy and expert soldiers he was strong enough for him, valiantly went out and encountered him; and so euen at the first onset by plaine valour disordering the formost squadrons of the Turks battel, inforced them to retyre with the losse of six thousand men, among whom were the Bassa of Buda, six Sanzacks, with diuers other Captains and Commanders, of good place and mark. At which time he also took from them diuers pieces of great Artillery, and had vndoubtedly with a notable slaughter ouerthrown all the rest of the Bassa's Army, had not a great squadron of the Tartars euen at that instant shewed themselues at the backes of the Christians, and so staying them, giuen leisure to the Bassa to restore his disordered battel. Wherupon the Duke contenting himselfe with the victory he had already gotten, in good order retyred again into his trenches, having in this conflict not lost aboue three hundred of his people. But whilest both Armies thus lay, and new supplies repaired vnto them, expecting but when they should come vnto a generall day of battel; the Ianizaries still murmuring, That it was now no fit time of the yeare any longer to keepe the field, by their importunitie inforced the Bassa to retyre to Buda, and there to his dis-band his Army, in which his retreit

The Christians ouerthrow the Turks.

The Bassa of Buda slain.

A retreat many were by the Christians cut off in the tail of his army, and a number of prisoners taken; and among the rest fifty of the French mutiniers of Pappa, whom the Archduke *Mathias* at the instance of Duke *Mercury* afterwards pardoned. Neither sped they much better, who were sent by the Bassa to haue attempted the taking of Alba Regalis; for beeing come neer therunto, they were so welcommed with great shot out of the city, and charged with often sallies by the strong garrison, that seeing no hope to preuaile, they were glad to rise, and to return again to the Bassa that sent them.

About the same time that the Duke began to besiege Alba-Regalis, *Ferdinand* the Archduke hauing receiued great aid from the Pope, with the other Princes of Italy, and the King of Spain, and so now 30000 strong, by the aduice of the Duke of Mantua his Lieutenant general resolued to besiege Canisia: which to haue againe recouered out of the Turkes hands, B concerned much not them of Stiria and Austria only, but the other prouinces adjoining, yea and Italy it self also. Wherupon he with his army in good order came the tenth of September and incamped before it; the Duke of Mantua and *Don Iohn de Medices*, with 2000 Harquebusiers and two Cornets of horse being come the day before to take view of the towne, at whom the Turks made diuers shot, but without any harm doing. And albeit that the Turkes there in garrison (in number not past a thousand, accounting likewise 300 of the Wallons somtime of the garrison of Pappa) with their often and gallant sallies greatly troubled the Christians, and that great bands of the other Turks came out of the strong towns and fortresses therby, to skirmish with them, and to see if they could put any moe souldiers into the town C for the more assurance therof; yet such was the carefulnesse of the Christian Commanders, and valour of their souldiers, that the Turkes both in the one place and in the other were still repulsed and put to flight, with the losse also of some of their small Castles and forts thereabout. To approch this strong towne, and to plant a battery against it, seemed to be a matter of great difficulty, for that it was (as we haue elswhere said) inuironed round with a marish; yet means was found to dry it a little, and to fill it vp on the one side, and to come so neere the Town, that hauing planted three tyre of artillery against it, the Christians began furiously to batter it, beating downe both the walls, the houses, and other buildings therin; yea at length they had brought their approches so neer, that they were come with their trenches euen close vnto the Towne ditch, persuading the Turks, now whilest they might vpon good conditions, D to surrender the Towne, and so to saue their liues. Whereunto their fierce and inraged mindes were so far from hearkening, that brauing the Christians, they said, That they would in despight of all their forces keepe the place for their Sultan, do what they could. Whereupon the Archduke and the Duke of Mantua, by the aduice of *Medices* and the rest of the principall Captaines and Commanders in the Army, resolued to giue a general assault vnto the towne. In the mean time newes was brought into the Campe, of the winning of Alba-Regalis, which there made great rejoicing; in signe wherof the Christians (as their manner is) in triumph many times discharged their great Ordnance; and by sit men persuaded the garrison soldiers in Canisia to yeeld, and not to cast themselues into such danger as had their fellows in Alba Regalis; for that in so doing they should not only saue their liues, but easily E also obtain such other conditions as they could reasonably desire: whereas otherwise they should to their cost find the Christians strong enough to constraine them, which must needs bring with it their vtter ruine and destruction. Whereunto the garrison souldiers (amongst whom the renegat Wallons were the chiefe) contemptuously answered, That they little feared such weake assailants: and with great cry and scorn commaunding the messengers to depart, in token of their confidence, as also not to seeme inferiour vnto the Christians, oftentimes to small purpose discharged their great Ordnance, as had the Christians the day before. Now although the walls of the towne with continuall battery were sore shaken, and the breaches almost laid open; yet was the intended assault for a while deferred, vntil the bridges might be made that were to be laid ouer the towne Ditch for the Christians to passe F ouer vpon. But all things, as was thought, now in a readinesse, and the Florentines with some other Italians (whose lot it was to giue the first assault) beeing come forward, the bridge by which they were to passe the town ditch, was found both too short and too weak for them to get ouer vnto the other side by; so that sinking vnder them, not the soldiers only, but euen the Commanders themselues (and namely *Herbenstein*) were in great danger to haue bin lost. By which

Canisia besieged by the Christians.

which means they hindred, and the enemies murthering pieces continually flanking them, G
and their musketiers stil playing vpon them afront, they were inforced to retyre, leauing be-
hind them 300 of their men slain. Yet were not the Christian commanders any thing ther-
with discouraged, but being generally resolued not to giue ouer that they had taken in hand,
vntil they had brought it to effect, began to make such prouision as they knew to be needfull
to preserue their army vnder, against the violence of the winter weather, as also to hinder that
no victual might be brought vnto the towne, so by famin at length to inforce the Turkes and
Wallons to yeeld: who although they were already pinched with wants, insomuch that hors-
flesh was dainty cheer with them; yet for all that, they nothing abated of their wonted fierce-
nes, but being again required to yeeld, vouchsafed not to answer one word, but in stead therof
shook their naked swords afar off at them, in token of their vndaunted courage. But yet for al H
this resolution of the commanders for the continuance of the siege, *Aldobrandino* Generall of
the Italians, being now a little before dead of an old infirmitie that he had, the Italians began
at the first some few of them secretly to withdraw themselues out of their quarter; but after-
wards in great number to depart, and so to return again into their country: alledging for their
excuse want both of pay and victuals. But the rest better minded, vnderstanding the Turkes
were risen from before Alba-Regalis, and the rest of the army disbanded, began to enter into
new hope, by some deuice or other to passe the ditch, and so by force to take the town; & the
rather, for that they were by a French fugitiue informed both of the weaknesse and wants of
the besieged. Whereupon they began afresh to make new engins for the approching of the
walls, without danger of the enemies ordnance any more to flank them. At which time also, I
viz. the fourth of November, the Lord *Russworm* came vnto the camp, sent thither from Duke
Mercury with 8000 souldiers, after that *Hassan Bassa* had dissolued his army. By whose com-
ming they were also the more incouraged to prosecute that they had vndertaken. Neither fai-
led the Turkes in the meane while with often sallies to trouble the Christians, attempting a-
boue all things to haue fired their tents, for that lying open in that so cold a season of the
year; they must of necessity be inforced to raise their siege and be gon. But the succes of these
their so great designes was not answerable to their hopes, being stil beaten back with losse in-
to the city by the Christians: whom it behooued to look well about them, for that the besie-
ged desperatly set, and all resolued rather to die than to yeeld, aduentured themselues to all
dangers, neuer ceasing to do what they might to put the Christians out of hope for winning K
the town. But whilst the Turks with doubtful & as it were desperat hope so defend the place,
and the Christians grown stronger by the comming of their friends, lay in hope to winne the
same; lo, in the later end of Nouember, a North wind accompanied with a deep snow so furi-
ously raged, that it ouerthrew the greatest part of the tents and pauilions of the Christians,
and as it were buried the whole army in frost and ice; in such wise, as that in the Arch-Duke
Ferdinands camp (being reasonable wel prouided for) was 1500 men with 300 horses starued
and frozen to death. At which time the state of them that came with the Lord *Russworm* was
most miserable; who wearied with the siege of Alba-Regalis, and as it were spent with the
dirty trauell of the deep way, had not brought with them their tents or other prouision, and
were therfore inforced to lie abroad in so cold and vnseasonable a time: with whose miseries L
although their good Generall was much grieued, yet to do the Christian Commonweal ser-
uice, he with them right patiently endured. In which so great an extreamity, the Archduke
with the rest of the Commanders vpon view taken, well considering what small hope there
was in good time to take the towne, the vnseasonablenesse of the Winter weather still more
and more increasing, thought it better betimes to rise, than longer to expose their army vnto
the most certain destruction either of the enemy or the cold. Which was don with such hast
and confused tumult, as that their rising rather seemed an hasty flight, than honorable depar-
ture; leauing behind them for hast their great ordnance, with their tents and baggage, a com-
mon voice still running, That they were well if they might but saue themselues: so that the
soldiers euery man mindful of himself, and in feare to be pursued by the enemy (no man cha- M
sing them) fled, but still accompanied with such furious windes, snow, and extream cold, that
with all the labour they could take, they could get them no heat, but fell down to the earth,
many of them frozen, and so once falling neuer rose more, being vnable for want of heate to
help themselues: in which case they were not to expect for helpe from others, euery man ha-
uing

The Christians inforced by vnseasonable weather to forsake the siege of Alba-Regalis.

A uing enough to do to look vnto himself: so that vpon the way wherby the army went thus di-
spersed with the weather, lay aboue 500 dead of cold, beside 400 others left sick in the forsa-
ken trenches, who forthwith after the departure of the army, were thought to haue bin al slain
by the garison of Canisia.

But hauing thus passed through the troubles of Hungary, it is time now also to look back
again into the frontier countries of Transylvania and Valachia; which to haue kept in the
Emperors obedience, and so preserued as a liuely member of the Christian commonweal, no
lesse concerned him, than the keeping of any other his frontier territories, which are many.
Michael the Vayuod of Valachia, the last yeare for his cruelty first driuen out of Transylvania
by *Basta*, and afterwards out of Valachia by the great Chancellor of Polonia (as is aforesayd)
B and another placed in his stead; as a man forsaken euen of his own better fortunes, and not wel
knowing which way to turn himself, thought it best now at last to submit himself to the Em-
perour, if so happily by his means hee might in some sort repaire his broken estate, and so at
leastwise recouer his gouernment in Valachia. So resolued, he set forward, and in the begin-
ning of this year, *viz.* the three and twentieth of Ianuary, with fiue and thirty of his follow-
ers, and six Coaches, arriued at Prague, where he was by the Emperours appointment honour-
ably receiued, and his cost at the Emperors charge defraied. To whom he excused himself
of the seueritie by him vsed in Transylvania (the cause of those late troubles in that country)
as inforced therunto by the stubbornnesse of the Transylvanians themselues, whom he found
stil inclined to rebellion, and not willing to be commanded by any but themselues. Which
C his excuse (as true) was wel admitted, and he with all kindnes vsed. Now at this same time
Basta lying also in Transylvania, as gouernour for the Emperour, right slenderly accompanied
(as is before also declared) the parliament at Clausenburg being ended, and all controuersies
as was thought, wel composed, now without fear one night, the Watch being set, went to bed
to take his rest; where he had not long lien, but that certaine of the Transilvanian Lords (a-
mong whom the Chiaki was chiefe) came with their followers, and surprising the watch and
entring the palace, brake into the chamber where he lay, took him out of his bed, and so kept
him prisoner all that night. And the next morning going forth, about twelue miles off met
with *Sigismund Bathor* their late prince, before secretly by them called in, whom they honoura-
bly conducted vnto Clausenburg, and there deliuered *Basta* vnto him (the late Gouernour
D for the Emperour) whom he commaunded to be cast into irons: and so going to the Palace,
gaue like order for the apprehending and safe keeping of the rest of the Nobility also, such as
had taken part with *Basta* in the behalf of the Emperor. For now the Transylvanians were di-
uided into three parts; wherof the one stood for the Emperour, the second for *Istuan Bathor*,
pretending that vnto him belonged the soueraignty of that prouince; but the third, & far the
greatest, for *Sigismund* their antient Lord and leader; who now by means of the King of Polo-
nia reconciled vnto the Turke, and in this troublesome time by his fauourits called again in-
to his country, was of them ioyfully receiued at Alba-Iulia, Clausenburg, and the rest of the
chief cities of Transylvania. Who now therof again possessed, for the better assuring of his
estate, forthwith writ vnto the Emperour of all that had happened, requesting him to content
E himself, that he was desirous of his loue and fauour, promising to be alwaies his good friend
and neighbor, and for euer to keep good amity with him. Giuing *Basta* also (whom hee had
now at the intercession of certaine great friends inlarged) to vnderstand, That hee was forth-
with to depart from all the places belonging to his principalitie, as also to cease from fur-
ther molesting of his people, that were now voluntarily againe returned vnto his obedience.
Which his request was neither of the one nor the other much regarded or hearkened vnto.
For the Emperour vpon the first aduertisement of this so great an alteration in Transylvania,
calling vnto him *Michael* the Vayuod (not so much troubled with the strangenesse of the
matter, as for that his wife and sonne, whom hee had left as hostages with *Basta*, were now fal-
len into the hands of the Transylvanians his mortall enemies) and satisfying him in many
F things that he had before requested, tooke order with him, That with all conuenient speed
returning home againe into Valachia, where he was now of many much longed for (the peo-
ple generally disliking the simple Vayuod which the great Chancellor had set ouer them)
and gathering together such power as hee could, he should joine himselfe with *Basta* his
Lieutenant General, vnto whom he had already sent great companies both of horse and foot,
for

Michael reconciled to the emperor.

Basta imprisoned by the Transilvanians.

Sigismund recouers Transilvania.

for the repulsing of *Sigismund* out of Transylvania, and the reducing againe of that prouince G
vnder his obeisance. Whereupon the Vayuod forthwith returning into Valachia, and assem-
bling about ten thousand of his friends, all good and expert souldiers, went to seek for *Basta*, as
he had with the Emperor agreed; whom he found ready in the field with about twenty thou-
sand foot, and eight thousand horse, but newly departed from Veradinum: Where mustering
their army, they with their vnited forces entred into Transylvania, there to put in execution
what the Emperor had commanded. Where the Vayuod in disdain of the people that loued
him not, with fire and sword wasted all the Country before him as he went; not without the
great discontment of *Basta*, to whom it seemed not good to make desolat that country, which
he was in good hope should in short time be his Lord and Master the Emperors. But *Sigis-*
mund vnderstanding both of the comming of his enemies, and the harm they did in his coun- H
try, rise from Solnock where he lay incamped with his army, and so to hinder their further
proceeding went to meet them: howbeit being come so neer vnto them as that he might wel
discouer them, he would not come to the trial of a battell with them, as was by them offered;
but fortified himself in his trenches, so seeking but to delay the time vntill the comming of
the Tartars, which were to haue come vnto him from the Chancellor of Polonia, as also of six
thousand Turks to haue bin sent him from the Bassa of Belgrade. Where hauing afterwards
vnderstood, That the passage of the Tartars to haue been sent him, was stayed by *Don Ferrant*
Gonzaga the Emperors Lieutenant in the vpper Hungary; and that the Turks staying at Giu-
la, would come no farther, except they had their pay before hand; finding himself too weake
with his owne power to incounter with his enemies, he rise with his Army, with a purpose to I
haue retyred a little back, and to haue taken certain streight passages wherby the enemy must
needs passe, so by the aduantage of the place to haue holpen his weak strength. But *Basta* and
the Vayuod perceiuing his rising (whereunto they were still attentiue) followed him with
such speed, that they ouertooke him before he could get thither, and so hardly pressed him,
that needs he must turn his face and join battel, or else suffer his people altogether like beasts
to be slaine. In which doing, albeit that neither he nor his failed to doe what was by men to
be done for the obtaining of a notable victory; yet such was the valour of the souldiers of *Ba-*
sta and the Vayuod, that in a great battel hauing disordered his footmen, they put them to
flight, and so cut them all in pieces. Which the prince beholding, and not able to preuent, be-
time fled with his horsmen from the fury of the enemy, and so retyred to the vtmost confines K
of Transylvania, hauing in this conflict lost ten thousand of his faithfull soldiers. Wherupon
Claudiopolis, with diuers other cities and towns of that country, returned again vnto the Em-
perors obeisance.

Sigismund ouerthrown by Basta and the Vayuod.

In the prosecuting of this victory, the Vayuod to satisfie the hatred he had of long borne
against the Transylvanians, did what spoil he could, vtterly wasting all the places wherby hee
passed. Which *Basta* not liking, requested him to vse his victory with more modesty, and to
haue more respect to what he did, especially vnto such places or persons as of themselues re-
turned vnto the Emperors obeisance. Wherunto he proudly answered, That hee would doe
what he thought good, without his appointment or the Emperours either, especially in that
country which he had now with his own sword twice conquered: & that therfore *Basta* might L
command them that were by him to be commanded, as for himselfe, he acknowledged no so-
ueraignty that either *Basta* or the Emperour had ouer him. Vnto which so presumptuous a
speech *Basta* replied not; but yet much discontented therewith, began to enter into a great su-
spition, from what ground those his hauty conceits (easily by his words to be gathred) might
grow, and so from that time better obseruing his proceedings, perceiued him to haue intelli-
gence with the Turks, with purpose to join hands with them, that so by their helpe chacing
the Imperials out of Transylvania, he might hold it to himselfe as tributary vnto the *Othoman*
Emperour, of all others best able to defend him. Which to bee true (besides diuers other
strong presumptions) he certainely vnderstood by certaine letters of his written to that pur-
pose, intercepted by his soldiers and brought vnto him. Wherupon he became very pensiue M
and heauy, for the great power the Vayuod was of in those Countries, as also for the great
strength he had euen then present about him, and wherwith he was as it were then garded. So
consulting with certain of his Colonels and chief commanders of his army, what were best to
be don in that so dangerous a case whereof so much depended? A Wallon Captaine offered
himselfe

A himselfe to go into the Vayuod his campe, and there in his owne tent to kill him as a traitor.
Which his offer well liked of, and he as ready to performe as he was to promise, going into
the Vayuods camp accompanied with some threescore men, and finding him in his tent, bold-
ly stepping to him, willed him to yeeld himselfe the Emperours prisoner: whereat he being
about to lay his hand vpon his scimitar, the Wallon captaine with an halbert thrust him into
the breast, at which very instant another with a sword at one blow claue his head down to the
shoulders. An vnworthy death for so worthy a captain, had not ambition (the torment of great
spirits) caried him too high with the wings of immoderat desire, beyond the bounds of loyal-
ty and reason. But there he lyeth now dead among his friends, whom the great Turke somtime
more feared euen in his palace at Constantinople, than he did all the rest of the Emperours
B commamders. Presently vpon his death a great tumult and hurly burly was raised by the sol-
diers in his camp: but *Basta* forthwith shewing himselfe with all his soldiers in arms, and with-
all producing the letters declaring the treason by the Vayuod contriued with the Bassa of Te-
mesware against the Emperour, all was againe appeased: but especially for that his souldiers
now saw themselues without an head, and too weake also for the Imperials there present and
already in armes. In the Vayuods tent were also other letters found, so plainely declaring his
secret collusion with the Turke, and treason against the Emperor, that the Valachians who at
the first were wonderfully moued with his death, and hearing the same read, rested not now
only contented, but said moreouer, that he was worthily slaine, and that if they had knowne
him to haue any such traiterous purpose, they would of themselues long before haue taken of
C him deserued punished. Now vnto his souldiers *Basta* offered, at their choice, either to de-
part whither they would without danger; or else taking the oath of obedience vnto the Em-
perour, to enter into his pay; which most part of them did. The tumult appeased, the dead
body of the Vayuod was laied out a whole day for the souldiers to gaze vpon, and so afterward
buried. So lieth he, that but of late, and many times before, had so fortunatly ouerthrowne
his enemies; vnhappy man himselfe now ouerthrowne by his owne ambition and vncon-
stancy.

Michael the Vayuod slaine.

Basta now deliuered of the great feare he had before of the Vayuod, what by force, what by
agreement, in short time tooke in most part of the country: for that the Transyluanians seeing
the small power of *Sigismund*, and well comforted with the death of *Michael* the Vayuod so
D much of them hated; as also to auoid the dangers euen presently hanging ouer their heads from
the Imperials, if they should in any thing shew themselues obstinate against them; submitted
themselues wholly to the courtesie of *Basta*, so that the places were but few that yet held out
for the Prince *Sigismund*: who in the meane time was doing what he might for the raising of a
new army (hauing not altogether with this late ouerthrow forthwith also lost his hope) by the
help of the Turks, Tartars, and Polonians, to recouer againe the possession of his state, and by
force of armes to chase out the Imperials. But he being brought to so low an ebbe, and almost
all the country of Transyluania possessed by *Basta*; who would not haue thought but that now
after so long trauell it would haue remained wholly at the Emperors deuotion? and so many,
that thought themselues to see much, said assuredly it would. But see the change, and what
E small assurance euen the greatest haue of the constancy of the vain multitude: neuer more like
themselues, than in disliking to morrow what they best liked to day, foolish, senceless, impro-
uident, rash, headstrong, violent, and aboue all things mutable, and vnconstant. So now for all
that *Basta* had done for the assurance of this country vnto the Emperor (being so much as most
men thought to haue bin sufficient, and indeed as much as was possible for him to do) euen in
the winding vp of this yeare 1601, the Transyluanians vnderstanding that *Sigismund* with a
great army of Polonians, Turks, & Tartars, was now comming against the Imperials, most part
of them presently tooke vp armes in his fauour; saying, That their first oath voluntarily giuen
vnto him as their naturall Prince & Gouernor, was more to be respected than any other after-
wards by force extorted from them by a forrein Prince. Insomuch that *Basta* perceiuing with
F what a tempest he was like euen presently to be ouerwhelmed, to saue himselfe and his people
from the rage thereof, withdrew himselfe and his followers vnto a strong towne in a corner of
that country: from whence he with all speed sent vnto the Emperor for greater aid, as well for
the defence of the place he yet held, as for the subduing again of that rebellious people. After

The Transyluanians submit themselues vnto Basta.

The Transyluanians reuolt againe vnto Sigismund their old Prince.

Basta flyeth.

whose departure *Sigismund* without resistance entring the country, was of the people in gene- G
rall joyfully receiued as their most lawfull Prince and soueraigne, and all the honor done vnto him that was by them possible: in which his so Princely, but dangerous estate, now twice in lesse than the space of one yeare by him regained, and yet thereof no whit assured, we will for a while leaue him to joy therein with his subjects.

The Bassa of Agria ouerthrown by Ferrant Gonzaga.

But whilest the state thus turneth vpside downe in Transyluania, the Bassa of Agria going out with ten thousand Turks in hope to haue surprised Toccaie (a strong hold of the Christians in the vpper Hungary) was encountered by *Ferrat Gonzaga* the Emperours Lieutenant there, and by him ouerthrowne, and with great slaughter of his Turks chased to the gates of Agria.

Now was *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperor this yeare also no lesse troubled with the procee- H
dings of the *Scriuano* in Caramania and Natolia, than with the euill successe of his affaires in Transyluania and Hungary. For the *Scriuano* by his last yeares victory growne into great credit with the common people, and still by them more and more followed; to maintaine the reputation of his credit, came now again this yere with a great power into the field, to meet with *Mahomet* the great Bassa and Generall of the Turks army; who with fifty thousand good souldiers (a power thought sufficient to haue repressed him) was ready to encounter him. With whom the *Scriuano* joyning battell, in a great fight cut in sunder a great part of the Bassaes army, and so become master of the field, forraged all the countries adjoyning almost as farre as Aleppo; still calling the people vnto liberty, and causing himselfe to be proclaimed the true defender of the Mahometane Faith, and of the liberty of those countries with him combined: I
in such sort, as that it now stood the great Turke vpon to send another great army to the aid of *Mahomet* the discomfited Bassa. With whom also the *Scriuano* (presuming of his former fortune) comming to a day of battell, and ouercharged with the multitude of his enemies, was at the first encounter with his people put to the worse: but forthwith by his good direction hauing repaired his disordered battell, and thereby giuen as it were new courage to his fainting souldiers, he with a great slaughter disordered also the Bassaes army. Yet hauing not any other firme state or stay to rest vpon, more than the fauour and reputation he held with these his rebellious followers, of whom he had now lost a great many, he thought it not best to aduenture too far (not knowing how presently to repaire his losses) but contenting himselfe with what he had already done, retired with his army into the strength of the mountains, there that K
Winter to liue vpon the spoile of the countries adjoyning, and the next yeare to do more harme than euer he had done before.

The Ianizaries in mutiny at Constantinople.

Beside all which former troubles, the plague also this yeare sore raged both in Constantinople and many other places of the Turkish Empire. At which time also the Ianizaries in Constantinople hauing receiued some disgrace by some of the Great Sultans fauorits, and with great insolency requiring to haue their heads, caused their Aga well accompanied presumptuously to enter into the Seraglio to prefer this their request: whom *Mahomet* to the terror of the rest, caused for his presumption to be taken into the midst of the Spahi, and so by them to be cut in pieces; which was not done without the great slaughter of the Spahi themselues also, slaine by the Ianizaries. Whereupon the other Ianizaries arising vp in arms also, L
and euen now ready to haue reuenged the death of their captaine, were yet by the wisedome of *Cicala Bassa*, bestowing amongst them a great sum of money, againe appeased without further harme doing. Which their so great insolency *Mahomet* imputing vnto their excessiue drinking of Wine, contrary to the law of their great Prophet; by the persuasion of the Mufti, commanded all such as had any Wine in their houses in the city of Constantinople and Pera, vpon paine of death to bring it out and to staue it, except the Embassadors of the Queenes Majesty of England, the French King, and of the State of Venice: so that as some report, Wine for a space ran downe the channels of the streets in Constantinople, as if it had bin water after a great shower of raine.

1602 *Sigismund* the Transyluanian Prince now of late againe possessed of Transyluania (as is be- M
fore declared) could not yet well assure himselfe of the keeping thereof: for that he with the Transyluanians of his faction alone, was not able to withstand the force of *Basta*; who still strengthened with new supplies both of men and all things else necessary for the wars from the

A the Emperour, was now with a great power already entred into Transyluania: the Polonians busied in the warres of Sueuia, and the Turks with their other greater affaires, neither of them sending him their promised aid, the greatest hope and stay of himselfe in that newnesse of his estate. Wherefore seeing himselfe euery day to lose one place or other, and fearing also lest his soldiers for want of pay should in short time quite forsake him and goe ouer to *Basta*; he thought it best betimes and whilest he had yet something left, and was not yet altogether become desperat, otherwise to prouide for his estate, especially hauing small trust in the Turks, to whom he had been before so great an enemy. Wherfore he dealt with *Basta* for a truce or cessation from arms, vntill Embassadors might be sent vnto the Emperor, to entreat with him for some good attonement. Wherefore *Basta* being conrent, and the Embassadors sent; the
B matter was so handled with the Emperor, that *Sigismund* to make an end of all these troubles, was contented to the behoofe of his Imperiall Majesty, to resigne vnto *Basta* his Lieutenant all such places as he yet held in Transyluania, vpon much like conditions he had about three yeares before made with him: and so in all, and for all, to submit himselfe vnto his Majesty. Which intended surrender of the Princes being bruted in Transyluania, *Zachel Moyses* his Lieutenant (& now in field with the Princes forces) not able to endure or to heare, that that noble Prouince should again fall into the hands of the Germans; encouraging his soldiers, went vpon the sudden to assaile *Basta*, in hope to haue found him vnprouided, & so discomfiting his army, to haue driuen the Imperials quite out of Transyluania: but he an old and expert Commander, perceiuing euen the first mouing of the Transyluanians, with great celerity put his
C army in good order, and so joyned battell with them: wherein he with the losse of some fiue hundred men ouerthrew *Moyses*, with his army of Transyluanians, Turks, and Tartars hauing slaine about three thousand of them, and put the rest to flight: *Moyses* himselfe with some few others being now glad to take their refuge into the frontiers of the Turks territories towards Temeswar. But when *Sigismund* vnderstood what his Lieutenant had without his knowledge done, he in token of his owne innocency went himselfe vnto the Imperiall camp, accompanied onely with certain of his gentlemen, and there vnto *Basta* excused himselfe of that which was by his Lieutenant against his will, and without his priuity done; frankly offering to performe what soeuer was on his part to be performed, according to the agreement made betwixt the Emperor and him. And so presently calling his garrisons out of all such strong places as were
D yet for him holden, he surrendred them to *Basta*; and so forthwith honorably accompanied, put himselfe vpon his way towards the Emperor. After whose departure out of Transyluania, all that Prouince voluntarily and without more adoe yeelded to *Basta* as to the Emperors Lieutenant: who presently called an assembly of all the Nobility of the country, taking of them an oath for their obedience and loyalty vnto the Emp. ror. Thus by the wisedome and prowesse of this worthy commander, is the country of Transyluania once againe brought vnder the Emperors obeisance; a matter of far greater importance, than to haue woon the strongest city the Turke holdeth in Hungary.

Zachel Moyses ouerthrown by Basta.

Great troubles in Valachia.

But whilest these things thus passed in Transyluania, great troubles arise in Valachia (the country next adjoyning) for that the people of that Prouince not able longer to endure the
E great insolency of the Turks (who after the death of *Michael* had by their power made one *Ieremias* Vayuod there) by a generall consent tooke vp armes, and proclaiming one *Radoll* (a fauorit of the Emperors) Vayuod, chased *Ieremias* (before placed by the Turks) quite out of the country: who flying vnto *Simon* Palatine of Moldauia, his friend, by his meanes, and the helpe of the Turks, returning into Valachia, draue out thence *Radoll* againe: who being now at this present with *Basta*, with about ten thousand Valachians his followers, earnestly requested of him (now that hee was so quietly possessed of Transyluania) to helpe him with his forces for the recouery of Valachia. And *Basta* well considering how much it concerned the quiet and sure keeping of the possession of Transyluania for the Emperour, to haue that so neere a Prouince to friend, easily yeelded to his request; and gaue him a great Regiment of his
F old approued souldiers, and so sent him away to recouer his estate: with whom (at his enterance into Valachia) the Moldauian meeting with a great power both of his owne and of the Turks, come thither in the fauour of *Ieremias*, there was fought betwixt them a most terrible and bloudy battell, the glory whereof fell vnto *Radoll*, hee carrying away the

victory. In which battell two of the Turks Bassaes were there slaine, with a great number of others both of the Moldauians and Turkes. After which victory *Radoll* recouered againe the Souereignty of Valachia, for which hee was beholden to *Bassa*: and shortly after with the same aid cut in pieces a great power of the Tartars, that were comming to haue aided the Moldauian.

Troubles in Hungary.

Now in the meane time in Hungary also passed many an hot skirmish betwixt the Christians and the Turks, whose garrisons at Buda and in other places in the lower Hungary, attempting to haue surprised Alba-Regalis, and discouered by the Christians, were with great slaughter enforced to retire. At which time also, County *Serinus* vnderstanding by his espials, that the Turks with two hundred waggons with munition and victuals were going to Canisia, vpon the sudden set vpon them, and hauing slaine and put to flight the conuoy that garded them, carried the waggons with all that was in them away with him. And shortly after, the free Haiducks of Comara in a great party going out towards Buda to seek after booty, & hauing taken threescore Turks prisoners, and so with them about to haue returned home; vnderstanding by the way, that *Ali* sometime the Bassa of Buda, and now Gouernour of Pesth, was with a small retinue about to come downe the riuer Danubius from Buda towards Belgrade, there to meet the Visier Bassa, but then comming into Hungary; they slew all the prisoners, and hauing got two small boats, about fifteene miles beneath Buda lay in wait for the Bassa: who according to their expectation comming downe the riuer, was by these aduenturers fiercely assailed, and of his thirty followers hauing foureteene slaine, being himselfe also shot in two places of his body, was there with a great booty taken, and so brought to Comara, and shortly after presented vnto *Matthias* the Archduke at Vienna: who amongst other things, certainely enformed, that *Hassan Bassa* was with a great army by the commandement of the great Sultan *Mahomet* comming to besiege Alba-Regalis, and that hee was now vpon his way as farre as Belgrade; presently sent thither the County *Ysolan* Gouernour thereof, who with much adoe got into the city, the Turks hauing already taken all the passages, to haue hindered the Christians from putting in either men or munition, more than was therein already. Howbeit the County now got in there, and being no lesse good enginier, than a valiant Commander, caused all them in the city to labour vpon the rampiers: so that beside the naturall scituation thereof, which was very strong, he had in short time so fortified it, as that in most mens judgment it seemed a place almost impregnable. This *Ali Bassa* was sometime the great Turks butler, but after the taking of Agria made Bassa of Buda; which great place he held but three moneths, being by the enuy and ambition of some, but especially of *Amurath Bassa*, remooued thence, and made Gouernor of Pesth: from whence now going downe the riuer to Belgrade, it was his fortune to be thus taken by the Haiduckes, vnto whom he offered for his ransome three hundred thousand Sultanines; and had with him when he was taken seuenty thousand duckats.

Ali Bassa taken prisoner.

A great ransome offered by Ali Bassa.

Mahomet the great Sultan not a little troubled with the losse of Alba-Regalis (taken from him by the Christians the last yeare) and now resolued for the recouery of the same, to ingage if need should be a great part of his forces; had caused an army of 150000 strong, to meet at Hadrianople for that purpose, vnder the leading of *Hassan Bassa* one of the chiefe Visiers, to be sent into Hungary. Who by the way of Belgrade comming to Buda, and from thence to Alba-Regalis, there the twelfth of August incamped (as hee had oftentimes before threatned) with the multitude of his tents couering all the country round about, as if it had been a white snow: where hauing well intrenched himself, and planted his artillery, he began a most terrible and furious battery, in such sort as if he had not meant to haue made a breach only, but to haue beaten the city euen from the face of the earth, which seemed now to tremble vnder his feet, and the clouds to rend with the thundring of the great ordnance: and for that the marish and deep ditches were a great let vnto his men for to come vnto the assault, he caused them with the number of his pioners to be filled vp (a worke thought almost impossible) and so brought on his men to assault the counterscarfe, which the Gouernor had caused to be made before the city for the better defence thereof: which assault cost him much bloud, by reason of the wonderfull valor of the defendants: yet in the end the great number of the Turks preuailing, the Christians were inforced to forsake it & retire into the city: but shortly after sallying out again they

Alba Regalis besieged by the Turks.

they with such forces assailed the Turks now got within the counterscarfe, that hauing slaine most part of them that were entred, they forced the other out againe: at the brute whereof, an alarm being raised throughout the camp, infinit numbers of the barbarous enemies came running thitherwith such sauage fury, that without regard of their liues they as desperate men pressing stillion, fell twice as many as before: insomuch that the Christians weary of that long and bloudy fight, & on euery side charged or rather ouerwhelmed with the enemies shot, were glad against, but not without great losse, to abandon the place. With which skirmishes and diuers others that they had, the number of the defendants were greatly diminished, to keepe a weake city, shewing as yet the ruins of the late siege, when it was by the Christians won; the breaches thereof being but euill repaired, and the mines yet gaping, requiring great and strong fortifications to hold out and endure any long siege against so puissant an enemy. Yet was not the courage of the valiant County *Ysolan* the Italian Gouernor, any whit therwith abated, but by his letters gaue the Archduke *Matthias* to vnderstand in what case things stood with them in the city, requesting him with all speed to send him reliefe, for that otherwise the city, so weakly both manned and fortified, would be in danger to be lost; many of the garrison souldiers being already slaine in the defence thereof, and diuers of the Hungarians forsaking the wals, daily flying vnto the Turks camp; promising yet neuertheless himselfe to do the vttermost of his deuoir. Vpon the receit of which letters, the Archduke gaue order to the lord *Russworm* (master of the camp) to to go forthwith to Comara, and there with such forces as were from diuers places come thither, to go forth and to proue if by any meanes the weake garrison of Alba-Regalis might so be relieued, by putting in some good supply of fresh soldiers. According to which command, *Russworm* comming thither, without delay tooke the field with 32000 men which he found there, to see if he might with them, put into the city the desired reliefe. But whilest the matter was in the performance therof too long delaid, by discord arising betwixt him and the other colonels, about the maner of relieuing the town, the Bassa had time to effect his purpose; who the 28 of the same moneth of August, after a long and terrible battery, caused a generall assault to be giuen vnto the city: which the Turks from time to time renewing, continued all that day and the next night, with some part of the day following also, without ceasing: so that the defendants now much weakned, and they also that were left, so wearied or wounded, as that they were not well able to make any longer resistance (and the County himselfe, who gaue as it were life vnto them all, being now also carried away dangerously hurt in the thigh with a musket shot) there was a signe of parly giuen vnto the enemy; which the Bassa granting, and the fury of the assault staid, certaine of the chiefe captaines and commanders in the city, going vnto the Gouernour, put him in mind of the weakenesse of the place, of the force of the enemy, of the number of his most valiant men slain, of the want of the defendants. They had (as they said) done enough for their honor, hauing endured so many and so great assaults, in a place not defencible: and enough to discharge their fidelity, hauing holden it out to the vttermost of their power. That they could do no more than they had done, being not relieued; and that the same bond which bound them to defend the place, bound the Emperor also to relieue them, seeing that otherwise it was not in their power to maintaine it. That they had, with the losse of their liues and bloud, shewed their fidelity vnto the Emperor, no sufficient army appearing from him (according to his promise) for their succor. That to fight any longer was but to encrease the glory of their enemies, and their own losses: seeing that after they had done what they possibly could, exposed to a thousand dangers, they should neuertheless be vanquished, and the city taken. That the same consideration which carried valiant minds vnto the effects of honour when they are relieued with hope, dissuaded them being out of all hope of an happy end of these troubles: and to lose themselues to no purpose, was as great a signe of folly, as to let slip a faire opportunity, was a signe of cowardise. That they were to expect nothing but extreame misery, if the enemy should againe force them, the breaches being so broad, as whereby they might easily enter: and their owne best men slaine, that should keep them out. And that therefore he should do well, to come to some good composition with the enemy, whilest they had yet something to yeeld vp vnto him, and that hee stood in some feare of them; and not to expect, whilst they were spoiled of all means, either to resist him by force, or to bind him by courtesie: nothing remaining for them in the place, but death,

A long and terrible assault.

Reasons wherewith by the besieged captaines persuaded the Gouernour to yeeld the city.

death, if they should obstinately stand to the defence thereof, nor no way lefe to saue their liues, but by yeelding. G

With these persuasions the Gouernor moued, came to a parly with the Bassa, being right glad thereof, as well knowing that a towne besieged comming to a parley, is commonly more than halfe wonne: and glad by any means to gaine it, for that thereof depended the assurance both of his head and honour: where after some shorte talke it was agreed, That the County should yeeld the towne into the hands of the Bassa, with all the greate ordnance, and other warlike ammunition therein: and that the County with his garrison, should with bag & bagge in safety depart with their arms, by the suburbs leading toward Rab, and with a good conuoy in safety to be brought halfe way thither: This capitulation agreed vpon, and by the Bassa and the county signed, euery man assured him selfe of the Bassas faith, and thereon rested. But what faith is to H be expected from a faithlesse man? Vpon the first bruit of this composition, yea, and before it was altogether well concluded; whilest the merchants in the towne were seeking for wagons to carry their merchandise, and the souldiers for horses to carry their baggage, the sereenesse thereof bred a great confusion and stir among the people, as commonly it falleth out in things done in haste, but especially where men for safegard of their liues, in their flight for hast fall into a thousand errors: so whilest some in this hurly burly were quarrelling about their horses and carriages, and other some were opening the gates to be gone; others were busie in robbing and pilfering the baggages of their captains and companions, miserable men, who all appointed for a prey vnto the greedy & mercilesse Turks, yet fel to preying one vpon another. Which disorders encouraged all the rest of the souldiers to fall to pillage also, some loading themselues with such goods as the merchants had for lacke of carriages left behind them, and other I some euen with the goods of their owne captaines: which the soldiers appointed for defence of the breaches seeing, left their charge, and came thronging into the towne, and thrust themselues in amongst the pilferers, as if the pillage of the towne had bin vnto them by triumphant victory assured, and that they themselues had bin victors, and not men vanquished. The Tartars lodged at the foot of the breach, seeing it forsaken, and without any great strength to defend it, let not this opportunity slip, but pressing in without any great resistance, entred the same; and so in a trice full 30000 of them thrust into the towne, and there surprised the vanquished Christians, at once loaded with prey, feare, and despaire. After whom, euen by the same breach, the Turks entred also, to be partakers of the spoile: so that in a moment the town K was full of enemies both of Turks and Tartars. The Turks beside the booty they tooke themselues, fell to quarrelling with the Tartars, for some part of theirs; and so long as there was any thing that might please their eies, or fill their hands, they abstained from slaughter and bloudshed, busying themselues with that which for the present was more for their profit: but the pillaging ceasing, by reason there was no more to be had, then the perfidious wretches fell to massacring of the miserable Christians, the sword deuouring all that they could light vpon, so that all the city flowed with bloud. Neither was there any end thereof, vntill that by the comming in of the Bassa the slaughter was staied; by which meanes County *Ysolan* the late Gouernor with some other captains and soldiers were saued, hauing escaped the enemies fury.

The capitulation betwixt the Bassa and the County, for the yeelding vp of the city of Alba Regalis.

Alba Regalis taken by the Turks.

The Christians cruelly murdered in Alba-Regalis.

In this massacre were slaine 3000 Cristian souldiers, beside others of the citizens, in num- L ber not few. The captains that were spared, were led prisoners to Constantinople, there to be fed with the bread of tribulation: and with them the County *Ysolan*, for his valor and noble courage vnworthy of so hard a fortune. Howbeit, that he by liuely and pregnant reasons shewed, both himselfe & the rest to be vnjustly detained, as taken prisoners contrary to the publike faith vnto him before giuen; within the assurance of the capitulations agreed vpon with the Bassa, and out of the actions of war. Whereunto it was againe answered him, That the towne when it was taken, was yet still in his power, and he at choice whether he would deliuer it or no. That if he would by the yeelding vp of the towne challenge his liberty, according to the articles of the capitulation, he ought then to haue deliuered it as was agreed, and not to haue suffred it to haue bin taken by force, according to the ordinary proceding of war: the lawes M whereof do justly condemne to death, or to captiuity, such as are by force of arms vanquished. That euery towne which during the treaty of capitulation, is by force taken, followeth the course of the later condition & state, and not of the former, seeing that it is conquered and not deliuered

County Ysolan carried away prisoner to Constantinople.

A deliuered. That this is the reason that they are punished by the rigor of armes, which haue not bin carefull to preserue themselues by the sweetnesse of peace: for that a man is not to expect of his mortall enemy any other courtesie, than that which necessity caused him to promise, which hee may for his owne good againe violate, as hee for the good of his enemy against his will hath granted. With which quirkes and quillets the County deluded, say what he could, was carried away prisoner to Constantinople, where we must for a while leaue him. And so the Bassa hauing in eighteene daies taken Alba Regalis, (now being eleuen moneths possessed by the Christians) caused the breaches he had made, to be againe repaired, and the city well prouided for, both of victuals and munition, leauing therein a strong garrison of six thousand soldiers; and with his people hauing ouerrun all the country as far as Strigonium, B rose with his army and retired again to Buda: where as he was making a bridge of boats ouer the Danubius betwixt Buda and Pesth, for the more easie transporting of victuall, and better reliuing of the one the other as need should require; and hauing brought that worke to passe; and aboun to haue gone to the siege of Strigonium; commandement came from the Great Sultan, That he should with all speed returne to Constantinople, for that *Mahomet* accounting of him as of a most valiant man, was now minded to imploy him in his wars against his Rebels in Natolia, where things now went not well, as shall be hereafter declared. Vpon which commandement, the Bassa gaue leaue to all such in his army as had charge of any place, forthwith to returne to their seuerall places of gouernment; appointing some others with thirty thousand soldiers, in the company of *Zachet Moses* (but of late Prince *Sigismund* his Lieutenant) to C go with him into Transyluania: who after the ouerthrow he had there receiued by *Basta*, was come vnto this great Bassa, offering vnto him, with such an aid as was now appointed for him, and the helpe of such other his friends as he had in Transyluania, to chase *Basta* with his Germans out from thence, and to reduce that Prouince againe vnto the deuotion of the *Othoman* Emperors, as it had in former time beene. And so by the way of Belgrade *Hassan Bassa* himselfe with the rest of his army hasted towards Constantinople. Which he was thought the more willingly to do, for that the Great Sultan before his setting forth had put him in good hope to marry one of his Aunts (a woman of great wealth and honour) if by the winning again of Alba Regalis he should make himselfe worthy so honourable a match, after which he now longed.

D But long it was not after his departure, but that the Imperials now at last assembled together at Comara, to the number of about 30000 men, with twelue * Nassadies and two gallies, some by water, some by land, marched downe alongst the riuer to Strigonium; where were also 20 other ships ready to receiue them, and so all embarked, were by the Lord *Russworm* and other the Imperiall captaines conducted to Buda, there with some notable enterprise to redeeme the disgrace by them before receiued in not reliuing of Alba Regalis. Whose comming was so sudden and so vnlooked for of the Turks there, as that they had not any time to take in any greater helpe or prouision than was already in the city. And for as much as the Christians knew the good successe of this their enterprise taken in hand, not so much to depend of their strength, as of their politique proceeding and speedy dispatch of the matter begun, they E thought it not good to vse any long delay, or to spare for any labor, but so soone as they might, by taking the Water-city (or as some call it, the Iewes suburbs) so to cut off the passage of them of Buda to Pesth, as also from thence to trouble them in the castle and the vpper city of Buda, Which their intended exploit they happily attempted & brought to passe in this sort: The city of Pesth standing right ouer against Buda, is (as we haue oftentimes before said) diuided from the same with the great and swift riuer of Danubius; ouer which the Turks vpon boats had with great labor and cost of late built a most easie and commodious bridge for passage or carriage of things from the one city to the other. This bridge the Imperials thought necessary first to break, the more easily to besiege either the one or the other city; and for that purpose had by a strange deuice built a ship, which by the force of the streame carried downe F the riuer, and resting vpon the bridge, should by a wonderfull power breake the same. Which ship the Turks seeing comming downe the riuer with the rest of the Fleet after her, they ran by heapes, especially out of the Water City, to the bridge for the defence thereof: where whilst they were thus busied, County *Sultze* on the other side by land with a petard blew vp one

** The Nassadies are a certaine kinde of boats which the Hungarians vse vpon the Riuer of Danubius.*

The lower city of Buda taken by the Christians.

one of the gates of the city, and so entering and killing all such as he light vpon, came vnlooked for vpon the backs of the Turks at the bridge, of whom some he slew, some he draue into the riuer, who there perished, the rest, in number not many, by speedy flight retiring themselues into the city: whereupon he had now brought such a generall feare, that they all as well the souldiers as the citizens, with the Christians at their heeles, with as much haste as they could tooke their refuge into the vpper city of Buda, much stronger and better fortified than was the lower city. At which time the bridge was by them vpon the riuer broken also, so that now the one city could no more relieue the other as before.

The Water city thus woon, and the bridge broken, the next was for the Imperials to besiege either the one or the other city. But for that they of Pesth might with their great Ordnance much anoy them in the besieging of the castle and the vpper city of Buda, they thought best to beg in with it first: which they did in much like sort as they had before don at the lower city of Buda, the same deuice again well prospering in their hand. For the Lord *Russworm* with the fleet vpon the riuer making a great shew as if he would euen presently on that side haue entered, had with the stirre by him raised, drawne downe most part of the garrison souldiers vnto that side of the towne, where most shew of danger was: whilest in the meane time County *Sultze* with the Gouernor of Altheim (before vndiscouered) vpon the sudden by land seeled the other side of the city, and gained the wals, the Turks yet dreaming of no such matter. But hereupon began a terrible outcry, the Turks standing as men astonied, especially now feeling the Christians weapons in their bodies, before they knew they were got into the city. In this so great an amasement such of them as could, fled into the strongest towers, the rest hid themselues in cellars and other the most secret corners they could finde, out of which they were afterwards by the Christians drawne and slaine. They which were retired also into the towers and other stronger places of the city, seeing the great ordnance bent vpon them, and now out of all hope of relieſe, offered to yeeld; requesting onely, that they might with their wiues and children with life depart; promising for that fauour so shewed them, to persuade them of Buda also in like manner to yeeld. Vpon which promise, that their poore request was granted, and the Lord *Nadasti* with certaine other Captaines sent with some of these citizens to Pesth, with their wiues and children to Buda: who comming thither, according to their promise most earnestly requested them of Buda to yeeld, for that they were not now to expect any further helpe, and that by their foolish obstinacy they should be the cause of the death of them, their friends, their wiues and children. Vnto whom also, to mooue them the more, the Lord *Nadasti* promised in the name of the Generall, That they should all excepting some of their chiefe commanders in safety depart. Howbeit they of Buda would not hearken thereunto, but stood still vpon their gard. In this city of Pesth, well inhabited with Turkish Merchants, the Christians found great store of wealth, which all became a prey vnto the souldiers, with a thousand horses for seruice, many great pieces of artillery, and much other warlike prouision.

The City of Pesth taken by the Christians.

Pesth thus woon, and a strong garrison left therein, they returned againe ouer the riuer to besiege the castle and vpper city of Buda, which they attempted by vndermining the same, as also by battery, hauing placed some of their great ordnance so high, that they could at their pleasure shoot into the middest of the streets of the city; wherewith they much troubled the Turks, not a little before discouraged with the losse of Pesth; thundering also at the same time with their other batteries in diuers places of the walls both of the castle and of the city. Where vnderstanding that the Turks garrisons of the frontier Townes and Castles thereabouts (hearing of the siege) were comming to the relieſe of their distressed friends, they sent out their horsemen with some part of their footmen against them: who meeting with them, gaue them a great ouerthrow, and so with victory returned againe vnto the rest of the Army lying at the siege, being still in hope either by force or composition to become Masters of the city.

The vpper city and castle of Buda besieged by the Christians.

But whilest they lay in this hope, and hauing the twelfth of October brought their approches neerer vnto the walls, had there planted certaine notable pieces of battery, with purpose the next day with all their power to haue assaulted the City; behold, the Visier Bassa hearing (by the way as he was going to Belgrade, and so to Constantinople) that the city of Pesth was

was won, and Buda besieged; changing his mind, returned in haste with such forces as he had yet left, and so vnlooked for came and set downe before Pesth, being not then aboue fiue and twenty thousand strong, but those all for the most part old and expert souldiers. But whilest the Bassa thus lay at the siege of Pesth on the one side of the riuer, and the Imperials at the siege of Buda on the other, diuers braue attempts were in both places giuen both on the one side and the other. The Christians in Pesth besieged by the Turks, hauing amongst them diuers braue captains, and desirous of honor, one day vnder their conduct sallied out of the city to skirmish with the Turks; and comming with them to the sword, by plaine valor disordered them, and enforced them to fly, & so allured with the sweetnesse of the victory, pursued them euen to the trenches: from whence a great squadron of the Turks horsemen and harquebusiers at the same instant issuing out, and with their multitude ouercharging the Imperials, constrained them of force to retire: in which retreat, County *Maximilian Martinengo* (one of these aduenturers) doing what he might both with his valour and direction to haue staied the disordered retreat of the Christians, was with many others slaine: wherewith the rest discouraged, tooke their refuge towards the city. Which they of the garrison beholding, sent out certaine companies to relieue them; by whose comming out, the fury of the Turks was not onely repressed, but they also euen vnto their trenches againe repulsed. Shortly after which hot skirmishes, the Lord *Russworm* with the other Christian Captaines on the other side of the riuer, hauing with continual battery made such a breach into the castle, as that the same seemed to be now saultable, in good order came on with certaine companies of their footmen appointed for that seruice, and so couragiously assailed the breach: where the Turks, who before had expected this assault, hauing in best sort they could repaired the breach, and on both sides thereof placed diuers murthering pieces, with great store of dangerous fire-workes; at such time as the first companies of the Christians fought couragiously to haue entred the breach, ouerwhelmed them with that deadly fire, and so rent them with their murthering shot, that they no faster entered, but that they were forthwith cut off and slaine: with the sight whereof, they which were appointed to second them, nothing discouraged, but seeking desperatly to haue entered, and with the taking of the castle, and slaughter of the Turks, to haue requited the death of their fellowes, were themselues in like sort welcommed. So that now a thousand of them being lost, the Captaines considering how much the losse of so many braue souldiers concerned the whole enterprise taken in hand, and that the breach could not be gained without the losse of the greatest part of them, they caused a retreat to be sounded, and so the assault for that time to be giuen ouer.

A notable skirmish betwixt the Christians and the Turks.

But long is was not that the Visier Bassa (thus retired as aforesaid) had lien before Pesth, but that by reason of his sudden returne, great wants began to arise in his camp; his souldiers for want of food being glad to eat their dead horses, a pound of bread being sold for two Hungarian Duckats, and a bushel of oates for fiue, and yet hardly so to be gotten: which wants in that so wasted a country still more and more encreasing, and many of his soldiers secretly stealing away from him, hee had much adoe by all the meanes he could vse, to persuade them there to stay eight daies longer. Which time expired, and nothing more done, than some few weake attempts giuen, and some light skirmishes made, rather for fashions sake than for any hope of preuailing; and the want of all things still encreasing: he with the rest of the Commanders fearing some sudden mischiefe to be done them by the hungry and discontented souldiers, the second of Nouember, causing his baggage to be trussed vp in the dead time of the darke and silent night, rise with his army, and so in haste retired directly to Belgrade, leauing behind him in his camp three hundred dead horses, not yet eaten by his hunger starued souldiers. Immediatly after whose departure, the Lord *Nadasti* and some other of the commanders in the army, with fiue thousand souldiers and certaine great pieces of artillery, some by land, some by water, went downe alongst the riuer to Adom, a faire well built towne vpon the banke of Danubius, about foure Hungarian miles from Buda, and serving as it were for a storehouse for the garrison there: Which towne *Nadasti* summoned by his Hussars sent before, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him. Which they of the towne at first refused to do: but afterwards seeing a far greater power come, prouided of great ordnance and all things else requisite for a siege, they with the sight thereof discouraged, without more adoe offered

The Visier Bassa raiseth his siege.

to

to yeeld the towne, so that they might with bag and baggage in safety depart: which they did, G
the Christians conducting them as far as Feldwar, which castle was also at the first summons;
by the persuasion of them of Adom deliuered vnto them: for they of the castle, by them en-
formed of the great strength of the Christians, and of the store of great ordnance they had
brought with them, and that they staied therewith but fast by, were easily persuaded to hear-
ken to their friends, and so yeelded. Which done, the free Haiducks the same night surprised
also the castle of Pax: from whence the Christians still marching on alongst the riuer, tooke
in also the city of Tolna.

But whilest *Nadasti* with the rest were thus busied in taking these castles and towns alongst
the South side of Danubius, they in the camp at Buda were aduertised of the new designes of
the Turks Lieutenants and Captaines thereabout, for the reliefe of the besieged: as that the H
Bassa of Bosna, with the Gouernours of Canisia, Sigeth, and others, had assembled an army of
thirty thousand for the raising of the siege. Wherefore the Christians doubting as they lay
at the siege dispersed, to be by them oppressed; leauing their tents in their trenches, gathered
themselues together into the Water-city: which the Turks out of the vpper city quickly per-
ceiuing, as feeling themselues now at some more liberty, presently sallying out, took both the
trenches and the tents so left, with no small slaughter of such as were left for the keeping of
them: and so possessed of the trenches and the tents, held them by the space of two houres,
vntill they were by strong hand by the Christians beaten out, and so with some losse inforced
againe to retire into the city. The Lord *Nadasti* also, with the rest that had taken the aforesaid
castles and towns vpon the side of Danubius, making a rode towards Alba-Regalis, in their re- I
turn within a mile of Buda light vpon a thousand Turks there gathered together, most part of
whom they slew, and hauing put the rest to flight, took some fifty of them prisoners. At which
time also another of the Imperiall Colonels meeting with certaine other companies of the
Turks comming to the reliefe of the besieged, not far from Buda, slew most part of them, took
an hundred and threescore of them prisoners, with a number of horses and much other rich
booty, all which he brought into the campe. Neither were they at the siege in the meane time
idle, their great artillery still thundering against the walls both of the castle and the city: so
that by the fury of the cannon hauing beaten downe a strong tower next vnto the Danubius,
not far from the kings stable, they were a little before night about to haue there entered, when
suddenly such a tempest of winde and raine arise, as that they could not possibly vse their pie- K
ces, or well any other weapon: so that the heauens as it were then fighting for the enemy, they
were enforced for that time to giue ouer the assault begun. Which storme was no sooner en-
ded, but that two thousand of the Turks both horse and foot, to keepe the Christians other-
wise busied, suddenly issuing out of the city, charged vpon the Stirian horsemen; who present-
ly relieued by the men at armes, so welcommed them, that hauing lost an hundred and three-
score of their men, they were glad with more speed to retire, than they came out. But seeing
some of the Christians that so hardly pursued them, some slaine, and some hurt from the wals;
taking heart againe, the next day (being the eleuenth of Nouember) they sallied out againe;
where albeit that a great number of them were slaine, yet fell they out againe the third day al-
so, and were againe by the County *Thurne* with great losse of their men beaten backe into L
the city: where in pursuing of them, the Christians were by certaine Ianizaries (laid close for
that purpose) suddenly assailed and dangerously gauled, the County himselfe being hurt in
his left arme, and some other Captaines slaine. In all which sallies, although the Turks were
still put to the worse, yet thereby they gained time in some good sort to repaire againe their
breaches.

Shortly after, the Imperials thus lying at the siege, certainly enformed that a world of the
fierce and rude Tartars by the incitement of the Turke (hauing made themselues way through
Valachia) were comming as far as Temeswar to relieue Buda; thought it not best (especially
now that Winter was come) to abide the comming of that so great a Northerne tempest, but
betimes whilest they had yet space, to raise their siege and be gone: Which they did the six- M
teenth of Nouember, leauing the Water city, with all that they had got about Buda, againe
vnto the enemy: onely Pesth they furnished with victuals and all things else necessary, lea-
uing therin almost ten thousand soldiers in garrison, for the defence therof against the barba-
rous

The siege of Buda for feare of the Tartars giuen ouer by the Christians.

A rous enemy. As for Adom it was strengthened with a garrison of Hungarians only, with their
wages offred to be paid before hand; which for all that, they refused to accept; alledging that
for the great danger this place was exposed vnto aboue others, they could not safely take their
oath for the defence thereof: yet offering withall to vndertake the charge, and to do what be-
seemed valiant soldiers, in such sore as that all men should well vnderstand, that nothing euill
should happen thereunto through their default or negligence.

The siege of Buda for feare of the Tartars thus giuen ouer, and the Imperials departed and
gone, the Turks forthwith came downe out of the higher city into the lower, declaring their
joy for the recouery thereof, by the often thundring of their great ordnance, with diuers other
signes of triumph. But whilest in their jolity they spared not by the mouth of the cannon to
B send commendation to them of Pesth, they from them againe receiued the like; but in such
rude manner, that the Turks wearied with such greetings, requested them to spare their shot
and pouder, and quietly to liue by them as became neighbors for that Winter, vntill the next
Spring, at which time it was to be thought that this strife should be ended by their Emperors,
the weaker yeelding vnto the stronger either the one or the other city. Yet for all this their
great joy, their cheere in Buda was not great, victuals by this siege being become so scarce,
that it was by the Turks feared, That if the Christians had there longer lien, they should for
very want haue been enforced to haue yeelded the city. Of which their need their friends not
ignorant, and hauing made what prouision they were able for their reliefe, were with a great
conuoy bringing the same towards Buda: whereof the garrisons of Comara and Strigonium
C hauing intelligence, went presently out, and meeting with the Turks in the mid way betwixt
Alba-Regalis and Buda, ouerthrew the conuoy, and carried away all that prouision of victu-
als; like vnbidden guests making themselues merry with that which was neuer prouided for
them.

These doubtfull wars of Hungary, with the general reuolt of Transyluania much troubled *Mahomet* the great Sultan; but nothing like vnto the wars he had in Asia against the *Scriuano* and the rebels his followers; the euill successe whereof (as most dangerous to his State) so much tormented his haughty minde, as that it would scarce suffer him to thinke of any thing els. For the Rebel encouraged with the successe of the last yeares wars, and stil growing stron-
ger and stronger, (by reason of the great number which, allured with the sweet name of liber-
D ty, hope of prey, or the good entertainment by him giuen, dayly more and more resorted vnto
his campe) had this yeare ouerrun a great part of the Turks dominions in Asia, putting all to
fire and sword that stood in his way, ransacking also diuers walled and fenced cities by the way
as he went. Which he might the more easily do, for that the Ianizaries of Aleppo and Dama-
sco, with many other their partakers and fauorits, which might greatly haue hindred his pro-
ceedings, were at the same time also vp in armes, and together by the ears amongst themselues,
to the great benefit of the *Scriuano*: who in the midst of the course of these his desired fortunes
fell sicke of a natural disease, and so died. By whose death the rebellion was no whit appeased,
(as commonly in like case it falleth out, and as was then of many expected) but in short time
grew to be both far greater and more dangerous than before: for the *Scriuano* was no sooner
E dead, but that a younger brother of his, no lesse warlike & couragious than himself (to the great
contentment of the rebellious) stept vp in his place, fiercely prosecuting the wars his brother
had before him taken in hand. Against whom *Hassan Bassa* by commandement from the grand
Seignior with a great army setting forward, with hope in that newnesse of his command to
haue oppressed him, and so to haue quenched that so spreading a fire; at length met with him,
that was easie enough to be found, and joyning battell with him, was by him in a great and
bloudy fight ouerthrowne and slaine together with his whole army, except such as by speedy
flight saued themselues from the fury of their fierce enemies. So that *Mahomet* the great Sul-
tan now enforced to employ his best commanders and soldiers into those parts for the subdu-
F ing of him, for that cause called *Mahomet* the Visier Bassa out of Hungary to serue against
this new Rebell: who in the meane time following the course of his victory, made hauocke of
all as he went, taking vnto his owne vse all such tribute as was in those Countries and others
also farther off, due vnto the great Sultan, hauing of late exacted onely of the city of Ancyra
and

Mahomet much troubled with the Scriuano.

The death of the Scriuano.

The Scriuano his younger brother takes vpon him the leading of the Rebels in his brothers stead.

Hassan Bassa slaine, and his army ouerthrowne by the Rebels.

and the country thereabout, three hundred thousand duckats: so by exacting of great summes of mony from the country people (such as be his enemies) heaping vp great treasures for the maintenance of his wars,

Diuers incursions of the Tartars into the frontiers of the Emperours territories, and much harme by them there done.

Now that *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperor had called home *Mahomet* the Visier Bassa out of Hungary, to go against the Rebels in Asia, (as is aforesaid) yet had he before prouided, that for the better assurance of his townes and territories in Hungary, the Tartar *Han* with a great power of his Crim Tartars should euen against that time come downe into that countrey. Which rough and needy people dwelling neere vnto the fennes of Mœtis, for pay or prey alwaies ready to do the *Othoman* Emperors seruice, setting forward vnder the leading of their great *Han* himselfe, and of his two sonnes, and by plaine force breaking through Valachia, though not without great losse of their men (being fought with by the Valachians and free Haiducks a whole day) were now in the later end of December with their huge companies come into Hungary; the *Han* himselfe with forty thousand to Quinque Ecclesiæ, and his sons with twenty thousand moe into Possega (a fertile Countrey lying betweene the great riuers Savus and Dravus) where they spoiled all as well the Turks as the other poore Christians, pretending all that frontier country with the whole command thereof to be giuen vnto them by *Mahomet* the Turkish Emperor in reward of their good seruice. But long they lay not there quiet, but that to shew for what they came, they enforced the Christians thereabout to victual Canisia for the Turks: and so breaking into Stiria, not far from Caramant (the neerest Fortresse of the Christians towards Canisia) carried away aboue two thousand Christians captiues: and shortly after surprising Keschemet a great and populous towne, slew most part of the inhabitants, and carried away the rest prisoners. Other some of them also at the same time making an inrode to Sharuar, and hauing burnt twenty villages downe to the ground, carried away thence about a thousand soules into most miserably captiuity and thraldome. They also at their first comming relieued them of Buda, the Lord *Nadasti* with his Hussars, who before kept them from victuals, not being able for the great number of them, now longer so to do. By them also the Turks encouraged, tooke and burnt certaine places possessed by the Christians neere vnto Buda, putting them all to the sword that they found therin. So that the poore country of Hungary (neuer to be sufficiently pittied) with the rest of the countries and prouinces belonging vnto the house of Austria, and confining vpon the Turke, were not so much eased by the calling home of the Visier Bassa with his army, as they were now annoyed by the comming of these roguish Tartars, a people wholly euen from their infancy giuen to the spoyle. Against whom for all that, the Christians beside their ordinary garrisons, began now euen in the depth of Winter to oppose some other of their forces also: the Palatine of Rhine sending ten companies of horsemen to Possonium, from thence to be sent to Sharuar for the defence of Stiria: and *Collonitz* (but lately knighted by the Emperour) for his part raising foure hundred horse, a thousand Hussars, and three thousand of the free Hiaducks for the repressing of those Tartars: the Duke of Brunsewicke also at that time for the same seruice sending thither a thousand horse with two thousand foot, against those sworne Enemies of the Christian Religion.

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THE

THE troubles of this year thus ouerpast, Alba Regalis being by the Christians lost, Pesth with some other places won, Transylvania recouered, Buda besieged, the Visier Bassa returned, and the Tartars come into Hungary; Ianuary with a sharp frost began to open the next yeare, by force wherof the riuers in many places, but especially in those more Easterly countries, were not only frozen ouer, but seemed rather euen wholly turned into Ice: Danubius that great riuer, for all his swift course, being then also, as it is often, so hard frozen, that men and carts might safely passe to and fro thereupon. Which so hard a season for all that, did no whit freese but rather increase the hot desires of the greedy Turks, still breathing after the vtter spoil and ruin of the Christians dwelling neer vnto them. For which purpose they euen in this dead time of the year, and extremity of weather (which commonly affordeth vnto most mortal enemies a cessation from arms) out of their garrisons of Sigeth, Buda, Canisia, Alba-Regalis, Babotz, and such other places, raised an army of eighteen thousand strong, to haue forraged and ouer-runne the Christians, with their territories confining vpon them; Quermanie with the Countrey therabout being the places by them assigned to haue felt the first force of their sudden rage and fury.

1603.

The Turkes in arms against the Christians.

Of these their designes *Collonitz* Gouernor for the Emperor in those parts vnderstanding, to preuent the same, & to meet with their forces, with al speed put into the suburbs of Quermanie a thousand Reisters, and two thousand Lansquenets; and in the burroughs thereabouts laded the regiment of the County *Reingraue* with six companies of Cossacks, four thousand Haiducks, four hundred Carabins, French, and Wallons, two hundred horse of the Regiment of *Collonitz*; with whom was *Collonitz* himself, commanding ouer all these troups: a man for his worth euery way answerable vnto his charge. Who for the more assurance of this Countrey, ouer which the enemy now houered, commanded all the inhabitants therabout to take vp arms; and withall, with good and strong barricado's to strengthen the waies, and to stop vp the passages into their country: which they right cheerfully performed, with their weapons in the one hand, and their spades and shouels in the other. Of which their so great resolution the Turkes vnderstanding, changed their purpose. For they considering the assured danger they were to vndergo in forcing of these troups, standing vpon the walls of their defence, and strong in their resolution, changed their former designe for the inuading of Quermany, where they by the space of fiue weeks together had bin by the Christians expected; and vpon a new resolution marched along by Roquesbourg, with purpose to haue loded themselues with the spoil of the country therabout.

Collonitz preparetb against the Turks.

This their new designe caused *Collonitz* to gather his forces together, to crosse and frustrat them therin. Which he did by fauor of the riuer, which both strengthned him against their incursions, and was wel to be defended. But the Turkes, whose purpose was not to fight, but to haue robbed and spoiled the country at their pleasure; finding now contrary to their expectation such strong resistance, and their designes disturbed, in fine gaue ouer their enterprise and so again retyred; contenting themselues to haue gathered a conuoy of victuals to put into Canisia, which then lay in great extremity for want therof. Which victuals they drew out of the villages therabout, and became to Babotz to march to Canisia, a town most commodious for such an assembly, and for the relieuing of Canisia. Of this their purpose *Collonitz* (who spared for no cost) by his espials aduertised, euen hee which before was appointed as a prey vnto his enemies, began now to plot with himselfe, that they should become a prey vnto him: their cowardise, by many precedent effects declared, had giuen him the mean to aduenture vpon them, and the hope to ouerthrow them. A necessary consideration in martiall affairs, for Commanders to put in execution their designes, at what price soeuer: for that it is better to lose in the performance of them, with preseruation of their reputation, than otherwise to gain with the losse therof; for that it preserued, still striketh a fear of their valour into the minds of their enemies, oftentimes ouercome euen with this their apprehension thereof: whereas otherwise they might haply ouercome, in the assurance by them conceiued of their enemies cowardise.

Vpon which resolution this braue Colonell the four and twentieth day of March with his Troupes marched towards the little Comara, being about two leagues from Canisia, and lay

with

with them close in ambush in the woods neer vnto two marishes, ouer which the Turkes had made two bridges to passe the great artillery and Waggons vpon; the Turks being well neer 20000 strong, and our men but 2200 horsmen, & 6000 foot, a smal number in comparison of their enemies. But whilst that these men lie thus close in ambush, with a purpose to do some notable exploit, let vs for a while return to Pesth, to see what things there passed in the mean time.

The Turks after the losse of Pesth, much grieued to haue this impostume so neer vnto their hearts, sought to break it to our hurt, imploying all their treachery to gain our garison souldiers, and with their forces to distresse them of victuals. And the Christian Army was no sooner risen from before Buda, but that the Turkes came downe again into their base towne, which they found much ruinated and in euill estate: but the joy of their conquest buried in it all the obiect of their sorrow, and the feeling of their grief; the lesser passions alwaies giuing place vnto the greater, and sorrow finding no place at all in the midst of their immoderat joy. Wherof they gaue a number of testimonies, by the thundering of their great ordnance, by fires of joy, and vollies of small shot; all which in their fury they discharged vpon them of Pesth: who with the like curtesie requited them, sending them back again bullets for bullets. Which now became a common exercise among the canoniers, passing the time in these actions, more vpon a brauery than to any purpose, small harm being don therby either on the one side or on the other: in such sort, that in the end the Turks better aduised, requested our men to cease from such shooting, as they on their part would do likewise, and to expect the end of the negotiation of peace, of a certain begun (as they said) betwixt their two princes. But purposing indeed by this means to spare their pouder, shot, & pains, and to reserue them to their better vses.

Buda distressed for want of victuals.

And yet for all this triumphant ioy, the Turks in Buda were in great want of victuals, the late siege hauing deuoured all their prouisions, and no new supply thereof as yet come vnto them: insomuch that their greatest care was now how to come by victuals, without which they must needs forsake the city. Of which their so great necessities the other garrisons in the places therabout aduertised, assembled themselues to take order therfore; and hauing prouided 200 wagons loden with all maner of necessary prouisions at Alba-Regalis, with a conuoy of six thousand soldiers put themselues vpon the way toward Buda. Of all which their proceedings the garrison of Strigonium hauing got vnderstanding, and joining vnto them the garrison of Comara, met with them vpon the way betwixt Alba-Regalis, and charged them; and so with great confidence came on both sides to handy blowes, the Turkes beeing in number stronger, and our men in valour and resolution; the Waggons in the meane time standing still as the motiue of the charge, and appointed for a prey vnto the Victors. But our horsmen being for most part Hussars, wel acquainted with such charges, with their diuers courses greatly troubled the enemy; our footmen in the mean time charging them also with a number of harquebusiers. Against whom the Turkes with the same arms and like courage defending themselues, but many of them being slaine, and their Wagons gained from them, they were forced to giue place, and so were almost all cut in pieces. The Waggons thus surprised, were diuided as a rich booty among the Victors; forty wherof were sent to the garison at Pesth, who were wel content that the enemies trauell and wealth had bin gathered for their good, and without any pains of their own, to solace themselues with the fruit of their enemies labours.

The Turkes ouerthrown by the Christians.

But what should we say? the most sure resolutions are somtimes by chances crossed, and tempests otherwhiles ouertake vs euen in the very entrance of the desired port. The Turks of Buda vnderstanding of the brute of this medley, and that it was for their bread, posted in all haste to haue succoured their Troupes, and artiued at the same time that our men victoriously led alongst by the riuer of Danubius the Waggons which they had before gained. At the sight of which object they animated with hunger after the victuals, and with desire to be reuenged vpon them, fiercely charged them. So that our men, who thought of nothing more, but that they were victorious and possessed of their enemies booty, seeing these new come Enemies so furiously to charge them, daunted with the present peril, and with the consideration thereof only possessed, bethought themselues of nothing else but how to saue themselues, and

and to leaue their honour, booty, and the field, all as spoiles vnto their enemies. The furious countenance of the Turkes, and their number surmounting ours by 1500, so bereft them of their resoluton for to fight for their liues and waggons, as that they without more adoe quite forsook them, accounting themselues happy enough if they might but saue themselues. And the Turks without farther pursuing of them, contented to haue recouered their victuals, left them, and so returned homeward, driuing their waggons along the banke of Danubius. But see, the winde which by and by changed, and hauing as it were with a sudden tempest vnderta-ken euen at the entrance of the port to swallow vp both the one and the other, sent the garrison of Pesth vpon them of Buda to stay them. Great changes of fortune in one moment of time, which mocketh men with shewes, bringing forth effects quite contrary to their expectation. These Turks staid vpon their retreat by the comming of these new come aduersaries, did euen as ours had done before. For not willing to prefer their goods before their life, and more greedy of victuall than of battel, they quitted their prize, and retyred. For our men in number two thousand, were seized of a forrest about the midst of the way whereby the Turks were to passe, & which they could by no means shun; and diuided into two companies; kept themselues close there in ambush, resolutely attending for the comming of their enemies. Of which their purpose the Turks not aware, and stil pressing on forward, found themselues hardly charged, before they could see them by whom they were so charged; one of our companies charging them afront, and the other behind. So that the Turks inclosed betwixt them, and in so great and sudden a fear not knowing against whom to defend themselues without any great resistance betooke themselues to flight, leauing their wagons, and casting away their armes; yet so, that a number of them were left dead vpon the place, some others of them taken prisoners, and the rest chased euen vnto the gates of the City. But our men being victors, with the waggons, and a number of prisoners returned home, and by the mouth of their great artillerie gaue a thousand testimonies of their victory vnto the sorrowfull cowards, who themselues also carried the heauy newes thereof vnto the rest of their fellowes shut vp within the City of Buda.

But see again the change of Fortune, constant only in vnconstancie, as the sequell shortly after shewed. Danubius that great riuer was then also (as it is often) so hard frozen, that men and carts might now safely passe too and fro thereupon. In which so hard season, the Turks in garrison at Buda hauing once vpon the frozen riuer braued the Christians in Pesth, and the two and twentieth of Ianuary in like brauery comming out the second time, were by the garrison soldiers of Pesth put to flight; and by two hundred of the most forward and valiant soldiers hardly pursued, vpon whom, not only they which fled, but other of the Turks also out of Buda in greater number returning, chased them likewise back again euen to the bridge, wherby they were to haue passed into the City: which now drawne vp for feare of greater harme from such a number of Turks as were now come out, and were ready to haue entred at the heeles of the flying soldiers; the poore soules so shut out, and too weake for such a multitude as then had them in chase, were there euen in their friends sight euery man slaine, the Turks themselues with little harme returning to Buda.

The garrison soldiers of Pesth ouerthrowne.

Neither long lasted the ioy of this victory: for within a few days after, one *Lethner* a Captaine of the Christian garrison in Pesth, more grieued than the rest with the losse of so many valiant men, and some of them his friends and companions also; certainly vnderstanding that certaine of the chiefe of the Turks of Buda, with two of their greatest Commanders, and a great traine of gallant Gentlewomen, were for their pleasure the next day about to goe vnto the hot Bathes neere vnto Buda; and taking with him threescore musketiers, the night before secretly vpon the yce passed ouer the Riuer, and so not faire from the Bathes lay close in ambush, expecting the comming of their desired prey. In which expectance they lay not long, but that these Turks casting no peril, came accordingly as they could haue wished, and in those pleasant Bathes merrily bathed and solaced themselues: Fooles to seeke after the pleasures of peace amidst the gulfe of the miseries of warres, and euill aduised, to assure themselues of faire weather in a storme so neere at hand. For in the midst of all their delights these resolute men came suddenly vpon them, not fearing any such

The Turkes in bathing themselues at Buda, by them of Pesth surprised and slaine.

such danger, and slew all the men, sparing none but one boy and the Gentlewomen: who in the time of the conflict, naked as they were, ran as fast as they could into the city; fear hauing in them ouercome as then the modesty of their sex. Which exployt done, the Captain leauing the Turks slain in the bath (now become red with their bloud) returned with his souldiers laded with the rich booty, and merrily sporting at the naked gentlewomen. With whose fearfull cry they of Buda stirred vp, sent out certaine of their garrison after them, but to no purpose, for why, they were in safety before got home. By continuance of this frost (by reason wherof victuals could not be sent down the riuer) the garrison souldiers of Pesth were driuen to such wants, as that dogs and cats were accounted good meat among them, the Turks their enemies still roaming about the fields, to keep them from victuals, and to increase their necessitie.

Great want of victuals in Pesth.

Of these necessities the Turks of Buda were partakers also, hunger-starued like the other, but yet euery day in the field to seek relief. They knew right wel that hunger was hard to be deceiued, being stil in action and vigilant; and therfore they sought some means how to deceiue our men stil attending vpon them, & so to assure themselues of victuals. To which end they gaue it out, and made shew as if they would haue besieged the fort of Adom, distant about two leagues from Buda: vnder colour wherof they receiued into their city a Conuoy of fifty wagons laded with victuals and munition, which our men hindred not, as hauing no suspition of any such purpose of theirs. With which reliefe the Turks incouraged, gaue knowledge therof vnto their ouerthwart neighbors in Pesth by a thousand great shot, which they in thundering manner sent ouer the riuer vnto them, as men of courage, and deuoid of feare. Howbeit that this action was more vain than profitable vnto the Turks, who for the dispence of their shot and pouder gained not so much as the life of one souldier, not one shot out of the walls of Pesth. Vpon this jolitie these same garrison souldiers of Buda shortly after thought vpon the sudden to haue surprised Palotta, a small castle of the Christians, by night. But being in good time discouered, they were deceiued of their hope, and with the losse of an hundred and twenty of their men inforced to retyre: vnto whom *Gasper Hornad* captain of the castle, by a country peasant before sworn to do the errand, sent a little pot ful of salt, & a bottle of wine; willing them in derision, with that salt to season the Venison they had taken in their late hunting, and with that bottle to quench their thirst, and to cheer them vp after their late conquest.

Buda victualled.

This jeast did more prouoke these Enemies, galled so to heare of their shame and losse; in such sort, that in reuenge thereof they discharged a thundring shoure of great shot and small bullets vpon the garrison of Pesth, which in great aboundance fell out of the cloud of their rage. But all to small purpose, for that their Cannons being euill leuelled, ouershot the Towne, carrying with their thundering bullets more feare than they did hurt, yea, that which worse was, the ruine made by their great battery fell vpon their owne City. For whilst they were thus thundering, fire by the negligence of the Cannoniers fell into one of their barrels of pouder, which taking hold of another, and so running along as if it had beene by a traine made of purpose, burst out with such force, that it ouerthrew a long piece in the walls of Buda, which in the fall thereof ouerwhelmed a great number of the souldiers that were neere vnto it. The noise of this thunder-clap was great, and the force thereof terrible, so that it reuiued them of Pesth with some good hope, by this breach to force the place, the Turks being from thence retyred. Vpon which occasion the Gouernour of Pesth resolued to giue an assault vnto the place, and to make vse of the mean that Fortune, without his paine or trauell, had put into his hand. Wherupon taking with him a thousand Albanises and three hundred Hungarians, he forthwith in hope of good successe marched toward the breach, and happily had preuailed, but that by the way they by chance met with a company of Turkes, who gaue an alarm vnto them of the vpper town, who vpon that bruit of their approach, mained their walls, and with great speed repaired the breach. Now all that they of Pesth could do, was to reuenge themselues vpon those Turkes they had met withall, who were there all slaine saue some few, whom they saued and carried prisoners to Pesth, to be by them instructed of the Enemies affairs.

About

About this time *Radul* Vayuod of Valachia, aduertised that the Turks in garrison at Sillstria were gon abroad into the country to seek after booty and victuals, with his soldiers passed forthwith ouer the riuer Danubius vpon the ice, to surprise the town bared of the garison: whose men for the desire of the riches of the place, & for fear lest the garrison soldiers should return before they had gained the place, with redoubled force & courage so assailed the town, that the Turks dismaied, and deeming the number of the Christians that so furiously assailed them to be greater than indeed it was, by reason of the greatnes of the enterprise by them taken in hand; after some small resistance, left the way open for them to enter: Who forthwith ouer the dead bodies of their enemies thrust into the town, took the whole spoil therof, which was both great & rich, as being a town well peopled; and so set fire on it, to the intent it should no more serue as a place for the enemy to retyre vnto. The Vayuod thus victorious and rich, returned with his soldiers laded with spoiles of their enemies, before the Turks could gather themselues together to hinder their retreit. And vnto *George Basta* (who was then in Transylvania in arms against the Turks) for his part of the booty he sent him thirteen of the enemies Ensignes.

Silistria spoild and burnt.

But our troupes are now too long in their ambush, where the valiant *Collonitz* holds them close, attending the comming of the Turkes and of their Conuoy to Canisia; now we must draw them out of their Sentinels, and see what effects their designes shall bring forth. These braue souldiers had now lien three daies in their ambushes without discouering of any Enemy; vntill that the sixth day of March three Spies fel into their hands, whom the Turks had sent forth before, to discouer what enemies were then abroad in the field. But these faithful Infidels so taken, would not by any meanes discouer any thing hurtfull vnto their friends, or profitable for ours. So that in fine, the General mooued with their obstinacy, commaunded one of their heads to be strook off, to terrifie the other two, and by force to draw from them what by faire intreaty and persuasion they could not. The other two that were yet aliue, dismayed with this spectacle, and well beaten to tell the truth, were at last constrained to confesse, That they were the enemies Spies, sent forth to view the Countrey, to see if the Christians had any forces there, able to hinder their Cannons and Wagons for entring into Canisia. Which not appearing, and they reporting vnto their Companies that the Country was clear, that then within two daies after, the Conuoy was to passe euen by the same place where they then lay, to be put into Canisia, setting forth from Babotz two houres before day. Our men thus resolued of the enemies designes, forced their hope to defeat them, and again retired themselues into their ambuscado's, attending for their hoped prey, in such sort, that our men in their conceits held the victory now as good as already gained, howbeit that it was yet but in hope and expectation. And that which more confirmed the matter, was, that within two hours after the taking of these spies, the Haiducks, layd without the principall ambuscado, and hidden within the thickets and bushes, discouered a Cornet of horsemen, with fiue ensignes of the Turks come out of Canisia, marching to meet with the Conuoy, in safety to conduct the same into the towne. At which ouerture the Hungarians awaked, gaue knowledge vnto their Generall of the arriuall of the enemy, to the end he might resolue what was best in that case to be done. Which opportunity *Colonitz* embracing, and making much of time, put his horsmen in good order, to inclose the Turks betwixt the marish & the wood, and to cut them so inclosed, in pieces. The Turks hauing discouered nothing but the marishes & the woods, held on their way, and so as men hauing their hands and feet bound, fell into the power of their enemies. For being come into the danger, the Christian Carabins charged them in the head of their companies as they marched, & disordered them: the Hungarians fel vpon their flanks, which they opened; and the horsmen pressed them at their backs. These poor miserable men so inclosed, not knowing against whom first to defend themselues, and seeing death vpon euery side of them, became as beasts to bee sacrificed vnto the fury of the Christians. The small resistance that they made deserued not the name of a fight, being all slaine, and hauing themselues not slain one man; layd by heapes one vpon another, not hauing ouerthrown so much as the of their enemies. In such sort, that of six hundred men that were there together, there were not foure of them saued. Their horsemen which followed them, seeing they were surprised, in stead of relieuing them, shamefully fled; and thinking by flight to saue them-

The Turkes ouerthrown by Collonitz.

themselues while that their companions were in massacring, preferred their liues before their G
honour; for if it be a shame for soldiers in fight to fly with the safety of their friends, it must needs be an irrepairable dishonour to fly away and leaue them vnto the slaughter. But our Carabins taking the occasion for their aduantage, no more spared their horses in the pursuit of these Infidels, than they had don their hands in defeating their fellows: but hastily pursuing these fugitiues, slew a number of such of them as were worst mounted, and followed the rest euen to the gates of Canisia. Those of the town at this tumult raised an alarm, shot off their great artillery, and discharged many vollies of small shot against our men, as wel to stay their pursuit & to saue their own, as to giue them warning that were to bring the conuoy, that our men were ready in the field to surprise them. But during this fight, three of the Turkes stout horsmen passing well mounted, aduentured to passe by our troups, and vpon the spur to H
meet with them that were bringing the conuoy, and to giue them warning of the ouerthrow, that so they might again return to Babotz. Which their so braue an attempt fortune fauoured, as not willing to frustrat the desert of so worthy valour. Wherfore vpon this aduertisement they returned, and retyred themselues againe into the Castle of Babotz from whence they came.

Babotz in vain besieged by Collonitz.

But our men aduertised of this their retreit, and as it were deceiued of their hope for intercepting of the conuoy, vndertook an exploit much more haughty, braue and dangerous: for forthwith they made head toward Babotz, with a resolution to carry the place; and although they were almost sixteen miles from it, yet they resolued to goe thither, and to make themselues masters therof. And so marching cheerfully on, therin vsed such diligence, that about I
nine a clock at night they arriued at the place: whithes they were no sooner come, but that they did what they might to daunt their enemies, to make their conquest the more easie. The greatnes of the attempt it self serued well to that purpose, but yet the beleef more, if they could driue into the enemies mind the sufficiencie of their forces, for the performance of so great an exploit; which caused them to sound their trumpets, to strike vp their drummes, to remoue their artillery, to ruffle with their arms, to keep a stir with their soldiers, and to make the noise not of a small, but of a puissant and great army. But the Turks in number twice so many as were our men, and within a good and strong place, were not with such a bruit to bee carried away, but standing fast vpon their gard and resolution, prepared themselues for fight, and how to receiue our men if they should attempt to assail them. Now whilest the alarmes K
thus sounded, our companies aduanced, repeating oftentimes the name of *Iesus*, and making themselues ready for to fight. This skirmish began with a thousand cannon shot, which the Turks out of the castle deliuered vpon the troops of the Christians, and their muskets still playing from the curtain of their walls, so that the castle seemed as if it had bin a mountain of fire. All which terrors no whit staied the hope of our resolute footmen, who thwarting these flaming showrs, marched along the counterscarpe of the ditch towards the gate of the towne, to haue broken open and forced the same. The Turkes at the same time were come forth out of the towne, making shew as if they would haue sallied forth vpon our men and haue fought with them. But at the same instant that they charged the front of our footmen, they were by them so encountred and beaten backe, that hauing lost some of their men, they E
were glad again to retyre into the town. Where they indeauored to defend themselues, not daring afterwards to fight without the fauor of their walls: within which it stood them vpon to haue both courage and power, being still furiously assailed by our men, who planted vpon the town ditch, with their muskets and harquebuses so plied the Turkes vpon their walls and in their holds, as that they durst not shew themselues or looke out; for the showres of lead which they thundred vpon them. And assuredly, if our men had then had instruments whereby with to haue opened the gates or the wals, as wel as their muskets and harquebuses had made a breach into the resolution of the Turks, the town had vndoubtedly bin ours. But this design being not before foreseen, neither intended, wanted the means to put it in execution; so that for want of petards and scaling ladders the place remained still the Turkes, and saued it self M
out of our hands. In fine, our men hauing been four houres in fight before it, both doing and receiuing harm, and finding no means to enter the place, were inforced to sound a retreit, and to leaue it.

In

A In this retreat the Christians burnt certain villages of the enemies, rather to shew they had bin there, than for any other valor therin; seeing that things insencible, which follow the order of their nature, are without offence, and they which hurt them, without reason. This done, they of purpose returned to little Comara; for the long time that they had kept the field, the diuers exploits of them don against the enemies, and the common report of the Vanquished, had stirred vp the enemies, so that they began now on euery side by heaps to flock together, to swallow them vp, and euen now pressed vp their retreit. So *Collonitz* in despight of the enemy, in safety brought back his soldiers; and being entred into Comara, caused the heads of the chief of the slain Turkes to be set vpon the pikes of the palisado's, and vpon a great Pine tree standing before the gate, which for this purpose had almost all the branches lopped off.

B An action learned from the cruelty of the Turkes, and now don by the Christians, more to astonish and deter them from this their cruel custom, than for any glory or profit insuing therby; seeing that to tyrannise vpon a dead body, is but a signe of cowardise, and an action altogether vnprofitable.

This done, our men departed from this Castle, as men worne and almost spent with trauel and wearinesse, but yet more with famine. For why, they thinking to haue executed but that designe which had put them in armes, and that in so short a time also, had taken no prouision of victuals with them; so that they were all pined with hunger, ouercome with watching, and halfe dead with labour. Their horses also in like sort languished, the Countrey beeing alike cruell both to the one and to the other. For besides that it was vnfruitfull vnto such as kept C
the field (all the fruits therof being gathered together and carried into the towns by the men of War) it was not possible for our men to forrage, or to seeke for victuals there, and to come to an happy end of their designe; for that they had raised an alarm abroad in the Countrey, and so perhaps might themselues haue become a prey vnto them whom they thought to prey vpon. Which was the cause that our souldiers had for the space of three days eaten nothing but Crabbes and Acornes which they found in the Woods which couered their ambushes; so that being now come into this Castle, they deuoured a world of victuals, and requested euery one of them to returne vnto their owne garrisons; their bodies weakened with hunger, being scarce able to beare their Armes. But that was not all; for departing from little Comara, they were aduertised, That the Turkes had shut vp all the wayes whereby they were to D
make their retreit home; in hope easily to ouercome men already with hunger brought low, and to kill the bodies which trauell had already spent. Howbeit the great courage of our men frustrated his the enemies designe, and saued themselues. And so farre off was it that this aduertisement dismayed *Collonitz*, that euen to the contrary it the more increased his courage, as appointed for his glory; being glad to haue such an occasion offered vnto him for the shewing of his valour, although it were thorow the middest of danger, death, and slaughter. So that in stead of shunning the combat, whereas it was reported, That the Turks with great assurance marched neere vnto a Castle of the Christians, to make head vpon a passage whereby our men were to retyre; he suddenly turned head toward the same place, with a firm resolution, with true valour vnexpectedly to encounter the enemy, which had thought to *The great courage of Collonitz.*
E haue surprised him by cowardise. And the souldiers weakened with hunger, although they well apprehended the danger of this designe; yet resting vpon the great resolution of their worthy Generall, and considering the necessity they had to go farther for their safety, vpon a good courage were content to follow whithersoeuer their Generall would: who led them directly to the aforesaid Castle, where it was expected that the Turkes should haue charged them. But being come thither there was no body to be seene, and yet our men, as hungry as they were, stayd there one day in ambush, expecting the comming of their enemies; who for all that, hauing no mind to meet them, appeared not, but gaue them time and liberty in safety to retyre themselues euery man into his owne garrison, to refresh themselues, and to recouer their strength.

F But now whilest our men of Warre after these troubles in Transylvania and Hungary, repose themselues; let vs in the mean time take our journey to Constantinople, and goe to the marriage of *Hassan Bassa* one of the Vifiers of the grand Seignior, and the last year General of his army in Hungary.

At

At such time as he departed from this great city, to go vnto the conquest of Alba-Regalis, G
Mahomet the Turkish Emperour, resolued to set all vpon the regaining of this city, caused to
be presented vnto him a Crowne and a Sword; the one in reward of his valour, if he returned
with victory from this exploit; and the other in reuenge of his cowardise if he failed in the
performance of it: promising him indeed his sister in marriage, amongst other the glorious
rewards and trophies of his victory; and threatning death as a punishment among the griefs
of his dishonour. But it came to passe, that by the cowardise of our men he came vnto the ef-
fects of his desire (as is aforesaid) and tooke the City which promised vnto him the glorious
triumph in Constantinople. And vnder the sweet influence of this planet he returned vnto
Constantinople, where he found all things in readinesse for the satisfying of his expectation,
and aduancement of his glory. He is magnificently receiued of his Prince, curteously salu- H
ted by all the Nobility, and with greatest reuerence possible honoured of the people. And as
he had happily discharged his charge, he found in like manner all things prepared and in rea-
dinesse for the performance of the promise of the grand Seignior his Lord and master: Who
had caused them to be in most sumptuous manner prouided for the solemnising of the mari-
age, and the contentment of the Bassa. But nothing now wanting that he could haue desired
or wished, more than the very solemnising of the marriage it selfe, and that also euery day of
all men expected; the Ianizaries and Spahi, with the other soldiers of the Court, to the num-
ber of about fiue and twenty thousand, euen vpon the sudden when as no such thing was fea-
red, came in armes, and so presented themselues before the Divano or high Tribunall, holden
for the chiefe administration of justice in the great Turks palace, the first foure dayes in euer- I
ry weeke: and hauing set guards at the Court gates, the more safely to execute what they
were resolued vpon, proudly demanded to haue audience for certaine of the Spahi and Ia-
nizaries, of whom they had made choice, in the names of them all to deliuer vnto the great
Bassa's their grieuances, and the causes of that their assembly. Who as soone as they were
entred into the Divano before the Bassa's (of whom the most couragious of them was not
without feare, as looking for nothing but present death) they at the first demaunded to haue
Hassan Bassa deliuered vnto them. Who thinking that his head should haue serued as a sacri-
fice to pacifie this their fury; as a man altogether dismayed, wan and pale, passed thorow this
mutinous multitude, to haue gone vnto the great Sultan; protesting of his owne innocencie,
and calling vpon his Prophet *Mahomet* to discouer vnto them the truth of all things. But K
they, after a thousand injuries and reproches by them heaped vpon him, rudely demaunded
of him, Whence it proceeded, that whilest he with a great part of the forces of the Empire
was busied in Hungary for recouery of the City of Alba-Regalis, there was in the mean time
no order taken for the repressing of the dangerous rebellion in Asia; which Rebell (as they
said) was now grown so proud, as with Ensignes displaied to come within three or four dayes
journey of Constantinople, the Imperiall City of the *Othoman* Emperours. Whereunto hee
in no small feare answered, That hee for his part had done his duty, as well whilst he had the
charge of the Army in Asia, as now of late whilest he had the like charge against the Chri-
stians in Hungary, as euen his very enemies themselues could witnesse. But seeing himselfe
in great danger of death, he instantly requested them, That his guiltlesse death might be vn- L
to the State in generall profitable, and that in discharging of his conscience he might de-
clare vnto them the causes of this contempt and neglect for the suppressing of the Rebell in
Asia, which they were so desirous to know: It proceedeth (saith he) onely from the euill go-
uernment of the grand Sultans mother (who then all commaunded) and from the negligent
carelesnesse of the Capi-Aga. Which his speech although they with much impatience and
storming gaue eare vnto; yet hearing him so well to excuse himselfe, and to lay the blame
there where they were well contented it should rest, they gaue him leaue to goe to the great
Sultan, to request him that they might speake with him; and further to deale with him, that
they might haue the heads of them who had been the cause of this dishonourable seruice, and
otherwise cowardly behaued themselues in the mannaging of the wars against the Rebell in M
Asia. Threatning him withall, That if he failed to performe this his Charge, he should not
fail to feel the heauy effects of their iust fury. An heauy charge, yet glad was the Bassa to vn-
dergo the same, to be freed out their hands, where he saw himselfe in great danger; amongst
them

A dangerous mutiny of the Ianizaries & Spahi in Constantinople.

A them, most of whom had somtime serued vnder him, than amongst so many his most mortall
cuemies. But what remedy? he must now so do or die therfore; for which he was the more to
be excused. So in great fear comming vnto the great Sultan, almost as fearefull as himselfe;
he shewed vnto him the great danger like euen presently to insue by the mutiny of his best
soldiers, and garders of his person: persuading him betime to appease their fury, before they
had imbrued themselues in bloud; for fear of further danger like enough to insue, as wel vnto
his own person, as vnto the rest of his most faithfull and trusty Counsellors, from such furious
headstrong men, vp in tumult with their armes in their hands. And although that a Prince
ought not for the greatnesse of his state to doe any thing as thereunto forced by his subiects,
lest in so doing he might breed in them a contempt of himselfe, and increase their insolency;
B that yet neuertheless in this action, being altogether extraordinary, hee was not to rest vpon
that point, for that these mutinous souldiers turned not their weapons (as they pretended) a-
gainst his Imperial power and soueraignty, but rather to the contrary, against the contemners
therof, seeking to be reuenged vpon them that had don him such euill seruice for the mainte-
nance of his honor and majesty, and for the punishment of the insolent and disloyall. Wher-
fore the justice of the cause requiting and couering the malice of the fact, he was of opinion,
that it were best for him to yeeld a little vnto the zeal of these his best soldiers, and to satisfie
their iust desires, although they had by very euil and vnlawful meanes sought the same. And
therfore aduised his Majestie, in some sort to satisfie the iust complaints of these men, armed
for reuenge of his honor, and to chastise the chief commanders of his Asian forces, such as by
C whose treachery or cowardise his seruice being neglected, had armed these men against them:
with the same hand punishing such as had wronged his Majesty in honor, and appeasing the
discontented for the good of his seruice. *Mahomet* thus by the Bassa persuaded, as also to shew
himself in majesty vnto these his discontented subiects (one part of their desire) the necessity
of the cause so requiring, in his Imperial seat presented himselfe vnto them, accompanied by
the Musti (the great Mahometan priest) & some few others of the reuerend Doctors of their
Law; who by the Sultan commanded to sit down, and the Bassa's standing vp (so great the re-
spect is to men of that sort, euen in a barbarous nation of so small respect) the chiefe of the
seditious stepping forth, demanded leaue to speak both for himself and the rest. Which be-
ing granted, he boldly thus began.

Mahomet shewed himselfe to the mutinous soldiers.

D

Most happy and mighty Emperor, we the Spahies and Ianizaries thy obedient slaues, full of grief and discontentment to see a great part of thine Empire in danger to be lost, desire to know of thee the cause why thy Greatnesse doth not remedie it, and imploy the means which God hath giuen thee. They suppose the Rebels courses in Asia are vnto thee vnknown, seeing they haue bin so hardy to come in armes so neer vnto thy Imperiall city, the place of thyne abode, and that without any let or resistance. They desire to know if all this haue bin made known vnto thee, and whether thou wilt take vpon thy selfe the care of the gouerne-
ment of thy great monarchy, or no; which through the negligent carelesnes and euill gouernment of some
by thee put in trust, is like vnto a body with great & well proportioned members, but of little or no strength
E *or power. Or else, that thou void of care, thinst be content that all should be dismembred, and so euery man*
to take vnto himself what he can lay hand of, as the Rebels do in Asia.

A proud speech of a seditious soldier to Sultan Mahomet.

Now let no man maruel at this presumptuous rude speech of a proud Ianizary to his Soue-
raign; for why, they are the men which may most boldly speak in Turky; they are the stay of
the Turkish Empire, the great Sultans children acknowledging no other father but them: nay
rather the great Turke himselfe is their Creature, for they raise him vp and confirme him in
the Empire, they are his greatest strength, and to them he is most beholden. If *Mahomet* were
with so insolent a speech much moued, he was not iustly therfore to be blamed: howbeit bei-
ing beset with such a furious multitude with weapons in their hands, and hauing no meanes
F to withstand their fury, he wisely dissembled his inward choler, and with a faire countenance
and a majesty full of mildenesse, with the best and calmest words that he could deuise, sought
to appease them: imputing the great disorder and euill successe of his affaires vnto the vn-
faithfulnesse of his ministers, and the concealing of the truth therof from him. Saying more-
ouer,

ouer, That before this their complaint he had resolued to reforme those matters, and to take from them all occasions of discontentment, or for them to vse any such speech as was now beseeming them; whose obedience and respect of loyall duty vnto him their Soueraign, should haue been an example vnto the rest of his subiects. Vpon which speech, they fiercely demanded of *Hassan Bassa*, Why hee had non giuen an account vnto his Maiestie, of the Rebels proceeding in Asia. Who answered, That he had neuer failed of his duty therein, but that he had been alwaies hindred so to do by the Capi-Agi, saying; That it was not needfull to trouble him their Soueraigne therewith, (hauing committed these matters to others) but to reform and amend them as well as they might otherwise, without giuing of him any such distaste concerning these matters. And further, That the cause of all these disorders proceeded from the Empresse his mother, the Capi-Aga, and some few others; vnto whom he had commended the mannaging of those his affairs. With which his answer the mutiniers more moued, furiously said, That they were come thither to demand the heads of such offenders, being resolued to take another course if he should refuse to grant it them: [meaning thereby to make a new Emperor.] Whereunto for all that, the great Sultan answered, That it was no reason, neither that he would for their humors put such as they demanded innocently to death, but willed them to rest themselues contented, vntil it might by order of justice be tried whether they had deserued death or no, and that then he would giue them euen his owne son, if he were found culpable. But the mutiners constant in their resolution, again replied, that he had not by justice put his brethren to death, but for the preseruation of the state; and that those whom they so demanded, were so guilty of that wherewith they were charged, as that they deserued not to haue an orderly trial: That the lawes, how iust soeuer, should be vnprofitable, and justice iniury, if they were not by them to be punished; and that the state it selfe needs be so, or else that they would take there in a course themselues. As for the Empresse his mother, they were contented that she should be confined vnto some place far off, and no more to meddle in matters of State. A strange thing it was, to see so great a Prince so to be forced by the sedition and mutiny of his subiects, to deliuer so great an Officer of his Court as was the Capi-Aga, with such others as they required, to be vsed at their discretion. But the violent resolution of these mostinsolent men so vp in mutiny, made the Sultan *Mahomet* willy to yeeld to what they demanded, causing the Capi-Aga and the others to be brought forth, who presented themselues vnto their fury as men already halfe dead. *Mahomet* did what he might to haue saued them, but the mutiners with a great and dreadfull clamor still cried out to haue them dispatched; neither could they be appeased vntill they saw their heads struck from their bodies. For the losse of whom so deer vnto him, *Mahomet* inwardly grieued, to be in some part reuenged, commanded the executioner to proceed, and to do vnto some other of the chiefe Bassaes (whom he knew to be much loued and respected of the Ianizaries, and whom he could haue been content to haue been rid of) as he had done vnto the Capi-Agi and the rest: but then the murmuring and mutiny of the Ianizaries was in such sort increased, and as it were redoubled, as that *Mahomet* was for feare forced with patience to temper his choler, and by giuing way, so to appease them. The Empresse the Sultans mother for all that was not then confined, but referred to the further troubling of the State.

The Capi-Aga with some others executed.

Other brueities of Sultan Mahomet.

With like tyrannie, and no lesse injustice, *Mahomet* but a few dayes before had caused *Capin* one of his great Bassaes to be beheaded; but whether it were for the desire hee had of his wealth and riches, or for the enuy of his honour and valour, was vncertaine: howbeit the former cause seemed vnto many to be more probable, for that *Mahomet* immediately after his death tooke the whole spoile of his wealth, and seised vpon all his goods, amount 400000 duckets, which *Caly Bassa* father of the dead Bassa had detained for himselfe. Which his purloining *Mahomet* hauing discouered (as the eie of the couetous and rapacious vpon his prey) demanded one day of the Bassa, If it were true that he had retained to himselfe those 400000 duckets. Which fact the Bassa, partly for feare, and partly for couetousnesse constantly denied, and swore himselfe to be guiltlesse from why such crime. Whereupon he was forthwith taken, and thinking by lying to haue saued his life, was for his pains put to death, without any further examination of the matter, hauing his head stroken off. Such is the final assurance euen of the greatest that liue in tyrants courts. Neither rested his greedy minde so contented with the

the Bassa's bloud; for why, that serued but for a shew, it was his wealth must work that cure, which was all forthwith seised vpon, rifled, and carried away, to satisfie in effect the greedy appetite of the hungry tyrant, who changed the dowry and succession of the wife & children of the dead Bassa, into bonds, chains, prisons, and slaueries.

Mahomet another Bassa with these cruelties dismaied, and perceiuing the like euill hap and danger to hang ouer his own head, that had ouerwhelmed *Calil* and his son; resolued to haue prouided for himself against this mischiefe, by flying vnto the Rebels in Asia. But this his purpose discouered by certain spies (which serue as means to open a way vnto the Turks cruelty) and he with one of the chief followers of *Capin Bassa* taken by the Ianizaries, were both by them cut in pieces.

The succes of the Rebels in Asia.

But whilest these things thus passed at Constantinople, the Rebels with all diligence prosecuted their rebellion in Asia, and bent their forces against the great towns there. Their army was exceeding great, euery man joining himselfe vnto the first forces which were in good estate, being not as yet with any greater power oppressed, and rich with the spoiles that they had taken. These men had besieged Angore a great and strong town in Asia, and seemed resolutely set down for the carrying therof. Wherof the citisens being afraid, and out of hope of relief, came to parly, offering them a sum of money to redeem themselues and their city; and so in fine agreed to giue them 200000 ducats, vpon the ready payment wherof the rebels presently departed.

Shortly after, the new Captaines of Sultan *Mahomet* arriued there also, whom he had placed in the places of them whom he had before executed for the appeasing of the souldiers of the Court, who would needs make it treason, and put to death the Citisens for hauing giuen such mony as is aforesaid, vnto the rebels, though it were done for the preseruation of their liues: as if lawes were to be respected in the horrors of necessity, or that life were to become a slaue vnto riches, and riches not made for the vse of mans life. Well, needs they would for this supposed treason, as they pretended, haue put them to death, and sacked their City. But indeed all was in their greedy fury to haue carried away that which the Rebels in their mercy had left them. These poor citisens with this so cruel a resolution dismaied, and out of all hope of finding fauour at such mercilesse mens hands, resolued now to hasard all, and so vpon the sudden taking vp arms, stood vpon their own defence. Herupon arose a great and cruel fight betwixt these soldiers and the citisens, both the subiects of one Prince, and all of them of one and the self same superstition; but the one side armed with pride and couetousnesse, and the other with necessity and despair: howbeit at last the iuster cause preuailing, the Citisens ouercame these new come souldiers, and hauing slaine a great number of them, chased the rest out of the City. This euil incounter of these few Captaines euen at the first entrance into their Charges, giuen them by the subiects themselues, increased the Rebels courage, so that they being in number forty thousand, vnder the leading of one of the Tartar Han his brethren, besieged Butze a great and rich city, being the storehouse for the warlike prouisions of Asia, and the place whereunto the Turkes Customes, Taxes, and Subsidies of Asia were brought, and there kept. These men after certaine dayes bestowed in the siege, and great resistance made by the besieged, at length by force carried the place, slew the inhabitants, and sacked the City. Which exploit gracing their fortune with honour and booty, increased also their power and reputation; so that redoubled on all sides, and increased with courage and spoiles, *Mahomet* dismaied, resolued by fair means to appease them, and to intreat with them of peace. This good fortune had drawne vnto their part the Gouernour of Babylon, either weary of the seruice of the Turke, or desirous by the ruine of the State in general to increase his own power: whose reuolt greatly increased the Rebels power, and diminished the Grand Seigniors. Besides these mishaps also, the great Shaugh of Persia (commonly called the Sophy) thrusting himself into these disorders, to make his gain, and to fish (as they say) in a troubled water, had now taken Corbery, a strong towne vpon the borders of the Turkes Empire, and was making himself ready for new conquests. All which tempests arising as it were in one together, caused *Mahomet* to strike sail, and mauger his Imperial dignity and honor, to seek for peace: which indeed could not be great in such weaknesse of his nature, neither braue in such his great want of courage. For great dignities and honours without valour to maintaine them, are but like rich garments which couer bodies almost rotten, but heale them not.

Mahomet

Mahomet desirous to come to some good agreement with his rebellious subiects; at length (but not without his great dishonor) obtained the same, granting all their demands, disarming them by yeelding vnto them, and not by true valor: and giuing vnto *Zellaly* one of their chieftains the honorable place of Bassa of Bosna, to content his ambition, and to binde him therewith to do his seruice. The readiest way by sufferance to increase the disloyal subiects courage, in stead of stopping their proceedings by the seuerity of iustice: for to grace a rebel with offices of authoritie, is but to arm him with lawfull power, the better to vndertake what soeuer shall best fit his appetite and desire, vpon the hope of his own priuat and certaine profit or aduancement.

Mahomet in danger to be deposed.

Mahomet his other Captaines and men of War seeing this dishonourable peace of their Prince, and preferment of the Rebels, rewarded with honours and dignities, in stead of paines and punishments, which they should of right haue for their rebellion endured; began to enter into great murmuring and discontentment against their great Sultan. They considered his vniust dealing and base fear, in aduancing the rebels vnto such honors and preferments, as of right belonged vnto his most faithfull and loyall Officers and seruants; by such vnworthy dignities making them slaues vnto his enemies, and vassals vnto the rebels: they, to their dishonor and losse, by their insolencie and treachery injoying the honours and preferments of right due vnto their faithfull and loyal services. Which dangerous persuasions transported them so far from their allegiance and duty, as to vndertake a greater and more perillous matter against his crown and dignity, than had the rebels before by taking vp of arms in the field against him; whereunto the assured knowledge they had of his cowardise incouraged them also. So that their resolution was to thrust him out of his Imperiall state, and to set vp his eldest sonne called also *Mahomet*, in his place. These are the inordinate effects of injustice and cowardise, the ouerthrow of Princes; their injustice through cruelty arming all creatures against them; and their cowardise through contempt dispensing with euery man for his duty: so that he must be iust that will keepe his subiects in order; and valiant, that must hold them in awe.

Vnto these discontentments those mutiniers joined also (as I said) the sloathfulnesse, effeminacie, and insufficiencie of *Mahomet*, vnfit to deal in matters of estate, and altogether vnable to manage wars. He was too cowardly (as they thought) to represse their valour by force, and too weak to crosse their designes by wisdom: which not a little incouraged them in that their so desperate and dangerous a resolution. They drew also into this their plot the Sultanesse *Mahomets* chief wife and the yong princes mother; who blinded with ambition (the bane of great spirits) had not the hap to reject their persuasions, as dangerous vnto her and her son, but shutting her eies against the due consideration of loyaltie and duty, cast both her selfand her son headlong into the midst of most desperat dangers.

This project (of no lesse importance than of the deposing of one of the greatest monarchs of the world) resolued vpon, some of these men, according to the maner of the Turks, joining superstition vnto their designes, consulted with an Astrologer concerning the successe of the actions of the young Prince, whom they were about to install in his fathers Imperiall throne. This man to be excused in his trumperies, seeing that to deceiue is the chiefe point of his Art, erected the figure of the Princes nativity, consulted with his spirits, considered the celestial bodies, and in fine arriued at the point of his iudgement, for the good and welfare of the Prince: And thereupon dispatched an Eunuch towards the Sultannesse with these pleasing speeches, That she should be of good courage; and in assured hope that the yong Prince her sonne within a few daies should haue the Imperiall Crown set vpon his head, and the Royall Scepter put into his hand: his art (as he said) promising vnto him these honors, by the fauor of the celestial bodies, of whom he had learned these news; and by the conference with spirits, from whom he had this assurance. But ô the vaine and foolish knowledge of man against God! attributing vnto the second causes that which altogether belongeth vnto his owne power; robbing him of his owne providence, which extendeth ouer all, to giue it vnto Creatures, which neither haue their owne beeing, neither are able of themselues to bring forth or to worke any effects at all without it! and that more is, to giue certaine credit vnto the enemy of all faith and beleefe, euen to the father of leasing, who taketh as much glory in falshood, as God himself doth in truth, as being the proper mark of his power. For it chanced

ced that these letters sent by the Eunuch to the Sultanesse, were intercepted and brought vnto *Mahomet* the great Sultan, whom they most concerned: whereupon it so fell out, that he which took vpon him to foretell the long-life and Empire to befall to another man, could not foresee the end of his owne life, which followed him fast, euen at the heeles, being himselfe by the commandement of the great Sultan, with the yong Prince, the Eunuch, and fifty others of the conspirators, and such as were consenting vnto the conspiracy, most cruelly strangled, and the Sultanesse her selfe drowned. Howbeit some report this yong Prince to haue bin strangled vpon suspition of conspiring against his father, with the rebels of Asia: which after his death being found not to be so, the Bassa which put that suspition in *Mahomets* head, to haue bin therefore worthily hanged. But with these contentments taken from the crosses of our enemies, let vs againe returne vnto Hungary.

Mahomet causeth his eldest son, with diuers others to be strangled.

The last yeare ended with the great bruit of the comming of the Tartar Han, with a great army into Hungary: and now he had dispatched his Embassadors towards the King of Polonia, to demand of him tribute, and passage through his country. Great and proud demands to be, both at once required. But the King of Polonia requited him againe with the like, denying him both the one and the other, roughly answering of his threats. Which so resolute and blunt a refusall, caused the proud tyrant to change his intended course, and for feare of being defeated by the Polonians in passing through their country (as the Tartars had often beene) before he could come into Hungary, tooke another way, and turned with his Army toward Valachia. Of whose comming *Radul* the Vayuod vnderstanding, and that beside the forraging of his country, they had a purpose to displace him, and to set vp another Vayuod in his stead; with great diligence gathered together the greatest power that he could, and so marched vnto the borders of his country, there to attend the comming of these Tartars, and to stay them from entring. Which in effect fell out according to his desire, for the barbarous people being arriued, and attempting with all their force to haue entred, were by this little army encountered; which commanding the country, tooke all the aduantages of the streit passages, and there notably repulsed the fierce enemy. Two of the first encounters fell out fortunately vnto the Valachians, who therein slew about 3000 of the Tartars; whose auauntgard for all that still came on, and at the third encounter so long maintained the fight, that their whole Army was now come in, and hardly charged the Valachians; whose fortune surcharged, began then to change, the hardy being constrained to bow vnder the multitude, and valour forced to yeeld vnto number. Which was not done without a long and cruell fight, both armies encountering with great courage and fury, the one for the defence of their countrey, and the other for an entrance vnto their conquests. Howbeit the strong enemy at length preuailed, and entring into Valachia, brought in with it ruine, death, and destruction.

The Polonian denies the Tartars passage through his country, into Hungary.

Diuers hard conflicts betwixt the Tartars, & The Valachies in their passage through Valachia.

The Tartars hauing by force thus opened themselues a way through Valachia, and grieuously spoyled the countrey, were come with their army to Quinque Ecclesiæ, a towne in Hungary, to joyne their forces with *Hassan Bassa*, now after his marriage returned into this country with a great army to continue his charge: who caused the Tartars to be mustred in his presence, and found them to be forty thousand strong. Men of great courage against the weake, but meere cowards before the couragious: who in stead of assaulting the walls of any strong towne, fell vpon the cottages of poore countrey villages, ransacking and pilling the poore inhabitants, as well in the villages of the territories subject vnto the Turks, as in the territories of the Christians; constraining the poore people, contrary to their conscience, and the prejudice of their faith, to sweare to serue the Turke: besides that, they enforced them to furnish them with all warlike prouision aud munition, which they put into Canisia, but a while after that our men had defeated the Garrison there. Neither were they so contented, all the neighbours being thereabouts subject to this tempest: for they passed into Stiria with their families, and ouerrun a part of that Prouince, spoyling it of men, cattell, and goods; leauing in stead of them, destruction, misery, and death; and carried away with them two thousand poore Christians for slaues, whom they sold vnto the Turks, and made great profit of them. From whence they went into the country of Shauery, embruing themselues with the bloud of the Christians, rifling their Villages, and after that burning them;

The Tartars in Hungary.

Great spoyle made by the Tartars in Hungary, Stiria, & Shauarie.

carrying away with them a thousand Christian captiues into most miserable bondage and G
slauery. Which cruell outrages afterward thrust the valiant Colonell *Collonits* into the field,
against these barbarous people, to stay their incursions, and to defeat them if he could.

This worthy Commander had but a few daies before, beene much troubled in appeasing the French light horsemen in garrison in the villages about Roquesburg, risen vp in mutiny for their pay: whose hot and moued spirits he by his wisedome so calmed, as that they were content againe to be sworne to the Emperor, and so joyned themselues vnto the army of *Collonitz*, which was then 10000 good men strong.

In the meane time, the Tartars greedy of prey, and still seeking after booty, ransackt and spoiled fiue and twenty countrey villages about Veradin; all which they afterward burned also, carrying away with them a great booty both of men and cattell, no man resisting them. H
At which time other companies of them also inuading the County *Serin* his Island as far as Rackenspurge, made in it great spoile, as had their fellowes elsewhere, and beside other booty, carried away with them two thousand Christian captiues. These outrages of the Tartars armed the County on the one side, and *Collonits* on the other, who couragiously opposing themselues against these barbarians, for a time staied their incursions, they not daring to abide the force of this little Army, sufficient enough for the valour thereof, to haue ouerthrowne that of their enemies, for number dreadful. This made them to turne their course another way into Sclauonia, being in number fiue and thirty thousand men, leauing nothing behind them there but death, and desolation, for the number of prisoners, and great booties which they carried from thence. Amongst other their spoiles, it was their fortune by the way to meet I
with six hundred of the Christian souldiers, of whom not one escaped their hands, but were slaine euery mothers son. At length it so fortuned, that certaine of their troups in roaming abroad, fell into the danger of the County *Serin*, who with his followers still houered aloofe off, for feare to be of their great multitude ouerwhelmed: a part whereof now falling into his hands, were by his soldiers ouerthrowne and all cut in pieces, and a number of Christian captiues by them taken, deliuered out of chaines and set at liberty. Which exploit was greater
The Tartars oppressed by county Serin. for the feare it brought vpon the enemy, than for the slaughter there made. For the Tartars, still in doubt to meet againe with the Christian troups (who left not one of them aliue that they could light on) were glad now to keepe themselues closer together, and so did a great deale the lesse harme than when they without feare roamed vp and downe at their pleasure: K
so that euen by this little victory the Country receiued some comfort, and the Earle greater honour; Small helps being infinite treasures in time of necessity, which out of it would not be to be reckoned of.

The garrison souldiers of Canisia, of late defeated by *Collonitz* in going to meet the Conuoy comming towards them with victuals, (as is before declared) the rest of the garrison desirous to be reuenged, were consulting of the meanes how to bring the same to passe. It fortuned that at the same time there was a fugitiue Christian souldier in the towne, who made shew of a man male-content, desirous to turne Turke: of whom the Turks made much reckoning, for that he seemed to know much of the designes of the Christians, and the meanes how to crosse them. Whereof he so assured them, as if the matter had beene now already L
done; promising to bring them euen into the middest of the Christian campe, and to deliuer it into their hands and power. Howbeit his meaning was nothing lesse; for seeing the
A notable exployt done by a fugitiue Christian. Turks much busied with carrying in of victuals into the Castle, brought into the Towne after the ouerthrow of their fellowes before sent forth for the bringing in thereof, and wholly intentiue to that businesse; knowing the place in the Castle where the pouder and munition lay, he at the same time by a traine layd fire thereunto, and afterward, amiddest the tumult and the stirre, by a loope hole in the wall, got himselfe out of the Towne, and came vnto *Collonitz*, who with his troups lay neere there by in ambush, expecting the opportunity to performe some notable exploit vpon the successe of so dangerous an aduenture, whereunto M
he had before beene made priuy. Neither fayled the fire any thing of the accustomed violence thereof, but seemed rather to redouble the same, it had so suddenly consumed the Buildings, Munitions, and Persons. All the place felt the fury thereof; the Cannons, Cannoniers, Souldiers, and whatsoeuer else, was subject vnto this dreadfull blast: all was shaken and

A and turned vpside downe, yea, the fire burst out of the castle, and burnt the greatest part of the towne also. There was a confusion of feare, mishap and misery together, the terror whereof caused many of the Turks to cast themselues ouer the walls, in hope so to saue their liues: but whilest they thought so to haue escaped the danger of the fire, they presently fell vpon the edge of the sword: for meeting with the soldiers of *Collonitz* (who lying in ambush neere thereby, awaited the opportunity in that so confused a tumult, to haue seised vpon the place) they were all either taken prisoners or slaine. But see the hap, how one crosse chance of fortune ouerthrew this so notable a designe, as had it beene well followed, might in one moment haue recouered that strong place, which had before for the space of many daies endured the greatest forces of the *Othoman* Emperour, neither yet was then so lost, but through
B the infamous treachery of our men.

You haue heard before, how that *Collonitz* had by faire persuasions, rather than by true effects, appeased the French men and Wallons, vp in mutiny for their pay; so that by him *A faire opportunity for the recouery of Canisia ouerslipped through the disloyalty of the French & wallons.*
persuaded, they had againe giuen their oath of fidelity vnto the Emperour, and to follow his Army. But now when occasion serued, and held out as it were both her armes vnto the Christians, for the regaining and conquest of Canisia, these French men and Wallons, the greatest part of *Collonitz* his strength, injuriously refused her so faire an offer; and at such time as they should rather haue fought naked, than haue failed in their duty, (it being to haue gained a most great and rich conquest) for want of pay (as they pretended) turned their backes, and beeing by no entreaty or persuasions to be mooued, to the discouragement of
C the rest, who were better minded, and their owne eternall infamy, withdrew themselues from the Army. So that *Collonitz* rather by the wicked vnfaithfulnesse of his owne disloyall soldiers, than by the valour of his enemies, disappointed of his purpose, was to his great discontentment, contrary to that hee hoped, enforced to retyre without any thing more doing.

While this exployt, so well begun, but euill performed, was in hand, the Turks and Tartars *The Tartars defeated by the Huffars of the Lord Nadasti.*
assembled together, made a cruell spoile in the country about Rab, euen almost vnto the gates of the Towne, carrying away with them a great number both of men and beasts. In fine, it chanced that the Huffars of the Lord *Nadasti* came that way, who vnderstanding what had happened, with all speed made after these Robbers, ouertook them in their retreat neer vnto
D Alba-Regalis, slew a great number of them, and inforced the rest to leaue a great part of their prey behinde them. With which booty recouered euen out of the Lyons mouth, they returned to Rab; of whom the poore inhabitants and country people, with teares standing in their eies, requested to haue againe their owne goods. But War, the enemy of Charity, and nurse of barbarous Cruelty, had so hardened the hearts of these men of War, as that they were not to be moued to restore them their cattell againe, but that they must redeeme them for present mony, which they did, and so receiued them.

Now the noble *Collonitz* seeing himselfe so shamefully forsaken of his owne Souldiers, and disappointed of his purpose, and the Turks and Tartars in great numbers comming to the relieſe and repairing of this so sore shaken towne; and out of hope to do any good there-
E on, full of griefe and indignation returned towards Comara. And howbeit that euill hap had cruelly frustrated the glory of his enterprise, yet the Heauens, in despight of Fortunes frowne, left not this noble and valiant Captaine altogether without honour, but as amorous *2000 Turks defeated by Collonitz.*
of his vertues and valour, presented vnto him in this Winter of Fortunes displeasure, some trophies of glory. For vpon the way as he was returning home he met with 2000 Turkes, whom after some small resistance he cut all in pieces; miserable sacrifices, appointed vnto the fury of his wrath. In this fight their enfignes were all taken, and a number of prisoners, the chiefe of whom, together with the Enfignes, he sent to Prague, as a Present for the Emperor, and a token of his good seruice.

The report then was, That the Turks and Tartars with their vnited forces had forraged
F Sclauonia, taken diuers strong holds, burnt a number of villages, and carried away eight thousand Christians prisoners, beside a great number more slaine with the sword, or consumed with fire, and all the Cattell of the Country driuen away: and that being with this

booty to come to Quinque Ecclesiæ; they had there receiued command with *Mahomet Bassa*, G
to besiege Comara, and that all the Commanders of the Turks army were thereupon resol-
ued. All which reports no whit dismaied the valiant *Collonitz*, nor any thing alrered his de-
signes; but hauing fortified Comara, against the intended siege of the Turks, and taken from
thence foure culuerins, according to a former purpose by himselfe intended, resolued now to
take from the Turks the Castles of Loqua and Boulouuenar, the garrisons whereof greatly
annoyed the territories of the Christians, and hindered the designes of this great Capteine.
These two Castles are scituate vpon a great marish which separateth Hungary from Rascia,
and are therefore as bounders of Hungary, and strong enough to be defended against a small
army.

The Castle of Loqua besieged by Collonitz.

Vpon which resolution he set forward with his small and valiant power, and the fourth H
day arriued within the sight of Loqua, a Castle well manned and furnished with all things
necessary for the defence thereof. The army lodged, *Collonitz* with a drum summoned the
besieged to yeeld vp the place, with promise of courtesie if they should now accept of the
same whilest it was offered them; Which they stoutly refused to do, swearing to the contra-
ry, That they would die and liue within those their walls. *Collonitz* seeing them so resolued,
first caused a mill to be assaulted, which placed ouer against the castle, and well fortified, ser-
ued in stead of a bulwarke, and seemed hard to bee taken: howbeit his men, loth to haue
their good fortune euen in the beginning checked, gaue thereunto so brauely an assault, that af-
ter the enemy had done what he could for the defence thereof, they became masters of the
place, carried it, and therein lodged: but finding it dangerous to be kept, and to stand them I
in small stead, they set it on fire, and afterward planted foure Culuerins in battery before the
Castle. But as they were thus busied, the Turks courageously sallied out vpon them, not
doubting to aduenture themselues, for the hope they had to be in short time by their great
Army relieued. In this army they met afront with the Haiducks, whom they fiercely char-
ged, and so gauled them, that hauing slaine thirty of them, they retired without any losse;
forthwith discharging so many thundring shot and arrowes vpon our men, as that they well
knew not how to saue themselues from the danger of them, in such sort, that all the waies to
approch the place being stopped, they began to deuise how to set the castle on fire. Which
they by certain fire workes attempted, but to small purpose; the fire being no sooner kindled,
but that it was forthwith by the Turks quenched. This done and our men disappointed of K
their hope, they deuised to set fire vpon the timber which joyned the palisado to the Castle
stretching toward the port. Which their attempt sorted but to small effect also, the fire bur-
ning but slowly to do the enemies any great harme. All which deuises failing, they resolued
by plaine force to assault the Castle, and to scale the same: which enterprise resolued vpon,
the Haiduckes carrying before them certaine strong and thicke plankes of wood, in stead of
targuets, to defend them from the small shot and arrowes of their enemies; by this deuice
gained the palisado placed vpon the ditch: and being there in some safety, with their mus-
kets and harquebusies so applied the besieged, that they draue them from their curtaines, and
made that they durst no more shew themselues vpon the walls. And immediately after, two
companies of the Haiduckes placed ten ladders against one of the towers of the Castle, and L
so with their Ensignes in their hands courageously mounted the ladders, in hope to haue gai-
ned the place: but the Turks as men resolued to liue and die in their Castle, valiantly repul-
sed those Haiduckes, and by force drew in vnto them from off the ladders, the two Ensigne-
bearers of the Haiducks, whose heads they cut off, and cast them downe vnto their fellowes,
which were yet comming vp the ladders; and the two Ensignes so gained vpon the walls,
they placed in the middest of their owne, as the trophies of the spoyles of them who would
haue spoyled them. With which so great courage of the enemies, and death of their fel-
lowes, our men not a little dismaied, kept themselues close at the foot of the wall, as afraid
any further to force the place, which to their losse they saw stored with such valiant men to
defend it. M

Notable resistance made by the besieged Turks.

Collonitz perceiuing this discomfiture of these men, and well assured that the castle was not
but by valour to be won, immediatly drew out of euery company of the County *Ringrant*,
certaine

A certaine of the best and most resolute Souldiers to renew the assault: Which so honoura-
ble a charge they cheerefully vndertooke, and as men of courage, began forthwith to mount
the ladders. Which the Haiduckes beholding, againe tooke courage, and partly ashamed of
themselues, and partly to bee pertakers of the spoile and prey, if they should preuaile, did
what they might for the winning of the place, striuing now who should do best. Which as-
sault was with such fury and presse of men maintained, that the Turkes not able longer to
withstand so great forces, were constrained to yeeld both themselues and their Castle vnto
the fury of their angry enemies. Which castle indeed cost much Christian bloud, but yet
more of the Turks: for the Haiduckes armed with rage and reuenge, slew almost all in the ca-
stle, as well Rascians as Turkes, and tooke the rest prisoners. Amongst others there was an
B Hungarian renegate there taken, whom for haste they beheaded, beeing not at leisure to em-
paile him, the ordinary punishment of such faithlesse miscreants. But during this spoile
made by men chafed with fury, the winde and fire were on their part exercising of their rage
also. For the fire which they had cast vpon the palisado, and which they had before nege-
lected, as of little or no force, now increased with the wind, by little and little getting hold of
one thing after another, hauing burnt the palisado, got hold of the castle also; whereunto the
Souldiers (loaded with prey and booty, the things they most desired) had no regard at all:
so that the fire vtterly consumed the Castle, with whatsoeuer else had escaped their greedy
hands.

The castle of Loqua by the Christians, taken and sacked.

The Turks in garrison at Boulouuenar (a fortresse but a league distant from this burnt Ca-
C stle) seeing these flames of fire, and doubting what might betide themselues, began to con-
sult what course were best for them to take, as either to attend the comming of the enemy,
and so to abide the chance of warre, or else betimes to prouide for themselues by flight: the
consideration of their honour and duty persuaded them to stay, but the ruine of their neigh-
bours as strong and valiant as themselues, persuaded them otherwise. In fine, the care of the
preseruation of their liues preuailed, and the resolution was, That they should fly. And so
putting all their household stuffe and goods into certaine boats there ready vpon the Lake,
they by the middest thereof fled: foolishly persuading themselues, That our men comming
thither, and finding nothing more, would not long there stay, but be gone; after whose depar-
ture they might as they thought returne againe vnto their old dwellings, and in the meane
D time hide themselues in the marish, vntill that the enemy were past. But our men comming
thither, and finding no man in the Castle, neither yet any thing else that could well be carried
away, wondered to see that there were any men so cowardly; as for feare to abandon such a
place, as for the strength thereof might haue beene an example for others to stand vpon their
guard and defence, they sought out euery corner thereabout, to finde out whither the Turks
were fled. At last after much diligent search, they found certaine boats which the Turks had
sunke in the channell neere vnto the Castle gate, which caused them to thinke that they were
fled by water, and happely were in some place not far off. These boats were forthwith drawne
vp out of the water, and found furnished with oares and such other things as belonged vnto
them. Which done, *Collonitz* chose out certaine of the most valiant and resolute of the Hai-
E duckes, whom he commanded in those boats to follow after the Turks in the Lake. Who
accustomed to such exploits, and not ignorant of the places and secrets of their Countrey,
went aboord, and did as they were commanded. Neither had they gone past two leagues vp-
on the Lake, but that they discouered a party of these fugitiues hid in a little Island, awaiting
the end of this tempest, to recouer againe that which they had forsaken. The Turks dismaied
with the sight of these men, and forced by necessity to stand vpon their guard, welcommed
them with certaine little faulcon shot which they brought with them in their boats, thinking
to haue hindered them from landing. But they were too well acquainted with such musicke,
to be moued therewith: besides that, the desire of the booty, which was by the Turks brought
out of the Castle into the Isle, exceedingly animated them for the gaining thereof; so that
F all feare of danger set apart, they landed in the Isle. Whom so landing, the Turks with great
courage receiued; so that betwixt them was fought a greater fight than is for so small a num-
ber on both sides to bee beleeued, onely valour and not number holding the ballance of the
victory. But in the end, the chiefe of the Turks, and he which was their Gouernour in Bou-
louuener, slaine, the rest discouraged came to parley, yeelding themselues with their wiues
and

The Turks for feare forsake the castle of Boulouuenar.

The Turks fled out of the castle of Boulouuenar surprised and ouerthrowne.

and children, and all that they had, as a prey vnto the victors. The prisoners were brought G
backe againe vnto the Castle, vntill the next day, that our men hauing put a good and strong
garrison of foure hundred Haiduckes, and two hundred Hussars into Boulowenar, with their
prisoners, and their booty, returned toward Comara: where they, notwithstanding diuers re-
ports of the assembly of the Turkes garrisons for the suppressing of them vpon the way, in
safety arriued, with a rich booty, and a number of waggons loaded with the spoiles of their ene-
mies. The Emperor had for his part thirteene ensignes, beside the places won; which being
nigh vnto Canisia, much bridled the spoilings and incursions of that garrison.

Moyses by Basta ouerthrown flyeth vnto his strong castle of Solomose.

But leauing these endlesse troubles of Hungary for a while, let vs now againe looke into
Transyluania, to see what they there do. *Moyses* the Rebell by *Basta* the Emperors Lieutenant
(as we haue before said) ouerthrowne, and disappointed of his hope, betooke himselfe vnto a H
strong castle of his owne, called Solomose, there in feare attending the finall successe of his
affaires. *Basta* in the meane time being as wise to make vse of his victory, as he was valiant to
obtaine the same, subdued the rest of the country, repressed the Rebels, stopped the way of se-
dition, and put *Moyses* in dispaire of all safety. Who seeing himselfe brought vnto such ex-
tremity offered to yeeld his Castle vnto the Turks, and so without farther acquainting of any

He with his wife and family flyeth vnto the Turkes.

man with his purpose, thrust himselfe with his wife and family, and all the rest of his sub-
stance into Temeswar, a strong City of the Turks not far off: whom the Bassa in shew most
courteously receiued, and the rather, for that he was in good hope to make a prey of the great
wealth of this new-come fugitiue: who had not there long staied, but that he had perswaded
the captaine of Giuasger, a strong frontier Castle there by, to deliuer the same to the Turks, I
and that without the priuity of the garrison souldiers, for that hee doubted that they would
hardly be thereunto drawne: who yet getting knowledge thereof, put their captain in remem-
brance of his duty, beseeching him not to draw such an infamy both vpon himselfe and them,
by committing so foule a fact. But afterward finding him resolutely set downe for the be-
traying of the Castle, they suddenly laid hands vpon him, and strucke off his head; and so with
the bloud of their traiterous captaine, hauing auerted the eminent danger, with great honour
held the place.

Basta besieged the Turkes in the castle Solomose.

Moyses now as he thought in safety at Temeswar, was yet still plotting how to trouble the
state of Transyluania, and raise new stirs therein; and to that end sent a number of spies with
letters of credence vnto the principall men of that country, assuring them of great and suffici- K
ent aid from the great Turke, if they would but take vp armes for their liberty (as he termed
it) and shew himselfe in field against the Imperials. Neither was *Basta* in the meane time
carelesse of him, or negligent in his so weighty affaires; but knowing that he as a notorious
Rebell had yeelded his castle vnto the Turks, and was himselfe retired vnto Temeswre, forth-
with made choice of six thousand of the best souldiers in his whole army, and so setting for-
ward to besiege it: whom at his arriuall the Turks there in garrison derided, in hope to fru-
strate his designes. For why? They thought that their Castle seated vpon a steepe high hill,
fortified with good and strong wals, enuironed with a broad and deepe ditch, and not subject
vnto battery, could not but with much labor, great danger, and long time, be gained out of
their hands, it being impossible (as they supposed) for their enemies to make a breach, or L
finde an entrance thereinto. And indeed our men seeing the strength of the place, and the
difficulty to force it, stood at the first as men dismaied at the foot of the hill where the Ca-
stle stood; yet more discouraged with the impregnablenesse of the place, than with the va-
lour of the defendants. But what cannot industry and valor do? in seeking about to find some
meanes to make shew of their courage and valour, they discouered a little sharpe steepe hill
ouer against the castle, from the top wherof the castle was to be battered, and the besieged di-
stressed: but to bring the cannon thither & especially with horses, was impossible, by reason of
the steep roughnesse of the ascent therunto, with broken and hanging rocks, ouergrowne with
trees and bushes, as if it had bin another Alps, not but with fire and vineger to be opened; yet
in fine, our men resoluing to gaine the place, did themselues that which their horses should M
haue done but could not, and by force of hand drew their cannon vp to the top of the hill, and
hauing planted it ouer against the midst of their enemies great ordnance, began to batter the
castle: which done, they day and night made their approches, fortified their forts and tren-
ches, brought on their warlike munition, and put all things in such order, as if they would
euen

A euen by plaine force haue carried the place. But the Turks more admiring the valorous reso-
lution of our men, than resolutung themselues vpon their resistance, being not many in number
within the place, and seeing themselues to haue to do with men of inuincible courage, laying
aside both their hope and weapons, craued to come to parley. Which granted, it was at length
agreed, That they should deliuer vp the Castle, leaving behinde them their great ordnance,
their munition and ensignes, and so with their armes and liues onely saued, to depart. A great
and glorious conquest got with small charge; only by resolution gained by our men without
peril: those being indeed the true victories, which neither draw bloud out of the veines, nor
teares out of the eies.

The castle of Solomose yeelded to Basta.

This strong place so gained, contrary to the common opinion conceiued thereof, led the
B whole prouince as it were by the hand vnto the obeisance of the Emperour: in such sort, that
Basta hauing called together all the principall men of Transyluania, declared vnto them the
justice of his cause, the right of the Emperour, with the malice and treachery of the Turks and
rebels: how they might liue in assurance with the one, and become miserable with the others:
That the Emperour was alwaies armed for their defence and health, desiring nothing but
their welfare and preservation; whereas their enemies to the contrary sought altogether their
ruine and decay; That as they were not to expect light flames of fire out of the sea, no more
they were to looke for aid from those their mortall enemies, whom they knew to haue before
decreed to haue put them all to death, and to haue given their country vnto the Tartars their
enemies: That this disaster had not now beene to fall vpon them, either euer haue beene by
C them perceiued, without the aid of the Emperour; who opposing himselfe against this fire,
had quenched it and put it out; preseruing them with his great charge, and sauing them euen
in the middest of their greatest perils and dangers. That they should therefore remember
these his so great benefits, to the intent to make him recompence according to the publique
faith, which bindeth vs to the reward of good deserts: and that all the recompence that the
Emperour desired, was the welfare of the estate, as concerning their owne good: insomuch,
that hee desired nothing of them but their obeysance, for being bound to defend them and
preserue them to his power: whereby it should come to passe, that he should be satisfied for
his trauels, and they preserued from their enemies; the Prince and the subjects together joint-
ly working their mutuall health and welfare, each of them according vnto their proportion,
D for that this mutuall performance of duty preserued the scepter for the good gouernment of
their estate. Whereunto their answer was, That they besought him that their country might
be relieued from the croud and cruelty of the men of war, and deliuered from the intollerable
burthen of tributes, which so heauily oppressed it: that these objects and inconueniences
could not keepe them constant in their obedience, seeing that they both felt them, and recei-
ued them from the hand of them, to whom they had yeelded their obedience, in hope to haue
beene by them relieued: That the new feeling of the wound did continually renew in them
the hatred, and the object of their armes still kept both their eies and their minds occupied
vpon them who were the causes thereof; so that they could not well either looke vpon them
or make reckoning of them: That therefore it would please him to ease them of their grie-
E uances, in recompence whereof they would pay him 15000 Hungarian duckats yearely for
to pay his men of war, and would farther furnish them with all prouisions necessary: it being
a thing more honourable and profitable also vnto a Prince, moderately to vse his subjects
meanes to keepe his state in perpetuity, than through couetousnesse to deuoure them in one
day, in their losse to vndoe himselfe for euer. This their offer was by *Basta* accepted, and the
minds of these people by this contentment giuen them, kept in their dutifull allegiance and
loyalty vnto the Emperour.

Basta his admonitions to the men of Transyluania.

The answere of the Transyluanians vnto the admonitions of Basta.

But whilest *Basta* thus trauelled for the quieting of Transyluania, *Moyses* the rebell in the
meane time was for his part no lesse busied for the disturbing thereof againe; insomuch, that
hauing by the appointment of the Visier Bassa receiued ten thousand Tartars in his aid, and
F assisted with a great number of Turks, he with ensignes displaied, entred into Transyluania,
protesting there to die or to be reuenged of *Basta*, who had before chased him out thence. And
the better to effect this troublesome designe, he now had made choice of a most fit time for
the performance thereof. *Basta* vpon the trust hee had of the publique faith which he came
to

New enterprises by the rebell Moyses in Transyluania.

He with ensignes displaied entere into Transyluania.

to take of the Transyluanians, for their allegiance vnto the Emperor, which assured him from all stirs and tumults in that prouince, being with a small power come from Claudiopolis in Hungary, and then lying at Wiscebourg, vpon the confines of Hungary. Which his journey, and the necessity of his presence in Hungary for the defence thereof, had caused the Transyluanians to beleeue, that hee should for that yeare stay in Hungary as General of the Emperours army there. Vpon which persuasion of his absence many of them began againe to hold vp their heads, and to entertaine high conceits of new stirs, whereunto *Moyses* by his espials had prepared them, and now by his presence not a little discouraged; insomuch that many as well of the nobility as others, joyned themselues to him, and increased his army against the Imperials. G

Moyses with his power being come into the Prouince, first forced a Castle, about three leagues distant from Wiscebourg, and slew all the garrison therein. Which exploit encouraged him farther, full of hope in the absence of *Basta*, and seeing himselfe now the absolute master of the field, which hee at his pleasure without resistance forraged, robbed, and spoiled, with his men looded with booty, besieged Wiscebourg, a little towne of vpon the confine of Hungary and Transyluania, neither by art nor by nature strong, but exposed as a prey vnto him that is in the field strongest, if succours be not at hand to relieue it. Howbeit weake as it was, it held out three weekes siege, and hauing a breach made in the walls endured two assaults against all the forces of the Rebell. After which the besieged thinking themselues to haue sufficiently discharged their duty, in holding out so long, and enduring of so much, and out of hope to be relieued by the weake forces of *Basta*, came to parley with the enemy; and their liues and goods saued, yeelded vnto him the towne, and so departed themselues to Varadin. H

Wiscebourg besieged by Moyses.

Wiscebourg yeelded to Moyses.

I

Now albeit that there were no great forces of the Emperours on foot in Transyluania; yet the hungry Haiduckes for all that failed not to follow these warres, euen amidst the great clouds of their enemies, and were euer taking of some prey or booty from the enemy, the chiefest and almost the only meanes whereby they liue. In which doing, as they benefited themselues (the chiefe Motiues of their aduentures) so they not a little eased the country, by repressing the excursions and pillages of the Turks, whereof the countrey had endured the fury. Where, amongst other prisoners by them taken, it was their fortune to light vpon a Chiaus of the Turkes come from Constantinople, going toward the Rebell *Moyses* from the great Sultan *Mahomet*. Who by them examined, confessed, That *Moyses* was a man in great grace and reputation with his Lord and Master the Grand Seignior: And that he was sent to assure him thereof; as also of all the needfull assistance of his Prince, if hee should faithfully and effectually serue him in Transyluania, and bring it vnder his subjection and power, as he had promised and sworne. In which doing, he should not onely gaine the credit of a noble and faithfull seruant towards him, but should farther obtaine thereby the honour to bee the Lieutenant Generall of his army in this Prouince; the Great Sultan (as hee said) hauing meanes as easie as words to aduance his faithfull seruitours, who might draw more good fortunes in one houre out of this infinite source of felicity and greatnesse, than they could in a thousand yeares out of the pouerty of the Princes of Europe. He said also, That the Great Sultan had on foot an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men strong, for the conquest of Pesth, and Strigonium, furnished with all things necessary, which had now already turned head towards Hungary, had it not beene for the rebellion of some of his disloyall subjects, whom for all that hee would in short time chastise, and so turne his whole forces vpon the Emperor. K

Moyses in great fauour with Mahomet.

L

A generall besieged, loseth his reputation.

Moyses proud of his late conquest, and hauing found a great deale of great Ordnance in Wiscebourg, resolued to prosecute his victory, and to besiege *Basta* in Somosinnar, wherein to he had thrust himselfe, with the rest of his small forces; But *Basta* better acquainted with martiall affaires than he, and knowing that a Generall departed from his charge, and brought to the mercy of a Wall for his chiefe defence, hath lost his credit and reputation with his friends, and they also in hope of safety from him thought it best first to take order for the strengthening of the place, so to put *Moyses* out of hope of the winning thereof, and afterward as he might to prouide for the safety of himselfe and his. Wherefore he in good time aduer- M

A aduertised the Gouernour of Cassoua (who was neerest vnto him) of *Moyses* his designes, and of the necessity wherewith he was himselfe enclosed. Who forthwith conceiuing the consequence of so great an exploit, as concerned both the losse of the place, and of so great a commander as was *Basta*, a losse irreparable; presently commanded six companies of horsemen to thrust themselues into the place, for the better defence thereof. These horsemen either afraid of the Rebels army, or else fauouring his proceedings, without respect of that they had in charge, or of their honour (things deerer vnto men of worth than their liues) without any attempt at all giuen, returned againe to Cassoua, hauing with their pilfering and outrages by the way much offended and prouoked the minds of the country people by them spoyled. But being now better aduised, and repenting themselues of their faults, and

B craving pardon of their gouernor, whow as about with the rest of his power to haue cut them in pieces, they offred him for satisfaction, six of the principal authors of their disloyalty; who were all forthwith executed, and their quarters (to the terrour of others) hanged vp vpon Gibbets by the high way side. But *Basta* by their treachery lay in the meane time without succour, forsaken by his friends, and the place wherein he lay, in danger to be taken: when the Transyluanians dwelling neere thereby resolued to relieue him, as well for feare of the Turks bondage, as for the tyranny of *Moyses*; one of whose secretaries with letters of credence then threatned all the country with fire and sword, and all kinde of miseries, if the inhabitants helped not with all their power to force the place and to win it. Which threats by *Moyses* published before he had any absolute power, dismaied euery man: for why, they could

C not hope for any moderation or kindenesse in the prosperity of him, who in the time of his aduersity gaue such apparant testimonies of his cruelty. So that the people, doubting this angry man, resolued to preuent his so grieuous threats by relieuing of *Basta*, who only was able to stop him. Amongst others, *Radul* Vayuod of Valachia, mindefull of the aid that *Basta* had giuen him against the Tartars; and willing now as a friend to reach his hand in time of his so hard distresse, immediately raised a power of eight thousand Valachians, which he presently sent to the relieſe of *Basta*. *Moyses* aduertised of their comming, and farther vnderstanding that *Basta* hauing well fortified the place, was departed thence, hauing before his departure assuredly promised his men there left to relieue them, and that he was now in the midst of the field gathering together his army, changing both his resolution and purpose, of himself

D raised his siege, and so departed. After which, mishaps began to fall vpon him by heaps. The Turks forthwith forsooke him, taking their way to Temeswar, whither they were by the Bassa called backe, to represse the Haiduckes, who were now euery day euen at the gates of the city. These actiue and couragious men for their profit attending vpon all occasions, knowing that the better part of the garrison of Temeswar was gone to aid *Moyses*, vpon the sudden had desperatly assailed the suburbs of that strong city, slaine all they found there, rifled them and burnt them: and so loaded with a great and rich prey both of cattell and other things, returned to Veradin, no man pursuing of them: And not so contented, were euery day abroad seeking after new booty; which was the cause that the Bassa now called backe the Turks from *Moyses* againe into their garrisons.

The Vayuod of Valachia sendeth aid to the relieſe of Basta.

Moyses raiseth his siege.

The Bassa of Temeswar calleth home his Turks out of Transyluania, for the repressing of the Haiduckes.

E *Moyses* notwithstanding this departure of the garrison Turks of Temeswar, was yet master of the field, *Basta* with his small forces not daring to oppose himselfe against him, yet by far too strong for him, the succours from the Vayuod of Valachia being not yet come, which he dayly expected, howbeit that many hot skirmishes passed betweene the stragling souldiers on both sides, as they by chance met together roaming abroad in the country seeking after booty. *Moyses* seeing therefore not any sufficient enemy to appeare in field able to stay him, laid siege to Claudinople, a great, but weake city, and not very well manned, for that it was thought a place fitter by the weakenesse thereof to weaken and destroy such as should vndertake the defence thereof, than sufficient to be maintained by their valour. Neuertheless, the garrison souldiers and the inhabitants (more to make a shew of their fidelity

F and allegiance toward the Emperor, than for any hope they had to mantaine the place) standing vpon their gard and defence, *Moyses* was constrained to plant his great ordnance against it, and to batter it: which he did, and in a very short time with the fury of the cannon had beaten downe the bulwarkes and flankers thereof, and made a faire breach in the wall, ready now to haue giuen thereunto an assault, and to haue entred. Whereupon the besieged not, ignorant

Claudinople besieged by Moyses.

Claudinople yeelded to Moyses.

rant of their owne weakeneſſe, came to parley, and agreed to giue vp the city, the citizens hauing their liues, goods liberty, and religion saued, to stay there still, and the souldiers with their armes and baggage to be in safety brought ouer the mountaines into some place of surety. The taking of this city much encouraged the rebell; resolued therefore make haueſtance, and the seat of his principality. Full eares of corne draw birds to picke vpon them, and the good fortunes of Generals, souldiers to follow them: they forsake none but such as are before forsaken of their better fortunes; to become slaues vnto gaine, and enemies vnto honour. The Turks and Tartars thirsting after these commodities, and allured with the smell of riches, repaired thither on euery side, in such sort, that the army of *Moyses* increased in number, his mind with hope, and his fortune with power. Armed with these assurances, he sent for his wife and family then at Temeswar, to come vnto him to Claudinople, to be partakers with him of his good hap. And for that purpose sent a conuoy of 400 Turks to conduct them on the way thither. Who being come to Temeswar, and about to haue led the wife and family of *Moyses* out of the city, were not suffered by the Ianizaries that had the garding of the towne, so to do: who told them, That the great Sultan had in former times found so many disloialties, trecheries, and treasons in the Hungarians, Transyluanians, and Valachians, to the great hurt and hinderance of his estate, that he could no more assure himselfe of them: and that doubting of the fidelity of *Moyses*, being a Transyluanian, he were resolued to keepe this gage for his more assurance: assuring him withall, That his wife and family being in his power, should receiue nothing from him but fauour and grace, so long as he receiued from him the effects of his loyalty, but that he should neuer hope to inioy them but in Temeswar, or some other such like place assured for his seruice. *Moyses* astonied at this answer, was much moued against the great Sultan, complained in his soule, that hauing ministred his faith, his honour, and the welfare of his country, to assure him of his fidelity towards him, he yet doubted of his constancy, as if all these crimes did not binde him to serue him with his person for euer, were it euen but for feare of punishment from them whom he had so grieuously offended.

In the meane time the succours sent from the Vayuod of Valachia were vpon the borders of Transyluania vnder the conduct of *Marsa* the Vayuod his Lieutenant, and *Basta* was gathering together his forces, to recouer againe his former estate; expecting euery houre the comming of two thousand horsemen out of Silesia, with which vnited power he was in good hope to discomfit the rebell, and to recouer his former losses. All which, *Moyses* by his espials right well knew, and for the remedy thereof resolued to march with thirty thousand men to meet with the Valachians, and to cut them off, before they could come far into Transyluania, or joyne their forces with *Basta*. For the furthering of which his purpose he had learned the place whereby they were to enter, their number, and the way they were to hold, the better to conduct his army against them; and being in number more than three to one, already assured himselfe of the victory. All which fell out according to his desire: for the Valachians comming on, being in number but eight thousand, fell as it were a prey into his mouth. For needs fight they must, or die therefore, although the number were vnequall; for that to fly was more dangerous vnto the Valachians (hauing the Turks and Tartarian horsemen at their backes) than manfully to fight it out. Necessity gaue courage vnto the weaker side, and feare caused them to performe more than they would haue done, had they had liberty to haue fled: yet for all that, the greater number at length preuailed against the lesse; so that after a great and mortall fight, wherein a great number of the Turks and Tartars were slaine, the Valachians in the end were enforced to leaue their dead companions, their honour, and their tents, with all their baggage in the field, and to betake themselues to flight; but not all in rout as fresh-water souldiers, but with often making stands, as men disdaining by true valour, but only with number oppressed, to be ouercome. The rebels proud of their victory, and now fearing no more harme, forthwith gaue themselues to the rifling of the enemies campe, diuiding the spoyle, and filling the heauens with the noise of their trumpets, publishing thereby the trophies of their victory. Which disorder the Valachians perceiuing, and thereof conceiuing hope of some good to be done, turned head, and serred close together, couragiously thrust themselues into the middest of these proud and triumphant victors. Which vnexpected thunderclap so dismaied them and troubled their wits, that

The Valachians by Moyses put to flight.

that surprised in disorder, with their hands full of spoils in stead of weapons; they could neither recouer their courage, nor put themselues againe in order. Such confusion maketh men oftentimes to feele the blowes of death, before they be aware of the arme that giueth the same: so, of these men so confounded, some stood as men amazed, othersome ran away to saue themselues, and othersome stood vpon their defence, but all were alike slaine: so that in fine, this great army was for the most part cut in pieces, and the rest put to flight. *Moyses* himselfe was there among the rest slaine, worthy for his treason to haue beene reserued to a more shamefull death.

Moyses with his army by the Valachians ouerthrowne, and himselfe slaine.

Of this victory the Vayuod by letters certified *Basta*, to whom he sent fiue and twenty of the enemies ensignes for an honourable present, with this joyfull news of the death and ouerthrow of the rebell; whose body as the Vayuod writ, was found dead amongst the middest of the dead, slaine euen at the first charge, wherein his guard was ouerthrowne. And for that it was commonly beleeued, that he was not yet dead, neither present at that battell, as some had giuen it out; to manifest the contrary vnto the World, and by his example to terrifie others, his head was vpon a lance set vp at Carolstad for all men to behold: a preferment well beseeming such an ambitious head, as had made so great troubles, and beene the death of so many Christians.

Moyses his head vpon a lance set vp at Carolstad.

This rebell suppressed, another by and by start vp, called *Albert Nage*, who gathering together the rebels of Transyluania, mingled with certaine Turks, Tartars, Cossackes, and Moldauians, all together amounting to the number of six thousand, made head towards Lippa. Against whom, *Basta* with all speed sent forth three thousand Haiducks well acquainted with the countrey, which sometimes serued them to better purpose than their armes, for that the rebels sought not so much to come to a set battell, and to try the matter by true valour, as by taking the aduantages of places, to delay the time and purchase gaine, the chiefe end of their rebellion. These rebels the Haiducks surprised neere vnto a Castle called Ferre, where they meant to haue lodged, and charged them. Who so vpon the sudden ouertaken, and ignorant of their enemies power, supposing them to haue beene more in number than indeed they were, made small resistance, but as a many of rascals, gathered by villany, and without trusting of one another, by flight prouided euery man for himselfe as he might. In which flight, the greatest number of them were slaine, and their chiefetaine with much ado saued, to be at another time for his euill deserts justly executed.

New rebels in Transyluania discomfited.

Basta by these good haps, and the aid of the Vayuod of Valachia, being again become master of the field, in very short time after had reduced all Transyluania vnder the Emperours obeysance, vnto whom, he together with the Vayuod, for an honourable present and a testimony of their good seruice, sent to Vienna, and from thence to Prague, an hundred ensignes gained from the rebels. All which with some other rich spoles, the master of the Ceremonies in great pompe and triumph led, together with *Moyses* the late rebels horse, exceeding richly furnished with furniture of pure gold, and was for his paines by the Emperour rewarded with a chaine of gold, sent vnto him by the County *Fustenberg*.

An honourable present by Basta sent to the Emperour.

The troubles of Transyluania thus once againe quieted, *Basta* resoluing againe to besiege Temeswar, with his power marched towards Lippa, there to meet with the forces of the Vayuod of Valachia, the better to vndertake and performe the intended exploit. His army consisted of twenty thousand men strong, carrying with them fiue and twenty pieces of great ordnance, furnished with all things necessary. And of the enterprise it selfe euery man had good hope, as well for the sufficiency of him the Generall that had vndertaken it, as for the want of reliefe that was not like any way to be brought vnto the besieged. But while he so lay at the siege thereof, his souldiers too greedily and excessiuely feeding vpon fruit (whereof there was that yeare great store) fell so into the bloudy flix, and thereof in such number died (although he had giuen most streit command, That none should be eaten, or vpon great penalties be brought into the camp) that he was glad to rise with his army and be gone.

Whilest this was in doing, the County *Solmes* lying in garrison at Carolstat, tooke vpon him to surprise Wiscenbourg; and setting forth but with foure hundred souldiers of his garrison, with wonderfull diligence surprised the place, and without any great resistance became masters thereof. But the citizens ouer-grieued with the insolent outrages of these men

County Solmes surprised Wiscenbourg, as himselfe taken prisoner.

men of war, opened the gates of their towne vnto the rebels of Transyluania, euen then fled from the late ouerthrow: who full of reuenge, tooke the place, and being too strong for the County and his soldiers, made such slaughter of them in the streets (they of the towne out of their windowes, and from the tops of their houses helping them) that of all those which the County brought with him, there were but sixty left aliue; who all taken, were together with the County thrust into a strong and loathsome prison.

Now the bruit of the comming of the Turks great army into Hungary had awaked the Christian forces to assemble themselues together, and to do their endeauor to withstand the same; so that a number of companies were raised in Germany, who came into Hungary marching towards Strigonium, where the army was to be assembled. The good successe of things past, the opinion men had of the Turks troubles with his rebels, and the great promises of the Emperour, drew many into these lists of honor; in such sort, that there were come together an army of fiue and twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, all good and braue companies, well appointed and well conducted. Of this braue and gallant army the Lord *Russworme* was for this yeare appointed Generall; who therewith marched within the sight of Strigonium, to assure the inhabitants of reliefe, if the enemy should chance to besiege them, as the newes then went. About three weekes this army lay there by encamped, attending the comming of the rest of the forces, which were to strengthen and make vp the same; during which time the Generall disposed of all things necessary for the keeping of Strigonium, and put into the fort of S. *Andrew* neere vnto it three thousand Lansquenets for relieſe of the city: which done, hee remooued with his army toward Pesth, and encamped within a league thereof toward the West, resoluing so to crosse the designes of the enemy if he should attempt to besiege this place (as it was doubted he would) and in hope that the preseruation thereof might in time be a cause for the winning of Buda, and a meane to impeach the enemies forces.

A great army of the christians

The Turks army within a few daies after vpon a contrary designe conducted for the winning of Pesth (and resolued to raise the Christians campe) in number an hundred thousand men, came, and face to face incamped within the sight of the Christian army on the other side of the riuer Danubius. In the meane time whilest they so lay, certaine cowardly soldiers of Pesth, more in loue with their bellies than with their honour, by stealth fled out of their garrison in Pesth, to the Turks ouer against them in Buda, shamefully craueing of them victuals; whom the Turks being themselues almost in as great want, yet bounteously relieued. Besides that, the Bassa of Buda to corrupt the rest of their fellowes, caused these renegate fugitiues to be entertained with double pay: who therefore gaue the Bassa a thousand thanks, extolling his bounty vnto the heauens, and from the wals inuiting their companions to do as they had done, and so to become partakers of such bounty and pleasure as they were. Howbeit these fugitiues nothing profited the Bassa, either by their persuasion or example: for albeit that they from the mouth of the Bassa promised vnto their companions plenty of victuals, good entertainment, and foure months pay more, yet was there not any of them which hearkened or gaue eare vnto their allurements: but rather the more to assure their commanders of their fidelity, of themselues offered to be sworne againe vnto their allegiance vnto the Emperour, and to die in the place rather than to forsake it. Yet was the want of victuals then in Pesth great, and the garrison therwith extreamely pinched, fed almost as much with hope, as with that little which was left them. Neither was it long after, but that according to their desires the 15 of May a great ship arriued there, laded with wine and victuals sufficient for the reliefe of their present necessities. Of the comming of which ship, the Turks having heard, attended the passage thereof in the Isle, to haue intercepted it. Of which their purpose the garrison souldiers of Pesth hauing knowledge, and armed with necessity, sallied out vpon them, and killing a number of them, inforced the rest to quit the place. This ship was but the forerunner of greater succors; for shortly after followed a number of other ships: which arriuing at Pesth, laded with victuals and other necessaries, filled the place with as great plenty, as there had beene before want. Which supply was conducted vnto Pesth by 500 harquebusiers of Strigonium, the Turks from Buda looking on, but not daring or not able to stay the same.

The Turks army of 100000 men in field.

The shamefull flight of certain of the garrison soldiers of Pesth vnto the Turks at Buda.

Pesth victualled

It

It fortuned at the selfe same time, that a captain of the Turkes, fled from Alba Regalis to Rab, shewed the Christians there the way and mean how they might come to the suburbs of Alba Regalis, and take the spoil of the same; yea and haply as things might sal out, finde occasion to surprise the town it self also, offering himself to be their guid in the action. And albeit that this Turk might iustly be feared and suspected, yet the Christian soldiers, as men desirous both of honour and prey, and induced also by the probability of the attempt, gaue credit vnto him and embraced the same. Neither failed he of his promise, nor the Christians of their deuoir in performance of the exploit; For the two garrisons of Rab and Strigonium assembled together, by this Turks conduct surprised the suburbs of Alba Regalis, slew al them that made resistance, rifled them on all hands, set them on fire, and so laden with rich spoil returned home again in safety.

The suburbs of Alba Regalis sacke & burnt by the Christians.

At the same time also the Christians on the other side Danubius gathered an head together to conduct another Conuoy of victuals into Pesth, with a resolution to march with the same through the plain field at noone day, euen in the eie of the enemy, so to braue him. To which purpose the Lord *Nadasti* was there present with a good number of Hungarians, Colonel *Meisberg* with a regiment of Almaines, and the County *Thurn* with a number of Hussars, all good soldiers and men of courage, desirous to proue the same vpon their enemies. This conuoy, with the Trumpets gallantly sounding, brauely marched ouer the plaine at mid day, the Turkes from the walls of Buda beholding the same, but not daring to aduenture vpon it. And so Pesth, for want of victuals before distressed, was now plentifully relieued both by water and by land.

Pesth again victualled.

The Christians the last yeare hauing left the siege of Buda for the reasons before written, in their return tooke the castle of Adom, seated vpon the banke of Danubius, about 2 leagues from Buda; and for the keeping therof left therin a garison of Haiducks. This castle was conuenient for the annoying of the Turks in Buda, and for the relief of the Christians in Pesth; for that it impeached the bringing of victuals vnto the one, and fauoured the victualling of the other. The good and faithful defence of this place these Haiduckes vndertooke to their vtmost power, vpon their honour and credit, as they would be accounted valiant and couragious men; but yet refused to be bound by oath to render an account for the place, what soeuer might befall; a thing (as they truly said) aboue their forces, and more than they were able to perform. These men now vpon the bruit of the comming of the Turks great Army, afraid of their shadowes, hauing before trussed vp their baggage, set fire on the castle and so departed, retyring themselues to Strigonium: where examined by the gouernor *Althem*, of the cause of their flight, and what enemies had chased them thence; and being not able therfore to make any excuse, nor to yeeld any reason therof, more than their imaginary fear, were by his commandement imprisoned, there to remain vntil order were taken by the Generall of the Army for their further punishment.

Sultan *Mahomet* now wallowing in the midst of his sensual delights in Constantinople, yet found not therin so full contentment, but that his pleasures had also their griefs fully mixed with them. In Constantinople, the strong seat of his mighty empire, he was amidst the insolent mutinies of the proud Bassa's and tumultuous Ianizaries; and abroad hee was in warres both against his rebellious subiects in Asia, and the Christians in Europe. Vnto all which troubles he saw not how to giue remedy at once, and therfore resolued, if it were possible, first to appease the troubles abroad with his rebellious subiects in Asia; as more desirous to be at peace with his owne subiects, than with strangers: howbeit that the punishing of rebellion is more necessary in a Prince for the maintenance of his state, than is war against a stranger for the conquering of a new country or kingdom; the one preuenting the danger hanging ouer his head, the other seruing but his vaine and ambitious desire. So hee preferring peace with the Rebels his subiects, before peace with the Christians his enemies, resolued (as I said) to pacifie the first, the more easily to ruinat the other. But whether he vpon good faith or policy entred into this resolution, and whether indeed he dealt plainly with these rebels, or but only to deceiue them, is hard to say. Howbeit, as the sequell of the matter shewed, falshood and treachery was the ground of all this businesse, both on the one side & on the other. For these men respecting only the safety and assurance of their estate, held all other actions as indifferent,

Mahomet in vain offereth peace to the Asian Rebels.

rent, whether they were good or bad, so that they serued to that effect; and nourished with the same milke of infidelitie that their Prince was, trained vp in the same schoole, and fostred with the same air, feared in him against them, that which they felt in themselues against him. An hard matter it is to assure minds fraight with like craft, subtiltie, and deceit, and possessed with like distrust one of another. Howbeit *Mahomet* spared no kinde of cunning to deceiue these crafty and subtil men; offering vnto them, together with his gracious pardon, great preferments, dignities, and honors, so that they would but yeeld to him their due obedience, lay down their arms, and no more take vp the same but in his seruice. But these wily foxes knew right wel, that the promises of faithlesse princes cost them nothing but words, the honor and credit therof they regarded not, so that therby they might attain vnto the height of their desires, which they esteemed aboue all other things: so that for them to trust vnto a thing of so small value with him that was so prodigal therof, and for the same so easily to yeeld vp their liues and fortunes, which they esteemed as their chiefest treasures, they thought right worthily to deserue all shame and mishap that might betide them. So that they not only refused to lay down arms, and to yeeld their obedience vnto him, as he desired, but euen to haue peace with him vpon any conditions whatsoeuer, seeing them dangerous vnto themselues, and good only for him their enemy.

Mahomet finding the rebels so resolutely set down, as not by any means but by force to bee appeased, thought it now best to turn his purpose vnto the Christians, and to offer them that which the others had refused; in hope that peace made with the one, should be the vtter ruin of the other. Vpon which point he being in himself resolued, sought now some honest means not vnbeseeming his greatnes, to effect this his purpose. For the easing him of which care, the French Embassador then Lieger at Constantinople, was very fitly then intreating with the Visier Bassa's for the deliuerance of the County *Ysolan*, taken at Alba-Regalis the last yeare, and against all law of arms detained prisoner at Constantinople. This noble gentleman *Mahomet* thought fit, as wel for the sufficiencie of himself, as with instructions to deale with the Emperour concerning an intreaty of peace to be had. Wherupon he commanded him to bee set at liberty, with charge, That he should both discreetly and faithfully deal with the Emperor concerning this matter of peace; which if he should by his industry effect, to his good liking and content, then he should remain free, otherwise to return againe into his former captiuity and bondage: for whom the French Embassadour gaue his word and became pledge. Vpon which barbarous conditions the Earle was forthwith deliuered, who by the law of arms should not at all haue bin detained.

Besides this plot laid for the negotiation of peace, *Achmet Bassa* to this purpose writ to *Colonitz*, then commander of the Emperors army in Hungary; the copy of which letters was as followeth:

Letters of Achmet Bassa vnto Collonitz concerning peace.

To thee our friend Collonitz *health and greeting. I suppose you yet remember the propositions concerning peace, which our Soueraign and most mighty Monarch not long ago caused to bee opened and propounded vnto you by certaine of his Bassa's neere vnto Strigonium; which as then remained not resolued. But if now it shall seem vnto you good, that we should assemble our selues together into some place of assurance both to the one side and the other, we may again confer about that busines, as hauing on my part full power and commandment from my Prince so to do; yet with charge, That before all other things Strigonium should be again deliuered vnto vs. Which being don, wee may easily afterward determin the other difficulties, and conclude a good and wholsome peace. God which onely reigneth in the heauens aboue, is witnes of our faithfull and iust desire, to assume a quiet and firm peace betwixt vs, and that to auert these flouds of war from the poor people, and to giue them some repose and rest after so great troubles. This is our intent and purpose, which God knoweth to be void of all fraud and guile; which we now declare vnto you, in hope to vnderstand yours also. But if you be not resolued to render to vs Strigonium, before we begin to intreat of other matters, it is not needfull for you to trouble your self to giue any answer to these our letters. But if you shall resolue to the contrary, to deliuer the same, with as much speed as you can, in few words let vs vnderstand the same, with the time & place fit for our assembly & meeting to the intent fully to determin of these affairs. You know also that you haue bin of long time accustomed to pay tribute to our Prince; which if you shal continually pay for the time to come, and discharge the arrerages for ttime past, it shall bee*

be commodious for vs, and honourable for you, seeing that it is an honour vnto you to be tributaries vnto the Grand Seignior, is hauing alwaies in times past bin for your good and profit. Besides that, peace shall likewise be intreated of with the great Cham of Tartarie, who is commanded by our most mighty and gratious Emperor vpon iust and reasonable conditions to entertain the same, and neuer more but in peaceable manner to come into Hungarie. Now if that you shall neglect or reiect this treaty for peace, it is certaine that you shall be the authour of the misery and ruine of the whole countrey, it being impossible that the towns and villages consumed with fire should euer reconer their former beauty or felicity. God which reigneth in heauen is there witnesse vnto me, and my dead Emperour vpon earth, that I speake franckely with you, and without dissimulation concerning this matter. Now on your part, let vs vnderstand if you haue a desire to attend vnto this treaty of peace, according to the purport of your Letters: for if you shall resolue to the contrarie, we protest vnto you to write no more concerning these affaires.

Collonitz hauing receiued these letters, sent them forthwith vnto the Emperor, requesting his Majestie to consider what answer he would haue giuen vnto them. Whom the Emperor, desirous of a good peace, commanded to embrace the occasion, and by proofe to learne whether the Turks desire were indeed conformable to their words or not. Whereupon *Collonitz* taking vnto him certaine of the best commanders of the army, vndertooke the businesse, and entred into the treaty of peace with the Turks: wherein he found the vnreasonablenesse of their demands to tend so much vnto the hurt and dishonor of the Emperor, as that they euen at the first entrance shut vp the way to al further or reasonable conference; it being altogether impossible to bring to any conformitie, minds set down vpon resolutions so far different. For the Turks (as if the Emperour would haue been glad of peace vpon any condition) after their proud manner, vnreasonably demanded to haue Transyluania, Strigonium, and Pesth restored vnto them; for which they offered to deliuer vnto the Emperour Agria and Canisia, pebles for pearles. So that vpon propositions so far different, being able to conclude nothing, they departed on both sides as they came, to try by armes that which by talke and conference they could not agree vpon. But as all the Turks treaties of peace with the Christians are indeed but false shewes to abuse the facilitie of the Christians by, euen so now also it was knowne, that they in the meane time, whilest this treaty of peace was in hand, gathered together great store both of men and munition at Belgrade, wherewith to arme a great conuoy of victuals, which they had thought during this interparley for peace to haue put into Buda. But *Collonitz* vnderstanding thereof, ceased further to intreat of peace, which with the false shew thereof did but hurt and deceiue the Christians, and betooke himselfe againe to his arms (his and their safest and surest refuge) resoluing with the other Captains & Commanders of the army to do what they might for the crossing and hindring of the Turkes in their purpose for the putting of victuals into Buda: whereof there was now such want, that the Turks in garrison there hauing alreadie eaten all their horses, and for victuals rifled the Gouernours house, were resolued to abandon the city, if they should not be within some few daies relieued.

The Turks vnreasonable demands breake off all the treaty of peace.

Now vpon this resolution for the keeping of the Turks from the victualling of Buda, the Christians for the more assurance of their purpose, prepared therefore both by water and by land, embarking their footmen vpon the riuer, vnder the conduct of Colonell *Altmeine* and *Sultze*, the one the Gouernour of Strigonium, and the other of Pesth; whilest that *Collonitz* with the horsemen scouring alongst the banks of the riuer of Danubius, took the charge by land. And so it fortuned, that vpon the 22 day of August he with his horsemen neere vnto the village of Mohatsch (famous for the death of King *Lewis*) fell vpon the head of the Turks army, led by the Bassa *Murat*, consisting of six thousand Turkes, two thousand of them being Ianizaries: who altogether lay encamped vpon an euen plaine, very commodious for our horsemen, who let slip neither the time nor the opportunitie of so great an aduantage offered them, but forthwith charged them: where after a number of notable charges both giuen and receiued, which still abated both the number and courage of the Turks, they at last retired toward the body of their army, and that in such hast, as that their retreat little differed from a speedy flight. After whom *Collonitz* followed with like hate as hee had charged them; but euill followed by his friends, who euill performed their charge, seeking after the

A notable enterprise of Collonitz vpon the auantgard of the Turkes army.

the spoil, in stead of pursuing their enemies; the Turks perceiuing the small number that pur- G
sued them, turned vpon them, and so began again not only to make strong resistance, but euen
right hardly to charge them. Who so by them pressed with no lesse courage than power, were
now glad themselues to retyre, in stead of pursuing the victory; but yet so, as that the retreit
was made without any great losse therin receiued. Howbeit, the Turkes not a little incoura-
ged with this change of fortune, and perceiuing themselues too strong for their enemies
that charged them, came on so fast and so couragiously, as that in fine they had defeated the
Christians, had not the Haiducks out of their boats from the riuer in good time come reso-
lutely to their relief. Which cloud the Turks perceiuing, ready to pour forth a great tempest
vpon their heads, and not daring to abide the same, againe retyred, leauing the Christians Vi-
ctors both in the first and last charge: who not content with the retreit of the Turks, furiously
charged and pursued them euen vnto their great campe, and so returned, carrying backe with H
them both the glory of the field, and the spoil of their enemies.

Collonitz in good time reliued by the Haiducks.

In this conflict, the red cornet of *Murat Bassa*, the cognisance of his great commaund, was
taken, with two field pieces; seuen hundred Turks were left dead vpon the place, and six score
more taken prisoners: amongst whom was *Saxar Beg*, who being a man of vnderstanding, & by
the Christians examined, confessed, That *Hassan Bassa* the day before this conflict came into
the Campe, and there honourably dined with the great Cham; with whom after their great
cheer, he entring into discourse of many great matters, and among the rest, concerning his re-
turn into his country; was much against the same, vntill such time as they had new victualled
Buda, wherunto he was (as he said) both in honour and duty bound to giue his assistance, the I
losse of this place being of so great importance vnto the grand Seignior. That otherwise his
aid had been to him rather hurtfull than profitable, his people hauing deuoured so much vi-
ctuals and performed nothing, if he should now at this time faile to doe his Prince seruice;
who could neuer thinke either valour or credit to be in him, if he should fail in such actions
as wherin his valour and fidelitie should appear; all things hauing no other credit and repu-
tation but according vnto their effects. And that therefore hee should resolue to see the end
of this exploit, which required euery mans helping hand for the performance therof, conside-
ring the forces of the enemy in readinesse to hinder the same. Moreouer hee assured them;
That the Bassa's purpose was to new fortifie Haswar, Pax, and Kaletsch, frontier Castles, and
necessarie for this action, and so to goe to the siege of Pesth: and that done, to besiege Stri- K
gonium, which for all that, he doubted to win this year, as well by reason of the approach of
winter, as for that a great part of his forces were far off, and not easily in a little time to be as-
sembled together. That the Tartars were yet a great way from the camp, where the Bassa's of
Asia and Caramania were within a few daies expected, the one of them leading with him the
reconciled rebels of Asia, and the other six thousand Ianizaries. Which his confession al-
though it were not altogether true, yet caried it shew of some probabilitie, as time by proofe
afterward declared.

The Turkes affaires reuealed to the christiãs

Some of our men were in this charge slaine also, but few in comparison of the Turks, who
there lost some of their best men. It was noted, that tn this conflict the soldiers of Colonell
Sultze had euil behaued themselues, refusing to pursue the enemy being in flight; whether it L
were for that they feared some ambush layd for them, or for that they disdained to follow
Generall *Collonitz*: the reasons perhaps for which their Colonell staied them from the pur-
suit of the enemy. But to euill purpose: for being out of order at such time as the Turkes tur-
ning back renewed the fight, they had beene all slain and cut in pieces, had nor the Haiduckes
in good time (as we said) come on to their rescue. As for *Collonitz*, hee most brauely bare
himself in this conflict, so much as in him was vrging his good fortune for the obtaining of
a ful victory; sometime performing the part of a good Captaine, and sometime of a most
valiant souldier; sometime forcing the charge, and again staying his men in the retreit: inso-
much that oftentimes lost amongst his enemies, and again returning by the grace of God, he
escaped death as it were by miracle, and from being taken prisoner, by chance. Into neither M
of which dangers hee could haue fallen without the great danger of the whole Army, which
next vnto God, was for the safety thereof chiefely beholding vnto the valour of him their
so braue a Leader. But God in his wisedome create th not such worthy men, but by his pro-
uidence

A uidence also to preserue them: Wonder it were otherwise, that euer such worthy men should
return from among the midst of so many desperat dangers, Death as it were enuying at their
liues, and their enemies for their glory chusing them out to triumph of their spoils and ouer-
throw. And without doubt, had the rest of the Christians after his example prosecuted their
good fortune, and don what good soldiers should of duty haue done, their enemies had beene
quite ouerthrown, and they themselues had bin both victorious and rich: where now for lacke
of good resolution, the victory was almost equall; for besides the spoils by them gotten, they
might haue carried away with them a whole years pay due to the garrison of Buda, which the
Turks, put into a fear, and only carefull of their liues, had left in their camp, which they after-
ward again recouered, vpon recouery of their force and courage. This mony, with much more,
B was all appointed as a prey vnto the good fortune of our men, had they bin so valorous as to
fetch it; but failing of their indeauor in so glorious an action, Fortune failed them also of
her bounty.

Now at length the Christian army was met together, about the fourth of September, wher-
in the lord *Russworm* commanded as General; who desirous to vnderstand of the Turks affairs
and designes, sent forth two of his most trusty and expert souldiers to performe that piece of
seruice: who in Turks apparel being got into the Turks army, were there eight daies vndisco-
uered or suspected of any. Where after that they roaming vp and down had taken a full view
of the Turks army, and in what they might discouered their designes, they returned back, de-
claring vnto their General what they had both there heard and seen; as, That the Turks army
C was very great, but yet not such as that which the last year besieged Pesth: That the Turks lay
incamped at large, and not all together, which caused their Army to seem the greater, taking
vp half a league for the lodging therof, being wel prouided of cannon and other field pieces.
That *Hassan Bassa* commanded therin as Generall, hauing brought with him twelue thousand
Ianizaries, beside his horsmen and the reconciled rebels of Asia, which were daily lookt for;
the leader of whom was not known, some thinking it to be him who had alwaies commanded
them, being a most valiant captain and expert commander; but others deemed him to be but
one of his Captains that had forsaken him (as indeed he was) a right valiant man also, but not
of so great experience as he. That the great Tartar Han, come to aid the Turks in their wars
in Hungary, was to the great discontentment of *Hassan Bassa*, now already returned toward his
D own country (with such booty and prisoners as he had got from the poor Christians) to ap-
pease a rebellion there raised by a yong Tartar prince his nephew, who by his vncle the great
Han giuen in hostage to *Mahomet*, and kept at Constantinople as in prison, hauing got means
to make an escape and to return into Tartary, was about to trouble his vncles affaires, in hope
now in his absence to mount vnto the throne of his estate: and that the Tartar being come to
the banke of the riuer Danubius, and by the Turks denied boats to passe ouer in, and with
many railing and opprobrious speeches by them charged for his departure, as a Coward, had
found meanes to make a floting bridge of great faggots, whereby he passed his footmen ouer
the riuer, his horsemen swimming ouer the same; and so was by great journies returning to-
ward his owne territory, boasting by the way as he went, That hee had rejected and trodden
E vnder foot all the prayers and requests of *Hassan Bassa*, entreating him yet to stay a while in
Hungary for the seruice of the great Sultan his master. Besides that, That they had seene six
great Vessels vpon the riuer of Danubius, with ten lesser Vessels following after them, garded
with three thousand souldiers well armed, and men of good sort, three hundred of them being
Ianizaries, appointed to safe conduct the munition to be brought vp the riuer, and to seruе as
a conuoy to the other Vessels that went to follow them with victuals, if haply the Christians
should attempt any thing against them. And in fine, That the Turks army could not possibly
be great this year, by reason of many great lets wherwith the great Sultan was this year trou-
bled: which much abated the courage and hope of his Captaines, who hanging their heads,
came vnwillingly to these Wars, accounting themselues happy if they might in this expedi-
F tion but take Pesth, that they might not returne so much dishonoured as they came daunted
and discouraged. With which newes the Christians were so much encouraged to incounter
with the Turkes, as if they had beene assured to fight with men already discouraged and out
of heart.

The Lord Russworm informed of the Turks designes.

The Turks ouerthrowne by the garrison of Strigonium.

In the mean time the Hussars of Strigonium, alwaies ready for fight, by good fortune going forth, met with 400 Turkes seeking for forrage; who incountering together, at the first made a most braue and gallant fight, euery one of them wishing, That their priuate successe might be the beginning of their general victory. But the Hussars being both more skilfull in that manner of skirmishing and sudden incounter, and also of greater courage, at length brake the Turks rankes, of whom six score lay dead vpon the ground, most of the rest being taken prisoners, with an hundred and thirty good and seruiceable horses, wherewith both the glory and the profit of their victory was increased. Colonel *Sultze* also with 300 men marching out from the Campe, chanced to discouer an hundred of those braue horsemen which but newly came out of Asia with *Zellaly* the Rebell; who hauing neuer seen the army of the Christians, nor yet felt their forces, were with three hundred Ianizaries vpon a brauery come ouer the Riuer Danubius, to take a view of the Christian Camp: for the drawing on of whom, the wary Colonel had sent forth fifty of his horsmen a great way from the rest of his troup, as it were to discouer the country therabouts. These fore-runners failed not to meet with the Turkes, as if it had been by chance, and were by them forthwith charged, as thinking to haue had a great hand ouer that so small a number; when vpon the sudden Colonell *Sultze* with the rest of his company comming on, and hotly charging them, encouraged his owne men, and discouraged the Turks: who surprised with feare, thinking the Christians to be more in number than indeed they were, hauing left some fifty of their men dead vpon the place, as men dismaied and voyd of vnderstanding fled: in which their flight, such as were not by the Christians slaine, were in the riuer of Danubius drowned, whereinto they for feare all headlong plunged themselues.

The Turks defeated by Colonell Sultze.

All these little conflicts serued but as sparkes, to kindle the great fire by the Bassa intended; his first purpose being to put a Conuoy of victuals into Buda, which the Christians purposed by all means to hinder: which so contrary intentions were not but by force and policie to be decided. The Christian General wisely doubting left the Bassa should come and lodge his Army betwixt Vicegrade and Buda, and so victual the city at his pleasure, raised a strong fort of an old church, betwixt the said two places, and therein lodged a Regiment of Lansquenets. Beside which fort, called the fort of Saint *Andrew*, hee built another at the head therof in the Isle of Vicegrade, in such order and proportion, that these two forts might one of them defend the other, and annoy them that should attempt to force either of them. Together with this commodiousnes, the fort in the Isle kept the passage vpon Danubius free and open for the bringing of victuals and other necessaries to the Campe of the Christians; and was but a league and an half from Buda. Into which fort was put a Regiment of foure thousand Italians, being all very wel armed. Which don, he made a bridge of boats vpon the Riuer, which began in the camp and ended at the Isle, for the releiuing of the fort; & so from thence passed quite ouer the riuer to Vacia, a little town, which it was needfull for the Christians to keep.

These Forts finished according to the necessity of the time, it was not long after, but that the Bassa sent ten thousand Turkes both horse and foot to take the first of them, which they supposed to haue beene but weakely fortified. Who comming thither, were with such courage receiued by the Lansquenets with their harquebuses, as that the whole Fort seemed to haue beene on fire. Wherewith the Turkes dismayed, as men in their expectation deceiued, and in approching of the same hauing some of their men slain and moe hurt, they soone after founded a retreit, and hauing done nothing but lost a number of their men, returned to their Campe from whence they came. In which enterprise failing, they resolued vpon another, and began to make a bridge ouer the Danubius, in hope thereby to passe ouer, and to annoy the Christians on the other side of the Riuer. Wherof the General of the Christians vnderstanding, suffered them without any interruption to spend the time in performing of the same. But certainly informed by his espials, both of the day and houre wherein they were about to passe ouer, he layd an ambush of foure thousand Lansquenets and two thousand Reisters for them, in such place as from whence they might without danger do great harm vnto the Enemy, and assure the body of the Christian Army. The riuer of Danubius had growing vpon the bankes thereof, and especially in the desolate and vnfrequented places, great store of flags and

A great Ambush laid for the intercepting of the Turks.

and reeds, which were now thicke, & high enough to couer the footmen in, hauing with them four culuerins ready charged. Behind this ambush lay Colonell *Collonitz* with his regiment, and in the head of it the prince *Ioinville* with acertain number of French gentlemen; who vpon a braue courage, and a desire they had to see seruice, had followed him into those wars. There was also the Lord of Bassomperre another Frenchman, with his own priuat followers, in number few, but in valor great. Vpon the flanks lay four troups of French Carabins, Loranoises, and Wallons, most expert and resolute soldiers.

The Turks hauing made their bridge, began now to passe ouer the same, being charged by some sew stragling and loose fore-runners of the Christians, sent before for that purpose: whom the Turks not much regarding, still pressed on, in hope to ouertake them and to cut them in pieces, not aware of the ambush laid for them, nor of their enemies counter-designes. The footmen in the mean time lying stil close in the reeds in ambush, beholding how and in what order they passed, and expecting but the time when they were to begin their charge. But hauing perceiued ten thousand Turks to be now come ouer, and making head toward them; the Wallons vpon the banke of the riuer (as was before appointed) first discharged their pieces vpon them, and slew some of them. Neuertheless the Turkes still passing on by them, slew of them also about foure and twenty, and so keeping their way, marched directly toward the Christians. But this their forwardnesse was quickly stayed, and their courage abated; for in passing by, they were vpon the sudden assailed by the Lansquenets and Reisters, now risen out of ambush, and by them hardly layed vnto on euery side; as also by the horsemen, who now come in, had put them into some disorder before they were wel aware of them. The Wallons also at the first by the Turks scattered, but now again rallied, & desirous to reuenge the death of their friends and fellows, played their parts, and on another side right furiously charged their enemies. During al which fight, the Culuerins ceased not to open the flanks of the Turks battell, with the losse of a number of their men, by the fury therof rent in pieces. Neither did the valiant *Collonitz* foreslow so fair an opportunitie, but afront charging this dismaied company, by plaine force caused them to giue ground: the Carabins in the mean time charging them vpon their flanks, and the Wallons behinde. Who thus on euery side beset and hardly layd vnto, as men discouraged, and out of hope to be relieued, turned their backes and fled amaine, to haue recouered the bridge whereby they came ouer. In which fight and slight two thousand of them being slaine, and the rest not able to recouer the bridge, driuen headlong into the riuer, were therein drowned and slaine to the number of fiue thousand of them, those which remained aliue beeing all taken prisoners. Amongst the rest one of the Bassa's, a man of great account amongst the Turkes, was slain, with many other Captains and commanders of great note, and fifteen hundred Ianizaries. There were also foure field pieces taken, with thirty ensignes and two Cornets, beside a very rich prey of braue and couragious horses, with much fair armor, rich apparell, and good scimiters, weapons of no small account and price amongst the Turks. This ouerthrow much abated the courage and hope of the rest of the Turkes for comming to the effect of their designes, and increased the courage and hope of the Christians, reasonably wel hereby assured of the good succes of their affaires for this year in Hungary.

The Turkes falling into the ambush laid for them by the Christians, receiue a notable ouerthrow.

About this time Sultan *Mahomet* hauing put a fleet of Gallies to sea, to haue gone against the king of Fez, was certainly informed, how that the same with tempest fore beaten, to auoid shipwrecke, was againe returned vnto the same port from whence it loosed, bringing backe with it nothing for all his great charges, but sicknesse and great losses at sea receiued. The like euil hap or worse hauing at the same time also betided another Fleet by him set out into the Euxine or blacke sea, to defend those sea coasts from being rifled and spoyled by the Rebels in Asia, who with their daily incursions did there still great harme. For albeit that *Zellaly* one of the Captaines of the Rebels, allured with *Mahomet* his faire promises, was by the streit of the Dardanelli (called in antient time the streit of Hellespont) come with twelue thousand good souldiers out of Asia into Europe, and so marching through Macedonia, was come into Hungarie, there to doe his Lord and Master good seruice; yet the chiefe Rebell held still out, and both now and for diuers yeres after maintained a most cruel & dangerous warre, to the great trouble of the Grand Seignior, and the hindring of his affaires. And euen now the crafty rebell hauing made shew as if he would haue submitted himselfe, and

The doings of the Rebels in Asia.

and come ouer into Europ as *Zellaly* did; and had therfore certain gallies sent vnto him from *Mahomet*, to haue transported him and his soldiers in: he now of them possessed, slew all that were sent therin, and kept the gallies to himself. So that so far from was it, that the rebellion was extinguished in Asia, and the rebels suppressed, as that they were now vp in greater number than euer, and so did also more harm. Wherunto they were also the more incouraged by the example of *Hassan Bassa* (not him the Generall in Hungary, but another Bassa of the same name) who by the great Sultan sent against these rebels, had for a time kept them vnder, and somwhat repressed their insolencie; but now by *Mahomet* displaced, and another being sent to succeed him; he therwith discontented, so animated and insenced his soldiers against him, as that comming to haue taken vpon him his charge, he found most part of the soldiers ready to turn their weapons vpon him: so that at length they fel together by the ears about the matter, some taking part with the old General, and some with the new. In which tumultuous quarel a number of soldiers were slain, all they of the richer sort spoiled, and the Sultans seruice and authority neglected. But the new General armed with his princes authority, and some of the old soldiers also taking his part, at last preuailing, *Hassan* the old Generall with his partakers were glad to flie and shift for themselues; who for all that, hauing afterward gathered together the dispersed soldiers, and joining with the rest of the rebels, held stil the body of a good army on foot: by his example stirring vp the people to rebellion, crossing the seruice of his Soueraign, and doing what harm he could, so to seem vnto his followers the more valiant.

Tauris recouered by the Persians.

The Persian king, on the other side taking aduantage of these the Turks troubles at home, as also of his wars with the Christians, at the same time with a great army besieged the great city of Tauris, as then kept by the Turks with a most strong garison. In which siege hee for battery vsed the help of the cannon, an engin of long time by the Persians skorned, as not beseeming valiant men; vntil that by the irown harms taught, he was now content to vse it, beeing with the same, as also with skilful canoniers furnished by the Portugals. By which means he in short time after again recouered this great City from the Turkes, being before by Sultan *Amurath* taken from *Mahomet* the Persian King, but now againe restored vnto the Persian Kingdom.

Sultan *Mahomet* thus on euery side beset with troubles, and not wel knowing which way to turn himself for remedy, being much perplexed in mind, began to enter into consideration of the vanity of these earthly things, and of the frailty of his estate; and so struck as it were with remorse of conscience, and a firm beleefe that God did thus chastise and punish him for his offences, considering that his ancestors had neuer bin troubled with any such attaints or disgraces; he conuerted all his thoughts vnto prayers towards God, and therefore commaunded publique prayers to be continually said in all the Moschies or churches thorowout his dominions; giuing himself wholly also vnto such deuout exercises and works of charity: & withal sent two of his most reuerend priests bare headed and bare footed on pilgrimage to Mecha (where the chief temple of their great Prophet is, and where they vainly beleeue their superstitious prayers are of him most speedily heard) there to pray vnto him for the health & prosperity of him their prince and Soueraign.

A great fight of a Flemish ship with the Turks gallies.

At the same time *Amurat Rais* an old pyrat the Turkes Admirall for the West part of the Mediterranian, roaming there vp and down, and doing what harme he could, chanced to light vpon a great Flemish ship, which he with his gallies forthwith inclosed, the calmnesse of the weather then fauoring him, & hindring the Flemings, their ship being able to make no way. Who so beset, and hauing made a great fight against the whole fleet, and slaine a number of the Turks, and sore rent diuers of their gallies, though not without losse of many of their own men also; being not able longer to fight, and now seeing themselues borded by as many Turks as could wel stand vpon the hatches of the ship, & their gallies hanging round about her; as men of inuincible courage resolued to die, and yet to sel their liues as dear as they could, laid all the pouder they had left in the ship, on an heape together, and thereunto vpon the sudden put fire, by force whereof the Turkes with the hatches were all blown vp, the Flemings with their ship rent in pieces, together with diuers of the Gallies that were fastened vnto her, and an incredible harme done vnto such other of the Gallies as were neere vnto her. Men worthy alwaies to vanquish, seeing that they feared nothing more than to be themselues vanquished: and more worthy to haue liued for the glory of men, than by their crueltie to haue

haue perished to the dishonor of men. The old pyrat astonied at so great and desperat a resolution, hauing in this exploit lost much, and gained nothing, hasted to the shore to repaire his rent gallies, and so to put to sea againe: Where he had not long been, but that he by chance (and that full sore against his will) met with the great Duke of Florence his gallies, accounted the best gallies in the world, and such as now at this present most troubled the Turks designes. At which meeting, after many a thundering connon shot on both sides discharged, not without the apparant losse on the Turks behalfe, when they should haue come to haue grapled together, and to haue fought hand to hand, a thing which the Florentines most desired, as in hope to haue made the famous pyrat the prize of their victory; he not willing so to do, suddenly turned about and fled; after whom the Florentines followed amaine, and in the chase sunke some of his gallies, and took other some full of great riches: and so brake the credit of this old and renowned pyrat, as that for a great while after he was little by the Christians feared vpon that coast. But leauing *Mahomet* to his deuotions, and the old pyrat to bewaile his losses, let vs again returne to see what the great armies of the Turks and of the Christians did more in Hungarie.

The Turkes ouerthrowne by the Christians.

While these armies lay encamped the one attending vpon the other, many an hot skirmish passed betwixt them, most wherof sorted vnto the hurt and losse of the Turks. Among others it fortuned, that a troupe of aduentures going out of the Christian army to seeke after booty, fell vpon a like troup of the Turks, come out for the like purpose: where after a sharp encounter on both sides giuen & receiued, the Turks at length put to the worse and defeated, betook themselues to flight, hauing left a number of their fellows dead vpon the place, and lost two of their ensignes, with an hundred and thirty horses of seruice. In which chase the Christians hardly pursuing them, draue a number moe of them into the Danubius, wherin they most miserably perished; and tooke a great many moe prisoners, amongst whom were found aboue fourescore Italian renegates, who brought into the camp, were as enemies vnto God, in a martiall court all condemned to be hanged, and so accordingly executed, sauing the captain himselfe, who for the regard of his place was beheaded.

Eighty Italian renegats hanged.

Shortly after, the great Bassa arising with his army, came in the beginning of October, and incamped neere Buda, both for the preseruation of the place, and the safety of his army, now greatly diminished both in number and courage. For it was certainly knowne by diuers fugitiues from the Turks, that in these many conflicts they had lost a number of their best souldiers, but especially of their Ianizaries. So that the Bassa for supplying of that defect, was glad to make choice of 600 of his best soldiers, whom armed with muskets and scimiters, the proper armes of the Ianizaries, he entertained into the rooms and pay of the Ianizaries that were dead and slaine: the rest of his army for the most part consisting of bare and feeble base raw souldiers. Besides this, that all the army was full of mourning and lamentation, the soldiers in all places bewailing the losse of their brethren, their friends, and companions: so that in stead of their wonted threats and brauery, nothing was to be heard but sighing & complaining: and moreouer, that the generall opinion conceiued of the greatnesse of the Christian army (imagined to bee much greater and stronger than indeed it was) had strucke such a feare into the minds of the Turks, as that they were resolued, Buda being once victualled, to returne home, all their other proud designes for this yeare set apart: which was the cause that they had dislodged with their army, and drawne neere vnto the city, the better to attend to the new victualling thereof, and so to be gone; accounting themselues right happy, if they might but performe that good piece of seruice and saue themselues.

The Christians before in doubt left the Turks should haue besieged Pesth, as they had before giuen it forth they would, and seeing them now to bee risen with their army, and incamped neere vnto Buda, resolued to follow them, and in what they might to crosse their designes: and thereupon leauing Pesth, as now out of danger, they rose also, and came and incamped before the Fort in the Isle of Vicegrade, betwixt the said Fort and Vacia; where they stayed foure daies, and then by a bridge which they made vpon the Danubie, whereby to passe from the Isle where the Italians lay in garrison, vnto the Fort of S. *Andrew*, kept by the Lansquenets, they with the whole army passed the riuer, and so came and incamped before the Fort of S. *Andrew*, in the face of the enemy. Now the field betwixt the heads of the two armies was plaine and open, without woods, bushes, or riuers, to hinder the ioining of

of a set battell. In which so fit a place, the Christians encouraged with the feare of their enemies, and the diminishing of their number and courage (whereof they had got knowledge as well by their tumultuous rising, as by other aduertisements) were desirous in so fauourable occasions, to haue giuen them battell; and for the desire they had thereof, were come thither to seeke it: which the Turks on the other side sought as much to shun, not daring to aduenture themselues vnto the fortune of a generall battell, for all the bragges they had made. Nevertheless very shame arming them with some resolution, they put forth into the field a battalion of fiue thousand men, fiue daies after that the Christians were incamped on that side of the Riuer. This battell of the Turks came marching on, within halfe a quarter of a league of the Christians, which they would not haue done but vpon the confidence of a greater number following of them, hauing behind them ten thousand men both horse and foot layd as close as they possibly could a little out of the way. Now the Christians thinking of no other forces ready to fight, but those which appeared in their sight, sent forth twelue hundred men against these fiue thousand Turks, to skirmish with them, vntill the whole army were put into order, euen for a generall battell that day to haue been fought, if the Turks should accept thereof; whereunto the Generall, the Colonels, Captaines, and souldiers ingenerall, were fully enclined, the whole army with great cheerfulnesse marching on foot, at this loud alarme of their common desire. Which had not failed to bring forth great change of effects, had the Turks been likewise disposed for the producing of the same. But they be the extraordinarie fauours of Fortune, when fit occasions ioyne themselues with braue resolutions and such resolutions with meanes to effect the same. This is the let of many most noble trophies, which most commonly faile, either for lacke of fit occasion, or for lacke of good resolution for the performance of them. But as most men iudge of other mens conceits by their owne inclination, so the Christians themselues resolued to giue battell, thought the Turks their enemies to haue been of the same resolution: and those fiue thousand men to haue been the head of the auauntguard, followed with the whole army, comming to draw them out to skirmish vntill the comming on of the rest of their forces. Howbeit their designe was quite contrary to this the Christians hope; for their purpose was onely to traine them out into their ambushes, so without danger to cut them in pieces. Of which their purpose they gaue sufficient testimonie, and cause of suspect; for that the skirmish hauing continued three houres, with some losse on both sides, the Turks army appeared not: and these fiue thousand Turks now in skirmish, by little and little retyring, sought so to haue drawne the Christians into the danger of their ambush. Which their manner of fight caused the Christians to suspect the matter: for it was not like, that fiue thousand men should giue ground to twelue hundred, if they had not had some secret meaning therein, which they sought to effect to their more aduantage: which caused the Christian Carabins which followed them, not to be too earnest in pursuing of them, and more closely to serre themselues together, the better to endure the shocke of their enemies, if they should charge them. Neither were they in that their prouident feare deceiued: for the Turks seeing their purpose discouered, and themselues now out of hope to effect the same, vpon the sudden made a stand, and so presently comming on, hardly charged the foremost of our Carabins: who as men halfe surprised, to see themselues so readily and resolutely charged, by men who but now made shew as if they would haue fled, were not able so valiantly to receiue the charge (considering the great number of them by whom they were charged) but that some few of them were ouerthrowne and slaine, with some of the Hungarians amongst them. Howbeit they made good resistance, and right valiantly repulsed their enemies, of whom they slew a great number also. The prease in this conflict was great, euery one desiring to shew himselfe braue and courageous in the head of his owne army. But new supplies still comming in, the Turks in fine shrunke backe and retired, hauing left three hundred of their fellowes dead vpon the place, accompanied with an hundred of the Christians there slaine likewise. Now vpon the retreat on both sides, euery man in his conceit appointed the next day for the generall day of battell: the bragging speeches of the Turks giuing the Christians occasion so to thinke; for why, they seldome or neuer refuse battell being offered them by the Christians, as wel for the confidence they commonly haue in their multitude, as for the foolish opinion they haue of the ineuitable predestination of men to life or death: accounting it amongst them an eternall infamie,

A conflict betwixt the Turks and the Christians.

A famy to refuse any combat against the Christians, which howsoeuer it fall out, should sort to their aduantage, by vanquishing gaining the fruits of their victory, and by losing their liues in battell, to gain the ioyes of heauen; being vainly persuaded, no mens souls to go more readily to heauen, that the souls of such as die in battell against the Christians. Such effects old superstitious opinions are able to work in the minds of men, euen to the desperat aduenture and spending of their liues. Howbeit that this effect at this time witnesseth, that these men with all these aduantages, as much feared the danger as any other poore faint hearted men; and that a strong apprehension of feare is able to preuail against all customes and persuasions, be they neuer so old, as also against all other accidents whatsoeuer. For why, the Turks contenting themselues with their great brags and vain threats, came not forth according to their B promise, neither could by any means be drawn to aduenture themselues vnto the hazard of a generall battel. The losse of their great and choicest men discouraged & deterred them from aduenturing all to the hazard of so great a peril: for (as I haue said) almost all the Ianizaries and most valiant soldiers were dead or slain; and the rest, men of smal spirit or courage, reserued that little which was in them, for the safegard of themselues, and not for the gaining of any notable victory. They had also in these often conflicts lost all their Erasbles, which are a desperat kind of soldiers fighting on horseback without saddles, hauing onely a little piece of tapestry vpon their horses backs, and by the readinesse of their horses do for a long time in one sort maintain their fight. They carry light darts made of strait and faire Canes, excellently well made, and strongly armed; and their handy weapons are good sables, or broad and C sharp cuttle-axes. These men a great while fought most valiantly in the last combats, but in fine were all slaine, except some few which cast themselues into Danubius, and were there drowned. The losse of which men much discouraged the Turks; for why, their seruice stood them in great stead in receiuing the enemies charges, and with their bodies couering of the Turks squadrons in their greatest perils & combats. Howbeit the Turks receiued not these losses without returning some part therof to vs again. For *Collonitz* had but a little before fallen into great danger of his person, & lost some of his followers in an enterprise of great moment, had the effect answered vnto the project therof. While the Turks yet lodged in the Isle of Vicegrade, he caused eight great field pieces to be so placed, as that therewith he so much annoyed the Turkes, that they were about to haue forsaken the place: and the more to force D them so to doe, the second of October he imbarqued himselfe with 600 Haiduckes vpon the Danubius, and so by night with great silence landed neer vnto the enemies, thinking so vpon the sudden to haue surprised them. Which for all that could not so secretly be don, by reason of the appearing of the day, but that the Turks were therof aware; who therupon with great preise issued out of their trenches, and with al their force and power charged him. Against whom he made head, rather vpon a braue and constant resolution, than any confidence he had in his own forces, not hauing men ynow to withstand the least part of his enemies. Which his so great resolution so abated the Turks fury, as that they stood a good while in doubt to charge men so resolued. The field pieces which he had brought ouer with him into the Isle then serued him to good purpose, beating them backe with their murthering bullets, who E with their number thought to haue ouerwhelmed him. Which good help opposed against the number of the enemies, for a time ballanced the victory, and wrought the death of many on both sides. This maner of fight endured the space of two hours, maintained more by resolution than by strengh and power. At length for all that, the Turks with their number preuailing, the Christians therwith rather oppressed than vanquished, forsaking their field pieces, disorderly retyred towards their boats: but the Turks eagerly pursuing them, slew 400 of the Haiducks; the rest recouering their boats, carryed with them their Generall, by them hardly defended from the fury of the enemy. Which losse hapned not so vnto the Christians, but that it was mingled with some losse of the Turkes also, of whom the most forward and courageous were in that fight slain, as was afterwards knowne by certaine prisoners of theirs which F were afterwards taken, who made report of the losses by them there receiued. The Turkes by this so desperate and dangerous an attempt warned to preuent the like for the time to come, cast vp great trenches in the Isle alongst the bank of Danubius, therin placing certain Ianizaries and other their best souldiers, who there lay vntill the Campe dislodging went to lie before Buda.

Collonitz in surprising the Turks is himself surprised.

The

The Turks had before built a bridge of boats at Lamascin, which gaue them passage into Stiria, where they did great harm; for the strengthning wherof they had built at both ends a G strong fort, well furnished both with men and munition. This bridge so commodious to the Turks, and hurtful to the Christians, *Trantmestorf* gouernor of Stiria, and a great commander in those parts, with his Stirian troupes, and some good aid brought vnto him by the County *Serin*, vndertook to break. Vpon which resolution he vpon the sudden approched one of the aforesaid forts, and so right furiously assailed the same before they were well aware of his comming. In which doing, he caused the greatest noise and stir that was possible to be made with trumpets, drummes, and clattering of armour, as if it had bin some great army imploied in that action, the more to terrifie the defendants. Which so great and dreadful a noise, joined vnto so braue an attempt, with so great courage begun, strook such a terror into the minds of H the Turks, that they without any great resistance quitted the place, and fled ouer the bridge to the other fort. Of which forsaken fort the Christians became masters, and with all speed prosecuting their good fortune, presently drew out therof two Cannons, and therewith battered the other fort: in which the Turks, hauing no other place of refuge to flie vnto, nor hope of safety but in their last valour, so wel behaued themselues, as that the Christians had much ado to force them; howbeit a breach being made by the fury of the cannon, and scaling ladders set vp, the fort was on euery side assaulted; which the Turks so valiantly endured by the space of fiue hours, as that it was hard to say who should preuail or haue the better. In this assault were many on both sides slain; the Turks not being to be ouercome but with the losse both of their liues and honour; and the Christians not able to retyre, without the losse of I that so great and rich an enterprise. So that the assault was with great resolution on both sides maintained, the Turks fighting for their liues, and the Christians for their honour; vntill that at last the Turks with much slaughter ouercome, the fort was by the Christians taken, and most of the Turks therein being slain, and the rest taken prisoners, both the forts were forthwith rased, and the bridge broken, which before had serued for an ordinary passage for the Turks to forrage and spoil the Christian territory by. The boats wherof the bridge was made were all burnt, and some great Ordnance therein found, broken in pieces and cast into the riuer.

Lugaze a strong place yeelded to Bassa.

At the same time Lugaze, a place of great importance for the seruice of the Emperour, and so neer vnto the Turks, as that they could hardly attempt any thing theerabouts, but that it K might from thence be discouered and knowne, was by the Transylvanians deliuered to *Bassa*, the Emperors Lieutenant in that countrey. From which place he sending out certain scouts toward Belgrade, they brought in with them certain prisoners; who being examined, said, that *Hassan Bassa* in Hungary, had writ to *Giaffer Bassa* the gouernor of Temeswar, That he should only attend to the preseruation of his own, without attempting any thing further against the Christians, the present estate of their affairs so requiring. And that hauing re-victualled Buda, his purpose was for this year to return, in hope of some good peace to be ere long concluded betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperor.

The two armies of the Turks and the Christians lay stil neer the one of them to the other, the Turkes carefull for the re-victualling of Buda, and the Christians still intentiue to their L doings, and desirous in what they might to hinder and frustrate the same. Which because they could no way better do than by offering of them battell, they thereupon generally resolued, vpon a Friday being the seuenteenth of October, the day by them assigned for the battell (hauing by the shooting off of three great cannons giuen warning vnto the souldiors throwout the camp, for the preparing of themselues first towards God, and then to the seruice of their Prince) after they had wel refreshed themselues, in good order tooke the field, and so stood ready ranged there, either to giue or accept of battell. Before whom the County *Rhingraue* was sent forth with his Regiment, about halfe the way betwixt the two Armies, to discouer the mouing of the Enemy, and to receiue his first charge, if occasion should so require. Whose Scouts before sent forth, about noone discouered a troupe of horsemen come out of M the Turkes Camp, about some busines they had to do, but to them vnknowne. Whom the Scouts supposing to haue been the fore-runners of the Turks Army, and by them almost surprised, hastily retyred back again, and by their hasty retreit put the whole army in an alarme; which came brauely marching on, in hope now to haue come to try the matter by true valour, and by the fortune of a generall battell to haue made that day for euer famous by their victory and the ouerthrow of their proud enemies. And in the heat of their so great courage like enough it was for them to haue performed the same, had the Turks had but so much courage in them as to haue met them in the field, as was well hoped they now would. But they with their former losses discouraged, and resolued only vpon the safegard of themselues, and the victualling of Buda, had no minde to enter into these honourable lists, but kept themselues close within the couert of their tents and the strength of their trenches. And so the Christians with a false alarme moued, and hauing for the most part of the day in vaine expected the comming forth of their enemies, returned into their campe deceiued of their expectation.

The Turkes refuse to accept of battell offered them by the Christians.

The same day there was an espie taken, whom they which tooke him thought to haue been B a Turke, howbeit he was found to be one of their owne men; by whom they were better enformed of the cowardise of the Turks, of their purpose for the shunning of battell, and of their resolution for the keeping of themselues within the safegard of their trenches; and that they so did, as well for the losses they had before receiued, as for diuers other vnlucky accidents, which caused them to misdoubt some euil successe in the end and winding vp of this their expedition. Neuertheless, the Christians not greatly trusting to these reports, still kept their army in readines, to giue their enemies battell vpon the least occasion offered them. Howbeit, that indeed they had no great cause of feare, the Turks hauing no desire at all to come to a generall battell: so that in stead of great effects that were expected, the time passed by in light skirmishes and vaine alarmes betwixt the two armies; vntill that at length the Turks hauing by the C riuer sufficiently stored the city of Buda with victuals, the great Bassa secretly by night rose with his army, and so retired toward Belgrade. Which so base a retreat differed not much from a cowardly flight, being with such silence made vnder the darke couert of the night, as that the Christians had thereof no perceiuing vntill that they were quite departed and gone. This victualling of Buda and of some other few places of the Turks in Hungary, was all that the great Bassa did this yeare with his great army; whereas at his first comming it was giuen out, that he would therewith take both Strigonium and Pesth from the Christians.

The great Bassa hauing victualled Buda, secretly by night retreth with his army, and so retireth out of Hungary.

The next day the hasty and sudden departure of the enemy being perceiued, the Generall of the Christians called together the Colonels and other great Commanders of the army, to consult with them, what were best to be done in so vnexpected an occurrent? Of whom, some D were of opinion, That it was best forthwith in all haste to pursue their fearfull enemies: others some for many reasons dissuading the same, and others some withall propounding some other notable exploits to be taken in hand. But in conclusion, the safest point was resolued vpon, which was, not to hazard any their troups in pursuing of their flying enemies, who were hardly to be ouertaken; but now immediatly after their departure to attempt the taking in of some one of their strong holds: where, amongst others that were propounded, Hatwan was thought to be the most necessary place, being so seated, as that beside the great harme it did to the Christians thereabout, it much hindered both aduertisements and victuals to be brought vnto Pesth. Which exploit resolued vpon, they forthwith rased the Fort of S. *Andrew*, and the fort by them built in the Isle of Vicegrade, because they should not stand the Turks in any E stead after their departure, and so with all their power set forward toward Hatwan. This town is seated beyond the riuer of Danubius toward the North, about eight leagues from Buda, crossing the way to Transyluania and Cossoua, vpon a faire and euen plaine, neere vnto a great and deepe marish, and was sometime defended with good and strong walls, with a castle, and three large and deepe ditches, for a long time in the power of the Turks, and which without losse a great while held out against the valiant Baron *Teuffenbach*, by whom it was most streitly in vaine besieged: vntill that afterward it was againe besieged by *Maximilian* the Archduke, the Emperours brother, then Generall of his army in Hungary in the yeare 1594, vnto whom it was by composition surrendered, after it had for a certaine space beene by the Turks notably defended: who considering the harme this place did vnto the Emperours ter- F ritories, by reason of the scituation thereof, wherein a great and strong garrison of the Turks alwaies lying, forraged all the Christian territories as far as the riuer Vague, yea, and oftentimes tooke booties as far as Strigontum, and by spoiling of all that side of Hungary, caused the Countrey to pay contribution as farre as Ternauie, standing within foure leagues of the mountaines which seperat Hungary and Morauia: all irreparable losses to the Christians, and

hardly to be auoided: for which reasons he caused it then to be dismantled, and to be made G
vnseruiceable for the wars. After which time for all that, the Turks for the commodiousnesse
of the place, had with great labour againe new fortified the same, with wals made with great
piles of wood and faggots, with earth rammed in betwixt them; a stronger kind of fortification,
and better able to withstand the fury of the cannon, than are wals of stone: in which sort
the Turks vse most commonly to fortifie such places as they meane to defend, and which ofs
tentimes cost much for the Christians to gaine the same from them.

Hatwan besieged by the Christians.

This place thus fortified, and both with men and munition well furnished, and with all
things needfull stored, was able to endure a great and long siege; whereunto the garrison there-
in was as resolutely set downe, as were the Christians to attempt it: where now, at their first
comming vnto it, a part of the Italian Regiment, assisted with 300 Lansquenets, vnder the lea- H
ding of County *Sultze*, and *Grasold* Generall of the Italians, were appointed to go before the
rest of the army, and to begin to make their approches: which they did by forcing of a water-
mill, driuen by the water of the marish, not past a musket shot from the towne. Wherin while
they were busied, the Turks sallying out of the towne, came to fight hand to hand with the
Christians, and had with them a sharpe combat, the Turks fighting for the defending of the
place and of their liues, and the Christians for the gaining of the same, and for their honour.
Which so contrary a resolution in that conflict cost the liues of many; and among others, the
life of *Grasold*, Generall of the Italians, there slaine with a harquebuse shot, vnto the great hurt
of the whole army, but especially of the Italians, now depriued of so great and expert a Com-
mander. At last for all that, the Turks were enforced confusedly to retire again into the town, I
hauing in this sally lost a number of their men also. The Christians neuertheless hauing dri-
uen the Turks backe into the towne, went forward with their businesse in making their appro-
ches, and placing their gabions to couer their cannon: wherein the Turks with their great and
small shot did them great harme, but especially with their murthering pieces, charged with
nailes and other small pieces of yron. Howbeit, by the comming of the Lord *Russworm* with
the rest of the army, the approches were the next day brought on, and the battery planted so
neere vnto the towne, as that the Turks could not without most manifest danger and losse, any
more sally out to trouble the Christians in their workes. The first inconuenience the besieged
felt, was the want of Water, which through the diligence of our men was soone taken from
them, the cannon right furiously battering the wals in the mean space. Wherewith the Turks K
discouraged, and now out of hope to be relieued, thought it not best for them to expect either
whilest a breach were made, or an assault giuen, but by parly to preuent these dangers, in hope
so to come to some easier composition, while yet they stood in their whole strength. And so
parley by the Turks demanded, and by the Christians granted, and hostages for the surety
thereof on both sides giuen, they sent two of the chiefe men amongst them to entreat of the
same: who at the first demanded, That their liues and liberty saued, they might with bag and
baggage depart. Whereunto answer was giuen them, That they should only with their liues
and liberty be gone, with some few hundreds of their worst horses of courtesie giuen them, to
carry them to such a place as they meant to retire themselues vnto, and to deliuer into the
hands of the Christians all such renegats as were in the towne. L

The Turkes in Hatwan craue parley.

Now the besieged Turks carrying yet the markes of the cruelty by the Wallons exercised
vpon them in the former siege, when as the same town was by force taken, and filled with dead
bodies of all ages & sex, and doubting now this second shipwreck, with like misery threatned
vnto them by the Christian Generall, if they should expect the dreadfull euent of a generall
assault; accepted of these hard conditions, seeing no better could be obtained; and so couenan-
ting, that they with their families, their liues and liberties saued, might with a safe conuoy be
conducted vnto some place of surety within their owne territory, they promised to giue vp the
town. Which agreement on both parts resolued vpon, they full of sorrow and heauinesse, with
their families departing out of the towne the 29 of Nouember, were by Colonell *Andast* with
certain Hussars safely conducted to Solnoc. The Christians entring the town, found therein M
great store of victuals & munition, the houses full of corne and other necessaries, and the shops
stored with weapons, shot and pouder, with 24 pieces of great ordnance ready mounted, which
might haue well sufficed for the defence of the place. But all these things are but accessories
vnto one principall, that is to say, to resolution, without which they are but of small force, and
with-

Hatwan yelded vnto the Christians.

A with which they are able to do much. Beside that, the place it selfe thus furnished well consi-
dered, seemed almost impossible to haue bin forced; but especially now that Winter was come
on, which might haue brought a thousand stormes and difficulties, by the Christians not to
haue been endured: so that euery man beholding the same, with his eies cast vp towards hea-
uen, gaue God the praise, for taking away the Turks courages in their so great aduantages, and
encreasing of the Christians in their no lesse difficulties: vnto whom the glory of this victory
was wholly attributed, seeing that contrary to all apparance and mans forces, he had giuen to
the Christians the victory, no way able by their owne forces to haue been gained. But God,
which in his prouidence from heauen beholdeth all things vpon earth, disposeth of the same
as he seeth best for his glory, and the welfare of his: so that in this action he was the only pilot
B which brought this our ship into the hauen of health; for the haires of our head are of him
numbred, and euen the least creatures vpon earth are of him regarded.

Into this new gained town the Christian Generall put a good and strong garrison of a thou-
sand Lansquenets and fiue hundred Hungarians, part horsemen, and part footmen, for the kee-
ping of the place and of the country thereabout: which done, he retired with his army to-
ward Pesth, which he relieued with victuals, and strengthened with the troups of the Colo-
nels, *Collonitz*, *Geisberg*, and *Rouer*, who were there bilited to passe that Winter, and to preserue
the place against the deuises and enterprises of the Turks at Buda, who were still deuising and
practising for the regaining thereof.

The time of the yeare for soldiers any longer to keep the field now past, and the great army
C of the Turks risen and gone, the Lord *Russworm* breaking vp his army neere vnto Strigonium,
caused all the Ensignes by him this yeare gained from the Turks, euen 64 in number, to be ga-
thered together all very braue and gallant; all which he sent with great pomp and triumph to
Vienna, for a Present to the Archduke *Matthias*; who receiued them with great thanks giuen
both vnto the Generall that sent them, and the souldiers that had gained them; and bountiful-
ly rewarding them that had brought them. They of Vienna at the same time highly commen-
ding the Generall, and not a little rejoycing to see those same Ensignes now in their power
within the city, which not long before had proudly braued them in the field.

The Lord Russworm breakes vp his army, & sendeth the Ensignes gained from the Turks for a present to the Archduke Matthias.

Now after the breaking vp of the Christian army, a great number of insolent and seditious
souldiers, especially of the Regiment of Colonell *Altmein*, roming vp and downe the country,
D to seeke for booty, most cruelly rifled and spoiled the country villages, with the inhabitants
therein, as well the Christians as the Turks, sparing no more the one than the other: whose
outrage not otherwise to be staied, they were by commandement from the Emperor, by force
charged at Widhof, and two hundred and thirty of them being brought in prisoners to Vien-
na, foure and thirty of them were there for example hanged, and the rest as men not worthy of
entertainment cashiered.

The time of the yeare hauing (as we said) broken vp the army of the Christians, the Regi-
ment of the County *Reingraue* was put in garrison into the villages of Chiante and Ternavie,
alwaies at hand with the enemies, as fittest to repulse them. These souldiers were alwaies kept
in doings, still fighting while others were at peace, and mannaging their armes, whilst others
E hanged theirs by the wals. For beside the troubles they had with the Turks, their nigh, but bad
neighbours, the very inhabitants of the countrey (who held all that might hurt them, for ene-
mies, were they neuer so much their friends) oftentimes, and that for little or no occasion at al,
tooke vp arms, and right furiously charged them as their mortall enemies. Of which combats
there was no end, the country peasants still striuing to rid themselues of such ghests. So that
these valiant men still enforced to buy their bread with the price of their bloud, as men be-
come desperat, vsed the Christians as they did the Turks, diuiding all things with them by the
sword. But in these small and often fights more men were slain and lost than would haue bin in
a generall battell, some good number either of the one side or the other being euery day slain:
which daily inconueniences caused these souldiers to resolue to go to seeke their liuing else-
F where, rather than in the midst of the graues of their fellows. Whereunto they were the rather
enduced, for that but a little before, the troupe of Captaine *Clinchampe*, the best and braueſt of
the whole Regiment, was one night right furiously assailed, and almost surprised by the coun-
try peasants. Wherfore they departed out of Hungary into Austria without victuals, apparell,
or money, their pay due vnto them for 17 months being kept from them. A cruelty full of

The soldiers of the regiment of the Reingraue euill bilited, by extremities driuen to prouide for themselues.

couc-

couetousnesse, and a couetousnesse full of cruelty, by wrong and hard dealing to leaue those G
men to the desperat extremity of hunger, who for our safety had exposed themselues to all
manner of danger. For if the Prince (as he may of right) demand the liues of his subjects in his
seruice, as bound vnto their loyalty; they may also of right require due prouision for their
maintenance: of which two offices where one faileth, the whole state must needs fall. For pro-
uiding whereof, great was the wisedome of *Augustus*, who laid vp the publique reuenue apart
by it selfe, to defray the publique charge; and that which was his owne priuat, to serue his
owne priuat vses.

These poore souldiers thus resolued, craued leaue of the Bishop of Presburg to passe by
the suburbs of his towne, without doing therein any harme: which their request he courte-
ously granted; and so according to their word they indeed passed, not so much as once wish- H
ing for that they durst not once touch. Which their so quiet passage caused the Bishop to fur-
nish them with boats, whereby to passe ouer the riuer which diuideth Hungary from Austria.

The peasants of Austria seek by force to stay the passage of the souldiers of the Reingraues regiment into their country.

Which once knowne vnto the peasants of Austria, they assembled themselues together, to the
number of 1500 men, and cast vp a fort vpon the banke of the riuer, with three faulconers in it,
resolutely set downe to keepe them from comming ouer into their country. Which their so
forward a resolution for a while staied these men of war: who to auoid further trouble, cour-
teously requested passage of these men, promising all their good behauiour in passing quietly
through their country: which the churles in most churlish maner refused to grant, with proud
threats of the danger of their liues, if they should by force attempt the passage, and not with
quietnesse returne. With which brauadoes of the country churles these troops of martiall I
men prouoked, resolued by force to remoue these lets, and by the sword to open themselues a
way: so turning the head of their baggages toward the fort, as if they would haue there passed,
while the peasants stood gazing vpon them, *Camgaillard* with his troupe of horsemen vnper-
ceiued of them tooke the riuer a little higher vp, and by swimming gained the farther banke:
after whom captaine *Clinchamp* with his troups immediatly followed also. In which passage
they were much troubled with great flakes of yce, with the great deepenesse of the riuer, with
the steepnesse of the bankes where they were to land, and many other difficulties: all which
they regarded not to be reuenged of their enemies. These valiant men being got ouer, vpon the
sudden surprising these rude country churles, and furiously charging of them, quickely ouer-
threw them, and cut them in pieces: of whom 300 were left dead vpon the place, as many K
moe hurt, and the rest put to flight. Which was no sooner done, but that the rest of the troups
of the Regiment without let passed the riuer, and so joyned themselues vnto their victorious
companions. Seuen weekes this Regiment staied in Austria; and so longer had, but that vpon
the complaint and request of the Nobility and of the people of the country, they hauing for
17 months pay due vnto them receiued nine months pay, were licensed to depart. Which was
a great ouersight in them that had to doe therewith, at once to disband so many good men, as
had not their like amongst all the rest of the Emperours garrisons, and who being staid with
a little mony, might with their good seruice haue stood the Emperour in great stead: as by
proofe afterward appeared; when as the Emperour by necessity forced to call them together
againe, could not of all that strong Regiment raise but three companies; the rest being some of L
them returned into their own countries, other-some of them gone to serue in other places, or
else otherwise dispersed. Of which three companies, the first was giuen to *Camgaillard*, the se-
cond to *Baltazar Marades* a Spaniard, and the last to *Iohn Paul* an Italian: Which three cap-
taines had before commanded in the Reingraues Regiment, and done the Emperour good ser-
uice, as they did afterward also.

Diuers happy conflicts of the christians with the Turks and Tartars.

The rest of this yeare ended in Hungary, with diuers other encounters and combats, For-
tune therein still fauouring the Christians. As 300 Haiducks, going forth to seeke for booty,
by good hap chanced to meet with a company of the Turkes being very rich, and diuers of
them men of good account; amongst whom, the Gouernour of Mohatz was one: all whom
these Haiducks cut in pieces; to be borne withall, for shewing no fauor vnto them, who most M
cruelly had before spoiled them of their parents, lands and goods. Besides that, they tooke
the Gouernor of Copan, with his sonne, and 24 other very rich Turks, with 170 horses of ser-
uice, and eight fat Oxen prepared for their prouision. Which fat booties drew forth other
souldiers also to seeke out for the like: of whom, certain troups of the Christians going forth
toward

A toward Batswar, a towne of the enemies, met the Gouernor of the towne and of the territory
thereabout come out with his garrison against them; where betwixt them was made a right
hot and sharpe fight: wherein at the first encounter the Turks seemed to haue the better, but
in the end the Christians taking courage, ouerthrew them and cut them in pieces. In this con-
flict diuers prisoners were taken, with three Ensignes, and many other rich spoiles. This happy
exploit was seconded with newes agreeable thereunto out of Moldauia, whereof the Vayuod
by a Curror sent of purpose, gaue our men to vnderstand; which was, of the generall ouerthrow
of the Tartars: who hauing with all manner of cruelty wasted the country, had in the end
made the inhabitants so desperat, that reposing more comfort in a speedy death (the end of all
miseries) than in a lingring life, turmoiled with so many intollerable calamities, they generally
B arming themselues, joyned themselues with their Vayuod, so to try their last fortune. With
which resolution they in battell encountering with the Tartars, gaue them a great ouerthrow,
a number of them being left dead vpon the field, and the rest put to flight, and chased out of
the country, the Moldauians notably reuenging their former losses, and in their owne territo-
ries burying their enemies.

Beged Bassa thinking to haue surprised the Lord Basta, is himselfe by him surprised & ouerthrown.

Neither were the Turks in this cold and hard time of the yeare on their part idle, but still
plotting of their great and notable designes, euen through the middest of the frost and snow
to haue beene performed. The Bassa *Beged* hearing that the Lord *Basta* lay with his troupes
dispersed in the country about Lippa, in great security by reason of the extremity of the time,
altogether vnfit for men to keepe the field: and therefore imagining it to be no great matter,
C now amidst the frost and the snow to surprise him; acquainted three other of the Turks Cap-
tains and Commanders thereabout with the matter: who liking well thereof, with 5000 men
all together set forward, in hope to haue vpon the sudden surprised him. But he an old expert
Captaine, and not so careless as they supposed, had his secret spies still abroad among them:
by whom he aduertised both of their purpose and of their comming, resolued in both to pre-
uent them; and to that end hauing called together his forces, set forward to meet them in the
mid way, and so before they were aware to intercept them; neither failed he of his purpose:
for meeting with the Turks fearing no such matter in place of disaduantage, and vpon the
sudden charging them round, they, deceiued of their expectation for the easinesse of the vi-
ctory promised them, as men dismaied, after some small resistance fled; aboue eleuen hundred
D of them being in this conflict slaine, and the rest put in rout, and driuen into the riuer Ma-
ruze, there perished; some few onely by speedy flight with the Bassa escaping. Twenty of
the Turkes Captaines were here taken, with some few other prisoners, and a great and rich
booty.

Much about the same time *George Barbell*, one of the chiefe of the Rebels in Transyluania,
acknowledging his fault, came to Claudionople, to take the oath for his allegiance vnto the
Emperor: by whose example a great number of others moued, came in and submitted them-
selues also: and happily he being a good and valiant Captaine, had done much more for the
seruice of the Emperor, had he not bin by death preuented; for shortly after he suddenly died.
The other Rebels moued neither by his example, nor by the comming in of some others of
E their companions, made choice of one *Bethlin Habor* (a most renowned Captaine, and of great
reputation amongst the souldiers) for their Chiefetaine: who proud of such a choice, imme-
diatly after sent an Herauld vnto *Basta*, to will him forthwith to deliuer vnto him all the coun-
try of Transyluania, as to him that was of late chosen Prince thereof, or else to denounce vnto
him most cruell war: and to tell him further, That if he refused so to do, he was in good hope
by his owne forces, without any aid from the Turke, to driue him out, being well assured of
the faithfull deuoire of the Transyluanians. At whose proud threats *Basta* smiling, only shew-
ed him his open hand in signe that he accepted of his proud threats, not vouchsafing him any
other answer at all. This glorious boaster bare himselfe the higher, for that he had married the
widow of *Moyses* the chiefe Rebell, whereby he had gained both great riches, and much credit
F and reputation among the common people: both which he enjoyed but a while; for the fourth
day after that he was married, he died, and so was buried. *Basta* neuertheless, for the better as-
suring of the strong places of Transyluania, put into them garrisons of his most faithfull Ger-
manes, and dispatched *Crausenich* away toward the Emperour, to request of him a supply of
a thousand horsemen and foure thousand foot, without which he thought it impossible to

Bethlin Habor chosen chiefe of the Rebels in Transyluania.

Basta his scornfull answers to the messenger of Bethlin.

Bassa sendeth for new supplies vnto the Emperour for the keeping of Transylvania.

preserue and keepe the Prouince troubled with so great factions, and so earnestly sought after by the Turks: and further to certifie him, That the little forces he had left was not sufficiente for the keeping of the places beset with so many enemies, and all lying as it were in their mouthes: That the Prouince swarmed with seditious people, one thrusting another forward in mischiefe and rebellion, as the eares of wheat driuen with the winde do one another in the field: That the Turks were alwaies making of new incursions, which hee was not able to represse without greater forces, which he expected from his Majesty with all speed possible: protesting, for want of such supply to be in time sent vnto him, to lay the losse of the Prouince vpon the negligence of them which might and ought to haue sent the same; acquitting himselfe for the losse thereof, seeing that he durst not to repose any trust or confidence in the faith of the citisens and inhabitants of the townes, although they were disarmed, for hauing so often falsified their faith, and put their Prouince in danger of vtter ruine and destruction. But leauing these troubles of Transylvania and Hungary, let vs a little step backe to see what happened among the Turks themselues, after the departure of the great Bassa with his army out of Hungary.

Mahomet the great Sultan had (as is before declared) by great promises made vnto his Rebels, sought to appease the rebellion in Asia, and by that meanes drew *Zellaly*, one of the chiefe Rebels, with twelue thousand good souldiers out of Asia into Europe, and so into his warres in Hungary, vpon an assured promise made vnto him of the gouernment of Bosna: the hope whereof, as it had drawne him vnto these late warres, so had it also encouraged him with his gallant troups of most braue horsemen to doe the best seruice he could, so to shew himselfe worthy of so honourable a preferment: which he right notably performed during all the time of the Bassaes abode in Hungary, to his owne great commendation, and the furthering of his Lord and Masters seruice. But the Bassa with his weake army retired out of Hungary, and the Bassa himselfe returned toward Constantinople; *Zellaly* with three thousand horse withdrew himselfe into his promised gouernment of Bosna, to possesse himselfe thereof: and being come neere to Bagualue, the chiefe Towne of that Prouince, he there encamped in a faire large medow, within sight of the city. Now *Zeffer Bassa*, then Gouernour of the Prouince, and not as yet thereof discharged, seeing this Rebell thus to encroach vpon his charge, as if he would euen by force intrude himselfe thereinto; with all speed called together his garrisons and men of war (euer ready at his becke) and so went forth against *Zellaly*, with a purpose to haue quickely, and without any great trouble, cut him with his so small a company all in pieces. But the old Rebell not ignorant either of his owne weakenesse, or of the Bassaes strength, hauing himselfe lost the best part of his forces before in Hungary; as he was a man of no lesse wisedome than courage, resolued now to attempt by policy that which he well knew he could not by force effect. Wherefore he as a great Prince, vpon some braue resolution, began to encampe himselfe as if he had meant there to haue lien, when as immediatly after vpon a faire night hauing caused diuers great fires to be made in his tents, as if it had been to beguile the enemy with, he suddenly rose and departed. Of whose flight (for so it was like) the Bassa vnderstanding, and that he had forsaken his campe, hasted thither with all speed with his souldiers to take and pillage the same; not making any other account of him that was so fled and gone, but as of a base and faint-hearted coward, who for feare and want of courage had left both his campe and honour as a prey vnto his enemies; the spoyle whereof the Bassa (being possessed of the campe) gaue vnto his souldiers; who glad of such a morsell, greedily swallowed it vp, which by and by after became their bane and vtter destruction: for whilest that they were charging themselues with booties, and euery man was thinking of his prey, nothing carefull of their common safety, *Zellaly* with his three thousand horse, all valiant and resolute men, suddenly the same night returning, surprised the Turks being fast on sleepe, as buried in security, and cut them in pieces. Some of greater courage than the rest, began to make head, and to giue some shew of their valour, but ouercome with the generall feare, out of order, and not resolued what to do, they were quickly with the rest forced, ouerthrowne, and slaine. In this surprise there were of the Bassaes men six thousand found dead vpon the place: a very great slaughter to be made by so few men. But what cannot valiant resolution do against carelessnesse, lulled asleep in the lap of security? The Bassa himselfe escaped by flight, with such as could get out of the campe to follow him.

Zellaly comes into Bosna.

By policy ouerthrowes Zeffer Bassa the Gouernour, and possesseth it himselfe.

Now

Now *Zellaly* well knowing how to vse his victory, marched in haste to all the chiefe places of that Prouince, and with his forces, more feared for their victory than for their number, caused all the inhabitants of those places, with most part of the rest of the people of that country, to sweare vnto him their obedience and fidelity. In which doing he gathered together great store of wealth, with a great number of braue horsemen for seruice: all which he put into Balnaluc, a strong towne, whereinto he in triumphant manner entred, with a crowne of laurell vpon his head, and his soldiers singing his praises amiddest the smoke of a thousand pieces of great ordnance, which he caused incessantly to be shot off for the space of two daies together: giuing it out withall (amongst all the joyfull feasts and triumphs, made for the magnifying and setting forth of his praise and glory) That his resolution was, to take part with the Christian Emperor, if the great Bassaes, or other his enemies in great place in court, should seeke to crosse his desires, or to formalize his actions or proceedings in this manner of the obtaining of his gouernment.

Mahomet sends for Zellaly to come to Constantinople.

Now *Mahomet* doubting what this man, so well acquainted with rebellion, would do, had by diuers messengers sent for him to Constantinople, after the breaking vp of the army in Hungary, there of his Imperiall and infinite bounty, to receiue the honourable rewards of his good seruice and valour, the greatnesse wherof he had (as he said) already vnderstood by *Hassan Bassa* the Generall: which so bound him to the reward thereof, as that his desire and pleasure was, to grace him in Court with his owne hands, for the greater testimony of the loue he bare him, and of the esteeme he had of him. But the crafty and mistrustfull Rebell, doubting that these faire words were all but baits to draw him into his power, and the endangering or assured losse both of his life and liberty, shut his eares against these so sweet charmes, and as a man well aduised, and one which knew that the hand of a Prince justly offended, is alwaies open for to punish his rebellious subject, being once in his power, with as great justice in punishing him, as he with wrong and disloyalty offended him; would in no wise accept of the offer: but ciuilly answered, That he most humbly thanked the great Sultan, for his so great and honourable offers) and that he was so mindefull of him: but that he for his part desired not any greater reward for the seruices by him done, more than the gouernment which his Majesty had before promised him, whereof (according to which promise, which he could not thinke, but to be agreeable to his good liking) hee was now possessed, with a resolution to hold and keep the same for his Majesties seruice. Which was as much in effect, as for a disloyall subject to talke with his angry souereigne, with his hand vpon his sword: but with this sly answer, such as it was, Sultan *Mahomet* for all his greatnesse, must as yet content himselfe, for feare lest if he should haue sought to haue by force remoued him, he might so haue raised a more dangerous rebellion in Europe, than was already in Asia. *Zellaly* so politique and resolute a man, and not to seeke what to doe in such matters, being possessed of so great a gouernment, and the Christian Emperour at hand ready to haue backed him, if he should vpon any discontentment haue reuolted.

He refuseth to come.

The troubles of this yeare 1603 thus ouerpast, the beginning of the next was like vnto a faire blooming tree, which promising great store of fruit, but afterward blasted with the extremity of the weather, proueth in effect as barren, as it before seemed in hope fruitfull. For beginning with the sweet Westerne winds of peace, it ended with the sterne Northern blasts of warre. The Turks had oftentimes the last yeare made motions of peace, but especially toward the end thereof; outwardly making shew of a great desire and forwardnesse in themselues thereunto. Which businesse the last yeare begun, was euen with the beginning of this yeare also effectually continued, and Commissioners were on both sides appointed to conferre and conclude vpon the same. Amongst these Commissioners, Colonell *Althem* was one; who to performe his charge, hauing taken with him the other Commissioners deputed with him for this purpose, with certaine other Captaines, embarqued himselfe with them in thirteene ships from Strigonium, and from thence sailing downe the Riuer, landed with his traine in the Island betwixt Budy and Pesth. Of whose arriuall there, the Turks of Buda aduertised, and on their part ready, came forthwith thither also, with all the outward shewes that might be, of their most earnest desire for the concluding of peace: whereas our men, who by a thousand effects were assured of the vnfaithfulnesse of the Turks, and that necessity and not the desire of any quietnesse, had drawne them to seeke for peace, to the contrary shewed them-

1604

A treaty of peace betwixt the Christians and the Turks.

themselues very backeward in this businesse. For why, they knew right well, that the Turks had not taken this matter in hand but to ouertake them, and by this time of peace to gaine a time of war more commodious and fit for their ambitious and cruell designes. They had the yere before made sufficient proofe of our forces, accompanied with good fortune, which caused them to despaire by strong hand to vanquish and ouercome vs: besides that, they still euery houre in one place or other receiued a thousand losses and crosses from our garrisons, who distressed and annoyed them both with their forces, and with driuing of them vnto the extremity of wants. Our men knew moreouer also, that the troubles of Asia as well from the Rebels as from the Persian which lay so heauy vpon the great Sultan, drew them to this necessity, to seeke for a breathing time of peace, wherin to repaire that which was in their forces and strength by wars impaired. And euen yet also the manner of the Turks demeaning of themselues in this action, their delaies, their excuses, and deferring from day to day to conclude vpon some point of their treaty, gaue our men good cause to suspect them of euill meaning, as men respecting their profit more than their faith: and more subtill and cruell in all their actions, than honourable and valorous. The fifth of Ianuary was the day by our men expected for the treaty; for as then the Bassa of Buda had appointed with the rest of the Commissioners to come into the Isle to heare what out commissioners should demand, & to entreat of the peace. But hee was too true an Infidell to faile of his Infidelity, and so came not at all, but deceiued our men both of their hope & expectation. At length in stead of himself, letters were brought from him to Colonell *Althem*; wherby he excused himselfe for not comming, requesting him with the rest of the commissioners, to come ouer the riuer to Buda, the more commodiously for them to confer together, and so the better to conclude their negotiation. Now though *Althem* for the Majesty of his Prince, and the honor of the State, ought not at the request of these his enemies to haue put himselfe into their power, but to haue stood fast vpon the tearmes of honor, yet to the end that the country of Hungary, so miserably spoiled with wars, should not take occasion to complaine of his negligence in this negotiation of peace, he resolued to go to Buda, as the Bassa had requested: deeming euery action tending to the hinderance of the common good, to be but in shew honourable, and in deed hurtfull. Vpon which resolution he sent before the Gentleman of his stable, and his Cooke, with a Gentleman of the Turks, sent but the day before from the Bassa: which men going aboord together, were assailed with such a cruell tempest vpon the riuer, that neither the skill of the watermen, nor goodnesse of the vessell was able to resist the force thereof, so that the boat was sunke and the men drowned. An euill presage of the peace to be made, the raging water as it were foreshewing the troubles to come. But this tempest by the sacrifice of these poore drowned men appeased, *Althem* and *Geisberg*, two of the chiefe commissioners, embarked themselues, and so passed ouer the riuer to Buda. At whose arriuall the Turks gaue in shew a thousand testimonies of their joy for their comming. Neither did the Germans refuse their kind offered courtesies, but largely fed of the good cheere, and filled themselues with the good wines, whereof the Turks had giuen them plenty: and they againe vsing them as kindly, as if they had bin their brethren, and conuersing with them as with their owne countrymen. Amidst this carowsing and platters full of good cheere, the propositions of peace, which the Turks meant to demand, were serued in also, and a truce for twelue daies demanded to consider of the matter: during which time it should bee lawfull for euery man without let freely to come and goe whither they would: which was forthwith on both sides agreed vpon. And for better testimony of the Turks true meaning in this their negotiation of peace, the Bassa in the presence of our Commissioners dispatched a Curror toward the great Sultan, to aduertise him of this businesse, and of the proceeding therein, according to the cammandement by him before giuen. Which he did, to cause our men to beleeue that the great Sultan himselfe was desirous of peace, and that his Captaines well affected thereunto, were willing to further the same. Which done, the Bassa presented vnto Colonell *Althem* two cases full of Turks armes, of all manner of fashions, very rich, and cunningly wrought; both carried by a mule, with furniture for an horse, embroydered with gold and pearle, very sumptuous and rich, as a Present from the Great Sultan his Lord and Master, to the Emperour. And for the Archduke *Matthias*, he presented vnto the Colonell, a robe of purple veluet, with sleeues cunningly enbroydered with gold and pearle, embossed with fine and curious figures cunningly wrought with the needle: for the rare-

The Christian commissioners courteously entertained at Buda.

Presents by the Turks giuen to the Christian commissioners.

A rarenesse thereof as admirable to behold, as for the richnesse thereof to haue beene desired: which was by euery man wondered at, when as shortly after it was by *Althem* presented vnto the Archduke, together with other presents from the Turks. Besides that, the same Bassa in token of friendship, presented vnto *Althem* himselfe another very faire and rich robe: all the rest of the Commissioners receiuing also from the Bassa other robes of lesse value, but yet all very rich and sumptuous.

This businesse for this time thus ended, and the truce for twelue daies concluded, the Christian Commissioners loded with Presents tooke their leaue of the Turks, with the shewes of their good wils, and so returned backe againe to Pesth. Howbeit these the enemies faire Presents still fauoured but of enmity, being indeed but like to the Presents of *Hector* and *Ajax*, B tending rather to war than to peace.

Now the death of the most valiant and renowned Lord *Nadasti*, which at this time happened, was another euill presage of the bad successe of this treaty of peace now at hand: who hauing of long beene a barre vnto the Turks rage in that part of Hungary where he dwelt, they now after his death, with the violence of their forces, as with an heady streame, bare downe before them all our good fortune in that Prouince. This worthy man of great fame and desert, had spent both his yeares and fortune in the most honourable warres against the Turks: wherein he was so skilfull and expert, that he was of them feared as another *Huniades*, and of the Christians honoured as another *Matthias*. He had a thousand times most valiantly fought against these miscreants, and as many times foiled them, to the great benefit of the Christian C Common-weale, the aduancement of the Emperours seruice, and the reliefe of his distressed Country. These his heroicall deeds of armes were engrauen vpon the gates of the Townes and Cities of Hungary, and within the rockes of Transyluania, hauing both in the one country and the other right happily defeated these Infidels. He had the honour to haue receiued the first incursions and attempts of the Turks, at such time as *Amurath* the third hauing perfidiously broken the League made with *Maximilian* the Emperour, with his Forces inuaded Hungary; and was the first of all the Christian Chiefetaines that made head against them; and being by their sudden comming in by them almost surprised, performed yet great and worthy exploits and seruice against these faithlesse men. It should seeme that good fortune fauoured the Country of Hungary, but only in respect of him: for he being dead, it died also, D burying it selfe as it were in his graue, and him in glory; not suffering him to grow old, and so to languish in the ruines of his natiue Country. He died of a naturall death, about fifty and foure yeares old, most part whereof he liued in armes, still charged with the burthen of his armour, and euen at the yeelding vp of the ghost yet breathing wars against these the enemies of the Christian Faith. His death was much lamented for of many faithfull Christians, but especially of his owne tenants and subjects, whom he had alwaies kept and preserued in safety, and still maintained them in all peace and tranquility during all these former warres; the Turks not daring once to assaile them, nor to enter into their territory, being staied from so doing by the bulwarke of his valour, right dreadfull to their attempts. Neuer Turke was buried in his Territory, no more than were the Barbarians vpon the bankes of the riuer Euro- E tas, his wisedome had so wisely prouided for the preseruation of his people; and his valour so worthily assured them of their health and safety. He was for his Country another *Epaminondas*, who made his towne not only free from the armes and inuasions of their enemies, but also dreadfull to their forces so long as he liued. The Turks on the contrary part no lesse rejoyced for his death; but accounting his country now rich and plentifull (for that it had neuer been by them spoiled) for their most assured prey came now thither on all sides, to haue taken the spoile thereof, and therewith to haue enriched themselues. But as they were about so to haue done, the valliant *Collonitz* honoring the remembrance of the Lord *Nadasti* his late fellow and companion in armes, and holding that for his owne which he had left, opposed himselfe with his forces against these rauening wolues. So that they were no sooner entered into this F his territory, but that contrary to their expectation, they were encountered by this new *Nadasti*, and by him so ouerthrowne and cut in pieces, that for a good while after they durst no more attempt the like.

The true and just commendation of the Lord Nadasti.

The death of the Lord Nadasti.

This so great a losse of so worthy a man was a little eased by the victory about the same time gained by the Vayuod of Valachia against the Turks spoyling of his Countrey. This valiant

The Turks ouer throwne by the Vayuod of Valachia.

valiant champion not able longer to endure the proud insolency and tyranny of these barbarous people, gathered together his troupes of horsemen, with such other small forces as he had; whereof the Turks hauing made small reckoning, and therefore without order pillaging and ransacking his Country, were, when they least feared, by him upon the sudden surprised and ouerthrowne, many of them being cut in pieces, a number moe taken prisoners, with all the spoiles they had got, and the rest with such feare chased out of his Country, as that being glad to haue escaped, they tooke no pleasure for a great while after, to looke into that his Prouince againe. G

But to returne againe to the Commissioners for the peace to be made betwixt the Great Sultan and the Emperour, the Bassa of Buda, to the end that the Captaines and Gouernors of the towns and castles belonging to the Turks, being ignorant of the truce, should not continue their warlike actions, to the prejudice of his faith giuen; immediatly after the departure of the Christian Commissioners from Buda, dispatched diuers currours towards them, to giue them knowledge thereof, and especially to the Gouernor of Agria, commanding them from thenceforth to abstain from their ordinary incursions into their enemies territories, and from all other actions of hostility, and so to keep themselues quiet vntill they were from him otherwise commanded. This little time of respite and breathing from warre, gaue great contentment vnto the poore country people, now with warres almost exhausted and spent. And now our souldiers during the time of truce laying their armes aside, ran by heaps with spades and shouels vnto the places where our Armies had sometimes lien encamped, there to delue and search to finde such things as the Armies rising in haste had haply left there buried. In which action they so busied themselues as if they had beene Labourers in Harueſt, so that nothing was in the fields to be seene, but men digging and remouing of stones and earth. A right foolish businesse, and yet so exceedingly pleasing the greedy minds of these couetous men, as that amiddest their such moiling labour they accounted themselues at great ease. The Turks also did the like, mingled together with our men, and our men with them, without any injury doing one to another either by word or deed. And no doubt it is, but that there they found more trauell than wealth, the greedy desire which drew them into this worke, deceiuing them in effect. And in this mad labour both the parties spent many daies without any let or injury doing either on the one side or the other. The Christians of Pesth also passing ouer the Danuby, went into the victualling houses of the Turks at Buda, whereinto they were suffered to enter, and at liberty to walke vp and downe the towne at their pleasure. And so the Turks of Buda likewise came ouer the riuer vnto Pesth, and there walked at their pleasure, no man letting of them. Which manner of liuing was very commodious and pleasing both for the one side and the other, the Christians buying of the Turks such things as they needed, and the Turks of them likewise. Through which quiet and peaceable intercourse and traffique, the people in generall seemed euen in that short time to haue forgotten a great part of their forepassed miseries, this little time of peace, joyned with security, hauing well assuaged the same. But while these mutuall and vnwonted courtesies thus passed betwixt the Christians and the Turks, and the minds of most men were filled with the expectation of an assured peace to haue beene euen forthwith concluded, the Great Sultan *Mahomet* in the middest of all his pleasures and delights died in his Imperiall Palace at Constantinople: the newes whereof being in the euening brought to Buda by a courrour of purpose sent from Constantinople, the Bassa forthwith sent the Captaine of the Sentinels of Buda, to Colonell *Geisberg* at Pesth, to assure him of the death of the Great Sultan *Mahomet*, and of the succession of his young son *Achmet* into his Empire, now already both at Constantinople and other places thereabout proclaimed Emperour. By which messenger he also wrote vnto Colonell *Althem*, to certifie him both of the death of the Great Sultan, and of the succession of his sonne, as also that he was by him commanded to continue the negotiation of the peace, and so if he could to conclude the same. For the more euidence whereof, behold the copy of the letters themselues: H I K L M

The small time of truce yeeldeth great contentment both vnto the Christians & Turks in Hungary.

The death of the great Sultan Mahomet.

The Letters of the Bassa of Buda to Colonell *Althem.*

OVr due commendations remembred, noble Lord Gouernour, our deere friend and right honourable neighbour. We haue thought good to aduertise you, that the fourth day after your departure from this

A *this city we receiued Letters from Constantinople, giuing vs certainely to vnderstand of the death of our most mighty Emperour* Mahomet, *and of the succession of his son Sultan* Achmat, *into all his dominions and Empires: whereby we are, as his most humble subjects, summoned to yeeld vnto him our oath of faithfull obedience, as vnto our righteous Lord, and lawfull successour of his father into all his estates and dominions. Moreouer, he particularly commandeth vs, to giue him certaine aduice and knowledge concerning the negotiation of the peace begun betwixt vs and you, by the commandement of his deceased father: promising to confirme and ratifie all that whatsoeuer he shall finde done and agreed vpon concerning that businesse, without any qualification at all. And that if the treaty be not yet concluded and ended, that his will and desire was, that it should be so, according to the just means and assurances that we should faithfully and carefully together deuise. Whereof I should readily giue him aduice and answer; which I*

B *haue deferred to do, vntill I haue receiued your answer, which may instruct me what to resolue vpon. Which your answer I attending, haue staied the Currour of Constantinople, to the intent he may carry backward vnto our Emperour, what he is to hope for concerning this businesse, by the answer that you shall giue vs. These are now therefore to aduise you, as our deere friend, and a most valiant Gouernour, to set downe that which you shall thinke to be most fit and necessary in this businesse: giuing you withall to vnderstand, that our new Emperour is a man of resolution euen in these his young yeares, wherein he now flourisheth, hating idlenesse, deeming no losse greater, and altogether irrepairable, than the losse of time. If then you be still desirous, that the peace betwixt our Emperours should be made and confirmed, I hope you will employ your whole endeuour, with speed to determine this most happy negotiation, and so ne-*

C *cessary for euery mans good. As also to auert farre from our owne heads, the curses of the common people, for whom it is most needfull that the peace should for their good and quietnesse be concluded, seeing that the fruit thereof is expected to be vnto them happy, and the glory thereof for euer ours, for hauing by our diligence and true endeauour concluded the same. Which maketh me to hope, that when you shall finde your selfe ready to conclude this treaty, you shall not bring with you men enemies vnto peace, or such as shall dissuade the same; but rather wise and graue men, which to the vttermost of their power may aduance the same; and finde out good and reasonable meanes to assure an eternall and faithfull peace betwixt our Emperours, vnto which so generall a good euery one of vs is in duty bound to imploy the vttermost of his sufficiencie and power. And this is that I haue of truth to write vnto you at this time; And so I bid you farewell.*

D Now these Letters although they most concerned the continuation of the treaty of peace, already begun, and were too friendly from an enemy, to haue in them any good meaning, yet did they well assure the Colonell to whom they were written, of the death of the great and late Sultan *Mahomet*, and of the succession of his sonne *Achmat* into his Empire, to which end they are here set downe.

This late mighty Monarch, and now nothing but a loathsome lump of dead flesh, the great Sultan *Mahomet*, departed this life about the later end of Ianuary, in the yeare of Grace 1604, (according to their computation which begin their yeare at Christmas) when he had liued about foure and forty yeres, and thereof reigned eight. He was a man of no great spirit, and yet exceeding proud; which was the cause that he was both the lesse beloued and feared of his

E subjects in generall, but especially of the Ianizaries and other his souldiers and men of warre, who scorning his loose gouernment, and grieued to see euen the greatest affaires of his State not only imparted to women, but by them mannaged and ouerruled also (as by his mother, the Sultanesse his wife, and others) not onely rebelled against him, but were oftentimes in their rages about to haue deposed him. He was altogether giuen to sensuality & voluptuous pleasure, the markes whereof he still carried about with him, a foule swolne, vnweldy, and ouergrowne body, vnfit for any Princely office or function: and a minde thereto answerable, wholly giuen ouer vnto idlenesse, pleasure, and excesse, no small meanes for the shortening of his daies, which he ended with obloquie, vnregarded of his subjects, and but of few or none of them lamented.

F He had issue foure sonnes, and three daughters married vnto three of the great Bassaes. *Mahomet his issue.*

His first and eldest sonne was called *Mahomet* (after his owne name) whom he caused to be strangled in his owne sight, vpon suspition of aspiring vnto the Empire, and conspiring with the Rebels in Asia: but afterward finding him guiltlesse, caused his body to be buried in his owne Sepulchre, and hanged the Bassa that had mis-informed him.

His

His second sonne died a naturall death, being yet very young.

His third sonne was Sultan *Achmat*, who succeeded his father, and came to the Empire by G the vntimely death of *Mahomet* his eldest brother.

His fourth sonne being then a youth of about sixteene yeares old, was carefully kept within the Seraglio, with such a streit guard set ouer him, as that his name was not to be learned, euen by a good vnderstanding friend of mine, of late lying about three moneths together at Constantinople, who most curiously enquired after the same, hauing very good meanes to haue learned it. He was reported to haue been long since murthered, howbeit that he of late liued, but looking euery day to be by his brothers cruell commandement strangled, which is accounted but a matter of course, and a death hereditary to all the yonger male children of the *Othoman* Emperours: the policy for the maintenance of their great Empire entire and whole, H so requiring.

Mahomet, how he lieth buried at Constantinople.

His dead body lyeth buried at Constantinople, in a faire Chappell of white Marble (neere vnto the most famous and beautifull church of S. *Sophia*) for that only purpose by himselfe most sumptuously built about fifty foot square, with foure high small round towers, about the which are certain small round galleries of stone: from which the Turkish priests and churchmen, at certain houres, vse to call the people euery day to Church: for they vse no bels themselues, neither will they suffer the Christians to vse any. But the top of this Chappell is built round, like vnto the antient temples of the heathen gods in Rome. In the midst of this Chappell (being indeed nothing else but this great Sultans Sepulchre) standeth his tombe, which is nothing else but a great vrne or coffin of faire white Marble, wherein lieth his body, couered I with a great couering of the same stone ouer it, made rising in the midst, and stooping on each side: not much vnlike to the coffins of the antient tombes of the Saxon kings, which are to be seen on the North side of the Quire of S. *Pauls* Church, and in other places of this land: but that this coffin of the great Sultan is much greater and more stately than are those of the Saxon kings; it being aboue fiue foot high at the end therof, and by little and little falling toward the feet, couered with a rich hearse of cloth of gold downe to the ground: his turbant standing at his head, and two exceeding great candles of white waxe, about three or foure yards long, standing in great brasse or siluer candlesticks gilded, the one at his head, the other at his feet, which neuer burne, but there stand for shew only. All the flore of the Chappell being couered with mats, and faire Turky carpets vpon them. And round about this his tombe, euen in the K same Chappell, are the like tombes for his wiues and children, but nothing so great and faire. Into this Chappell, or any other the Turks Churches or Chappels, it is not lawfull for either Turke or Christian to enter, but first he must put off his shooes, leauing them at the church or chappell gate, or carrying them in his hand. Neere vnto this chappell, and the great Temple of *Sophia*, are diuers other chappels of the other great Turks; as of Sultan *Selym*, this mans grandfather, with his seuen and thirty children about him: of Sultan *Amurath*, this mans father, with his fiue and forty children entombed about him. And in other places not far from them, are the chappels and sepulchres of the rest of the great Sultans; as of Sultan *Mahomet* the Great, of Sultan *Bajazet*, Sultan *Selym* the first, Sultan *Solyman*: all by these great Mahometan Emperors built, whose names they beare. And being all of almost one forme and fashion, haue euery L one of them a faire Hospitall adjoyning vnto them, wherein a great multitude of poore people are daily still relieued.

Some others of the great Bassaes haue their Chappels and Sepulchres, with their great and stately almes-houses also, not much inferiour vnto those of the great Sultans; as namely, *Ibrahim Bassa*, of all the Bassaes that euer were amongst the Turks the most magnificent, hath his stately chappell, sepulchre, and almes-houses, neere both in place and beauty vnto that of *Solymans*. The Turks bury not at all within their churches, neither are any at all buried within the wals of the city, but the great Turkish Emperours themselues, with their wiues and children about them, and some few other of their great Bassaes, and those only in Chappels by themselues built for that purpose. All the rest of the Turks are buried in the field; some of the M better sort in tombes of marble; but the rest with tombe stones laied vpon them, or with two great stones, the one set vp at the head, and the other at the feet of euery graue, the greatest part of them being of white Marble, brought from the Isle of Marmora. They will not bury any man where another hath beene buried, accounting it impiety to digge vp another mans bones.

The Turks bury not in their churches, neither within the wals of their cities, but in the fields.

A bones. By reason wherof they couer al the best ground about the city with such white stones, which for the infinit number of them are thought sufficient to make another wall about the City. But now to stand no longer about the manner of the Turks burials, leauing this great Sultan to rest with his ancestors, let vs now prosecute the course of our history.

FINIS.

Christian Princes of the same time with Mahomet *the third.*

- *Emperours of Germany* — *Rodolphus the second,* — 1577
- *Kings*
  - *Of England* — *Queen Elizabeth,* — 1558. 44
  - *Of France* — *Henry the fourth,* — 1589
  - *Of Scotland* — *Iames the sixth, afterward King of England,* — 1567
- *Bishops of Rome*
  - *Clement the VIII,* — 1592. 13
  - *Leo the XI,* — 1605. 26 dayes
  - *Paulus the V,* — 1605

Non tua te virtus, non ingens copia rerum
Te faciunt magnum, non tua dextra potens:
Maximus est superûm, nutu qui territat orbem
Hinc Achmete *tibi gloria tota manat.*
Hic tibi tunc tenero regalia sceptra parauit,
Hic tibi nunc juveni maxima quæque dedit.
Non quod sis alijs melior, multumve beatus,
Sed quò sis alijs terror & ira Dei.
Quid turges igitur, fastuve superbis inani?
Sic te cum miseris numinis ira premat.
Pone modũ magnis, ni vis succumbere magnus:
Maxima quæque suo pondere pressa ruunt.
Nec tibi promittes regnandi tempora longa
Te tua fata vocant, te tua fata premunt.

RIC. KNOLLEVS.

The same in English.

Thy vertue doth not make thee great,
nor yet thy storeof pelf;
Nor is it thyne own mighty arm
that doth exalt thy self.
But God aboue,who with a beck
doth shake the world from hie;
From him all glory doth proceed
that doth belong to thee.
He gaue to thee,then but a child,
thine empire large and wide;
And giues to thee,now grown a man,
all worldly blisse beside.
Not that thou better art,or blest
more than some others be;
But that to plague the world for sin
he hath appointed thee.
Why dost thou therfore swel with pride,
stil seeking after more?
Sith that there is for thee by God
vengeance laid vp in store.
Vnto thy greatnes bounds prefix,
lest thou be crusht withall:
The greatest things with their own weight
haue oft the greatest fall.
Nor promise to thy self,that thou
shalt long time liue and reign:
Thy Destinies do call thee hence,
and thrust thee on amain.

ACHMAT.

THE LIFE OF *ACHMAT*, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, EIGHTH EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS.

C M *Ahomet* the late Sultan in the midst of his excessiue pleasures by vntimely death taken away, *Achmat* the elder of his two sonnes yet liuing,who was to succeed him in the Empire,to preuent the vsuall and insolent tumults of the Ianizaries and other soldiers of the court at the change of the Emperours, and to take from them all occasions of discontentment; by the counsell of the great Bassa's (before he took vpon him the gouernment) caused an exceeding great sum of mony,namely two millions and an half, as a token of his bounty to be distributed amongst them: the Spahi and Silictars his chief horsmen receiuing ther-
D of ten Crownes a man, with fiue aspers a day more to encrease their pay: and the Ianizaries thirty crownes a man, and on asper a day of ordinary pay: they of his court, especially the chiefe officers,tasting of this his bounteous liberality also. With which so great a largesse all men well contented,he in a most rich and stately Chariot,so placed as that all men might see him,was in great majestie carried thorow all the chiefe streets of Constantinople; the people on euery side gazing vpon him,and stil as he passed by them,prosecuting him with their most joiful and happy acclamations. Some wishing,that he being but young might (as another *Solyman*) beginne his reign with the conquest of Malta,as had the other with the conquest of the Rhodes: & other-some as heartily praying,that with glorious and victorious conquests hee might be like vnto *Mahomet* the Great,whom he was then reported much to resemble. In which so great & publique magnificence,he being about 15 years old,was with all the accustomed solemnities o-
E penly crowned,euery man wishing vnto him a most long and happy reign. And albeit that no great fruit was for the present to be expected from so yong and tender a plant, yet nevertheless by his authoritie and in his name many good orders were taken for the relieſe of his subiects,with most heauy grieuances generally oppressed, during the loose and careles reign of his father. His grandmother also,a most proud,ambitious and imperious woman,& withall exceeding rich,who with great authority ouer-ruled all in the time of her sonne *Mahomets* reign,he now remoued from the Land, as not fit for her to haue to do therein, and so depriued her of all her former power and command. The Persian Embassador,whom his father in his displeasure had close shut vp, he set at liberty, and with him sent the Bassa of Aleppo to entreat of peace with the great Shaugh of Persia, who not long before (as was reported) had
F recouered the great city of Tauris,and was then preparing himself for new conquests. Which report for the motion of peace with the Persian discouered in his subiects their diuers opinions concerning himself; some condemning his patience,as not beseeming the *Othoman* Emperors, vnto whom fury and rage had alwaies made them a way vnto their great and dreadfull conquests,

Achmat crowned Emperour at Constantinople.

conquests, euen against the most puissant armies and strongest townes and fortresses of their enemies: and some other to the contrary praysing therein his wisedome, in seeking by faire means (now in the beginning of his reigne) to dis-arme his enemies when they might most hurt him; at his better opportunitie, in his setled estate, to oppresse them for euer. So the actions of Princes are like vnto strange lights appearing by night in the ayre, which hold mens eyes busied with the intentiue beholding of them, some thereof diuining well, and some others euill, according to the diuersitie of the beholders conceits and humors.

The treaty of peace continued in Hungary.

The treaty for peace also in Hungary was notwithstanding the death of *Mahomet*, by the Bassa of Buda still continued, who (as he said) by the new Sultan authorised, by letters incited the Gouernor of Strigonium to repaire vnto some such conuenient place as wherein the matter might be safely concluded. Vpon which motion the Gouernor with the rest of the Commissioners departing from Strigonium, the fourth of February came to *Collonitz* his Campe, from whence they were by the soldiers most brauely conducted along the banks of Danubius, vnto the ships which lay ready for them, to carry them downe the riuer to Pesth: during which time of their passage nothing was to bee seene or heard but fire and smoake, and the thundring of the great Artillery both from Pesth and Buda, the Christians and the Turks both striuing to excell each other in these their shewes of ioy and triumph. The Gouernour with the rest of his company being happily arriued at Pesth, met there with a number of the better sort of the Turks sent thither by the Bassa to meet him, and in his name to greet him: who with a thousand honours againe receiued and saluted them. All shewes of kindnesse, and signes of the happy successe of the negotiation begun. And now the Christians desirous to excell the Turks, as well in courtesie as in valor, appointed a number of them the next day to goe to Buda, to inuite certaine of the chiefest and most honourable men amongst the Turks, vnto a banquet at Pesth: Who willingly accepted of the offer, and so came six hundred of the better sort of them ouer the Danubie to Pesth, where the feast was most sumptuously and magnificently prepared for them. There were ten faire and rich pauilions set vp for the entertainment of them a little distant from Pesth, in a faire place, and fit for this purpose. In the first whereof were placed three very proud and stately tables. At the first of which tables, on the right hand, were set the Commissioners for the Emperour, with the two Bassaes, and one Mufti or Arch-Priest, with a Mitre vpon his head, a long furred gowne vpon his back, and vnder that, a robe of most fine and exceeding rich silke. Vpon the left hand, at the same table were placed certain of the Turks Lords, and other great men. At the other two tables were set other of the best sort of the Turks mingled with the Christians: and so at all the other tables in like order were set a Christian and a Turke, vntill that the six hundred Turks were placed, with as many Christians among them: who by their good countenance and behauiour one of them to another, might haue seemed to haue been all of one & the same Beliefe, Nation, and Countrey. The Turks after the manner of their superstition, would not sit downe before the setting of the Sunne, which being set, they with a thousand Ceremonies, to the imitation of their Archpriest, set themselues down at the tables in order as is aforesaid, and there merrily reposed themselues vntill nine of the clocke at night. At which time the tables with great reuerence taken away, the Turks as men well contented, and full of ioy returned to Buda, the instruments of musicke, trumpets, and Drummes, on euery side sounding about them with much glee, and as it were witnessing to heauen and earth the great contentment they had receiued. Yet for all this fair shew, nothing but deep dissimulation, mixt with foul treason: For a little before their departure, they of Pesth were aduertised, That the Turks in great number wel appointed, were come out from Buda to surprise Pesth during the time of the feast, beeing in hope that the Christians all busied in that action, had left the towne walls vnfurnished of defence. But they too wel acquainted with their trecheries, to put any trust or confidence in their fair shewes, had as well prouided for the defence of the town, as for the magnificence of the feast abroad. By which meanes the Turkes disappointed of their intended purpose, were in the attempting thereof repulsed, and so glad to return as they came, backe againe vnto Buda.

The Turks seek to surprise Pesth.

The next day after, the Emperours Commissioners complained vnto the Bassa and the rest of the Turks Commissioners, of this so trecherous dealing. Who excused themselues as altogether

together ignorant therof; disauowing the action for want of succes, which had it bin effected, they would to the vttermost most shamefully haue maintained. An ordinary course among the Great, with speech and countenance in shew to condemn that for want of effect, which in heart and mind they could for their own profit haue wished had bin performed.

Neuertheless the Turkes the next day (as if no such thing had bin meant) requested the Christian commissioners to come to Buda, as they had don to Pesth: but they, as wel by proof as by report, perceiuing the euil meaning of the Turks, excusing themselues returned to Strigonium, as loth any more to aduenture themselues into the power of their faithles enemies: yet left they *Geisberg* at Pesth, with Commission to continue the negotiation for peace with the Bassa of Buda: if he should find him therunto disposed, or any hope of bringing the treatie to good effect or issue.

Mahomet the late Sultan had a little before his death (as is declared) set at liberty Count *Tsolan* (caried away prisoner to Constantinople after the taking of Alba-Regalis) and sent him with Letters of Credence to intreat of a peace to be made with the Emperor; with promise to yeeld himself againe prisoner, if he failed to obtain the same: for whom the French Embassador became pledge. He hauing now deliuered his letters of Credence vnto the Emperor, and commanded to say what he had further in charge; declared, That the great Sultan offered to deliuer vnto his Majesty the strong townes of Buda, Alba-Regalis, and Canisia, in exchange of Transylvania and Valachia, whereto he laid claim; promising for his part to make a most sure & firm peace with the Emperor for time to come, and to giue him such assurance therof as should of him reasonably be demanded.

Count Tsolans message from the great Sultan to the Emperor.

The Bassa of Buda also amongst other the fair remonstrances of peace, had offered vnto the Emperors Commissioners to restore Canisia and Agria, for Pesth, Hatwan and Vacia, together with the remission of all such paiments and tributes as were by the Emperour due to the great Sultan for the kingdom of Hungary. All which fair shews and offers, though much vnreasonable, were nothing but windy words to delay the time, and subtil baits to deceiue the Christians: for the euent and issue which giueth life to all actions, with a form to them agreeable, hath by experience taught the Christians, that all the glorious and glozing proceedings of the Turks in this busines of the peace, so much wished and expected of the Christians, were but nets and snares wherwith to intangle them with the vain hope thereof, vntil that they in the mean time might fortifie their townes with new supply of men, munition, victuals, and whatsoeuer else was needful, the more easily afterward to anoy them at their pleasure, and so to laugh at their simplicitie and light beleefe. For *Mahomet* being dead, and *Achmat* his son (yet by reason of his minoritie, vnder the tuition of his mother and other the great Bassa's) succeeding in his place, the Turkes aggrauated the conditions of the peace, and propounded them so farre from reason, as that any man might see them now to haue no more desire or regard of peace, after they had dispatched that for which they seemed before so desirous of it. Insomuch, that they sent a messenger in post from Constantinople to the Bassa of Buda, to forbid him vpon pain of his head, any further to continue the treaty of peace, but forthwith to renew the War. So this peace so much expected, and now of the people generally holden for as good as concluded, suddenly vanished into smoke; nothing remaining of that body, composed of so many wishes, more than a vain expectation, now dispersed with the winde of the Turkish trechery. And yet during the time of this negotiation of peace, sought for by the Turks both by often letters and messengers, many a solemn oath had passed both from the Sultan *Mahomet*, and from the Visier Bassa, for their faithfull and sincere dealing in the treaty therof; as, By the God of heauen and earth, By the Books of *Moses*, By the Psalmes of *Dauid*, and By the holy Euangelists: oathes much vsed of the Turkes, and reserued for their greatest solemnities, and strongest assurances of their leagues and promises. All which for al that, hauing serued but as baits and traines to beguile the simple and well meaning men, lay now neglected and vnregarded. Such is the faith and assurance which men haue from faithlesse Infidels.

The treaty of peace thus broken off, it was forthwith by some bruited, That *Achmat* the great Sultan, vnder the conduct of the Visier Bassa his gouernor, was himself in person with a most huge army about to come into Hungary. Some others in the meane time reporting, That

that he was letted so to do by reason of the Persian Wars, whereunto hee was of necessitie to G
send the greatest part of his forces; so that hee would but only send one of his great Bassa's
with the remainder of his so great an army against the Christians into Hungary, being before
sworn neuer to return again to Constantinople, vntil he had brought the countries of Transil-
vania and Valachia, with the remainder of Hungary, vnder the great Sultans obeisance, toge-
ther with the country of Austria, and especially the strong city of Vienna, the end of the Tur-
kish Emperors conquests. And that to this purpose the grand Seignior had in al places with
great rigor leuied large sums of money vpon his subiects for the maintenance of his so great
an army. It was by others also reported, That onely the preparations for so great an Army
should be made this year, the Turks being resolued to do much therwith the next year, and
therfore willing to bestow much, in hope with so great and puissant an Army as they were a- H
bout to raise, to end the wars in Hungary, and not to return vntil they conquered all the rest of
that kingdom, in the rent reliques wherof the *Otheman* Emperors had staid. So that all han-
dicrafts men were set to worke both night and day, not onely to forge Weapons, to cast great
Ordnance, and to make pouder, but to prepare all other things necessarie also for so great an
exployt.

All these great preparations were made for the seruice of the Visier Bassa for the War in
Hungary, and of *Cicala Bassa* in Persia; wherof he was appointed Generall, hauing before pre-
sumptuously promised, vtterly to ruinat the Persians estate, and with so great a power euen to
swallow him vp. And indeed these Eastern wars much troubled the Turks, news comming
stil concerning the conquests of the Persian vpon his territories; and that euen of late the Per- I
sian king prosecuting his victories, had taken Babylon with all the country round about; and
that diuers other towns and cities, more moued with fear, than with the faith wherewith they
had bound themselues vnto the Turks, now yeelded to the Persian, as weary of the Turkes ser-
uitude, and desirous of their antient liberty. And yet for all that, the Turkes (as they are wise
The Turkes wisely dissemble their losses. to dissemble their losses, and to strike a fear into their enemies) had giuen it out in Constan-
tinople, That the Persian king was neer vnto Babylon discomfited, all his army ouerthrowne,
and he himselfe taken prisoner. So that the Turkes forces before distracted, should wholly
joine together, to the vtter ruine and destruction of the Christians in Hungary. And the more
to confirm this euil newes, it was reported, That the Beglerbeg of Grecia had raised a great
power to joine with the Visier Bassa his forces, to the intent to leaue nothing vnconquered in K
Hungary. For the better effecting wherof it was said also, That the Visier Bassa had caused a
great number of Vessels loded with pouder and other warlike prouision, to be brought by wa-
ter out of Egypt to Belgrade, to ruinate the estate of the Christians. All which reports were
by the Turks giuen out, to couer their own mishaps, and to terrifie their enemies: as knowing
right well, Warres to depend much vpon reports, and that a false bruit once beleeued, often
worketh the effect of a thing indeed don. How soeuer it was, those so dreadful reports might
well haue serued to haue stirred vp the spirits of the Christians, to haue prouided for their
owne defence, and to haue stood vpon their gard. For he that faileth to prouide against the
preparations of his enemy, well deserueth either bondage or death, which soeuer shall befall
him, for hauing by his negligence betrayed his owne abilitie and power to haue withstood L
him.

The great report of the Turks preparations and forces had now dasht all the talk of peace
at Constantinople, and the hot fire of ambition had quite scorched the sweet flours appearing
vpon the ouerture of the late hope of the common repose; some persuading the great Sul-
tan, That he was able by his power at the same time both to subdue the Persian King, and to
confound the whole forces of the Christian Emperor, hauing so many great kingdoms with-
in his Empire, so many Armouries stored for his seruice, and such store of treasure ready for
his designes; promising vnto him most happy and easie successe both in the one and the other
expeditions, euen at one and the selfe same time: so that hee might vanquish the Persian by
Cicala, chiefe Commander of his Army in Persia; and conquer the remainder of Hungarie, M
with the Countries of Transylvania and Valachia, by the Visier Bassa Generall of his forces
against the Christians. It being (as they said) a thing both honourable and profitable for a
Prince, to bestow both men and money, thereby to gaine men, honour, and Empire: so that
things

A things which with great charge might be done all at once, were more profitable than those
which with lesse charge were don at diuers times; for that things so don at once yeelded pre-
sent profit, as being in our power, and recompencing the charge: the other in long time put-
ting vs to great charge, and yeelding little or no profit at all. And indeed men stood in great
fear of this the Turks yong Emperour, who was by nature fierce, hasty, vigilant, cruel, ambiti-
ous and proud, in his behauior and actions much resembling *Mahomet* the second, hee which *The disposition of Achmat.*
took from the Christians so many kingdoms, towns, and cities, and among the rest, the Impe-
rial city of Constantinople. He like a yong *Alexander* occupied himselfe in all the exercises
of war, hated idlenes, his fathers greatest pleasure; he caused Arms to be made, cannos to bee
cast, ships and gallies to be built, and took pleasure to discourse how the same were to be im-
B ploied against his enemies: so that it was greatly feared, that he being but a child in Con-
stantinople, would proue a man grown in Christendom, in bringing the same vnder his power
and obeisance. He spared no person nor means to satisfie his desire. So that strangers were to
expect small curtesies at his hands, when as they saw him vse such bloudy cruelty against his
nobles and domestick seruants, of whom soon after he was Emperour he put diuers to death,
with one of the Bassa's also, who was Gouernor of Pesth when as our men won it. But as ju-
stice and clemencie to good Princes are the surest tyes to keep their subjects fast bound vnto
them in their obedience and duties; so are cruelty and rage the chiefest bridles wherwith the
Turkish Emperors keep their subjects in awe and subjection vnto them, and themselues in
their estate.

C But leauing the Turks busied about their preparations for the accomplishment of their
yong Emperors high designes, let vs return into Hungary, taking Transylvania in our way;
the wofull miseries of which Country my mind abhorreth to think vpon, and my pen therof
to write. This Prouince, somtimes much renowned for the great victories obtained against
the Turks by the inhabitants therof, vnder the leading of their valiant Prince *Sigismund Bator* *The misery of Transylvania.*
and others, and abounding with plenty of al things, was now not by any inuasion of the Turks,
but by ciuill discord amongst themselues, and rebellion against the Emperour, now their So-
ueraign, so wasted and spoiled by the souldiers of all sorts, that many of the poor inhabitants
for want of food fell down dead as they went in the streets and fields: miserable Wretches,
alwaies sowing, but neuer reaping; alwaies labouring, but nothing profiting, the merciles and
D greedy souldier still spoyling and deuouring all. By long continuance of which daily out-
rages the fields at length lay now vntilled, the pastures vnstored and neglected, and all things
els vnmannured and quite out of course. By means wherof the famin so increased, that the
poor peasants of the country hauing eaten vp for great dainties, all the dogs, cats, mice and *An horrible famine.*
rats that they could get, fell to eating of dead horses, and the loathsom carrion of other hun-
ger-starued beasts. It is reported also, That one man should eat another: and that at Herman-
stat a woman hauing six children, did among them eat one another, vntill they were at length
all six deuoured. And contrariwise, That two men did eat one another. Yea, theeues & ma-
lefactors hanged for their villanies, were by the poor and miserable hungry people cut down
from the Gallows, and deuoured; the people generally liuing vpon nothing but the roots of
E Weeds, green herbs, and the leaues of trees.

For remedy of which so extream miseries, it was on al parts agreed, that a general assembly
of the States of the whole prouince should be holden at Dewa. Wherin it was accorded, that
all hostility set apart, the Gentlemen of Transylvania hauing by their rebellion forfeited
both their liues and lands, should be pardoned their liues, with three fourth parts of their
lands reserued vnto them; and that for ready mony they might of the Emperour redeem the
fourth part also. But concerning the moueables of such as were dead in the time of these
troubles, and already confiscat vnto the Emperour, they should so remaine; and that they
should pay their disms or tenth part of their wines and fruits vnto the Emperour. And fur-
ther, That there should be no further exercise of religion permitted vnto them, but onely the
F Romish religion. And that the towns of Cronstadt and Clausenburg should within 3 weeks
after pay, one of them 20000 dollars, and the other 8000: And the Magistrats of those pla-
ces should deliuer the keyes of their towns, with all their power, into the hands of the Empe-
rours

rors Lieutenant: and that the Gentlemen of these Towns which would not be accounted in G
the number of the rebels, should for the safety of their persons take letters of pardon for their rebellion, of the General of the Army. This pacification gaue some little time of breathing vnto this poor distressed Country, which bared of all strength, and as it were vpon the graues brink, had now but euen the last gasp to giue; and the Countrey people began again to giue themselues vnto their wonted labours, in hope at length to reap the profit therof themselues.

Great troubles in Transylvania.

But alas all in vain: for why, the rauening souldiers inured to prey, after their wonted maner made hauock and spoil of all things, leauing nothing vnto the poor Country man but his labor for his pain, and time enough to bewail his manifold and remediless miseries. The chief causes wherof were the Nobility and Gentlemen themselues, who not liking to be gouerned, or rather (as they tooke it) oppressed by the Germans; and hauing not vpon any desire that H
they had of peace, but rather by necessity inforced, yeelded vnto the Pacification aforesayd, ceased not stil vnder-hand to incite the souldiers (ready enough of themselues to doe mischief) and in what they might to trouble the State, being gouerned by the Germans, whom they accounted as meer strangers. All which their doings *Basta* the Emperors Lieutenant perceiuing, caused three of the greatest of the Gentlemen of the country, and whom he most suspected to be the authors of these troubles, to be apprehended, and fast mured vp betwixt two strong walls in an old ruinous Monastery. Whither their friends afterward comming to visit them, & finding them starued to death, were therwith much abashed, as were also others their complices when they heard therof.

But leauing them to work themselues further troubles, let vs againe return to the Turkes I
affairs.

The Turks deal deceitfully with the Christians.

Now was all the hope of peace betwixt the Christians and the Turks become desperat, the Turks making therof no more account, seeing they had according to their desire prouided Alba-Regalis, Agria, and Buda, of all things necessary. They had in four wagons put into Agria the pay due vnto their garrisons: so that their affairs being now in good estate, and their courage reuiued, they began to scoffe and jest at our incredulity, to beleeue that they euer had any purpose to conclude vpon any thing that was not agreeing with their profit, how far soeuer it were differing from their honor or faith. So that now these faithlesse men began again to renue their wonted incursions and pillages vpon the Christians, with all other kinds of hostility, and that in more cruel maner than euer before: and our Hussars on the other side K
well requited them with the like, beeing as well contented as they with such doings, their whole fortune depending vpon the points of their weapons, & euer ready to serue their prince for pay. Now it fortuned that fourscore of the Turks going forth to seek for prey, chanced to meet with certain of these Hussars, and finding themselues too weake to incounter with our men, and betaking themselues to flight, were certain of them taken prisoners, and so brought vnto the Generall; vnto whom they vpon examination confessed, That the Turks much marvelled at the simplicity and foolishnes of the Christians, to beleeue that they were desirous of peace, and not to haue discouered their manifest intentions to the contrary, tending onely to the pleasuring of themselues, and the annoying of them their enemies, to the strengthning of themselues, and destruction of the Christians: as by proof it appeared, so soon as their de- L
sires were accomplished. And that their yong Emperour was alwaies against this treaty of peace, what shew soeuer he made to the contrary, constrained therunto by the victories and conquests of the Persian King: all his wishes and desires aiming at no other end, than at the general ruin of all Christendom.

Our garisons seeing themselues thus charged by the Turks, took vp arms also, requiting them with the like outrages. They of Pappa and Vesprinium were the first that began these broils after the treaty of peace; who hauing joined their forces together, and making head toward Alba-Regalis, met with a number of Turks, driuing sheep and cattell thither; whom they surprised, and together with their cattel caried away prisoners. Which good hap was seconded with the liberty of 20 Christian prisoners from Buda: who one night seeing their M
Keepers oppressed with sleep and wine, cut their throats, and so happily escaped ouer the River to Pesth.

Booties taken from the Turks.

Now

A Now whilst these troubles betwixt the Christians and Turkes (after the treaty of peace broken of) thus began again in Hungary, the Turks, beside the rebellion in Asia, were together by the ears in the prouince of Bosna. *Zellaly* hauing by force joined with policie, driuen *Zeffer Bassa* (as is before said) out of Bosna, and possessed himselfe of that prouince, thought himselfe now sure enough within the strength of his gouernment, although he beeing by the great Sultan sent for to Constantinople, refused to come, as knowing right well himselfe to hold that so great a gouernment much against his will and pleasure. But *Zeffer Bassa* now supported with the authoritie of the great Sultan, and desirous to be reuenged of the dishonour and losse he had before receiued from *Zellaly* his enemy, with a great army suddenly entred into Bosna, and so comming vpon *Zellaly*, fearing as then no such matter, ouerthrew him with
B all his power, and neuer left pursuing of him, til he had chased him out of the prouince, and so again recouered the gouernment therof vnto himself. But short was the joy which the Bassa receiued of this so pleasing a victory, for within a few daies after heo died; comforting himselfe in this, That he died not vnreuenged. Of all which things the great Bassa's of the court hauing vnderstanding, and loth to lose so great a soldier as was *Zellaly* (who as a man distressed was now making shift for himselfe) or by vsing of him hardly, to deterre the other Asian Rebels from comming in, and yet not willing to trust him with the gouernment of so great a prouince as was Bosna, they to prouide for all euents appointed him to be gouernor of Temesware; and *Begedes Bassa* (before Gouernour there) to succeed *Zeffer Bassa* in the gouernment of Bosna. Therby contenting all parties, to keepe their forces whole and entire against the
C Christians.

Great troubles in Hungary.

But as the Turks were troubled with their affaires in Bosna, so the Christians were no lesse but rather more busied with theirs both in Transylvania and Hungary. The Estates of Hungary had appointed a generall meeting at Possonium, wherein the Archduke *Matthias* was to sit as President, there to consult of the means for the maintenance of this yeares wars against the Turks. But as the Archduke was about to haue entred into the city in the middest of his soldiers, such a fire vpon the sudden arose in the city as consumed the greatest part therof: an ill presage of the action then in hand, and a wofull spectacle to behold; with the terror wherof al mens minds possessed, turned them from the magnificent entertaining of the Archduke (which was before determined) to the quenching of the raging fire, as more necessary & con-
D cerning them than the other. Besides that, the miseries then to be seene in the other parts of Hungary yet holden by the Christians, were both great and lamentable; for beside the harms therin done by the Turks, the regiment of Colonel *Althem* had made such spoil and hauock all ouer the country where it lay, that the towns and people in general so grieuously complained therof vnto the Emperor, that he mooued with their iust complaints, caused the authors of these so great outrages to be apprehended and brought prisoners to Vienna, where some of them were beheaded, and some others of them hanged. Besides whom so condemned and executed, there were some other Captains and Lieutenants, of whom some denying the fact, and other some standing vpon the iustifying of that they had done, as therunto by extream necessitie inforced, were for their further triall sent prisoners vnto Prague, were they were com-
E mitted to prison into the Castle vntill their causes might be heard. Amongst which Captaines and Lieutenants, and other great officers, was one *Genderot*, Colonel *Althems* Antient, who most wickedly a little before had slain *Nudercy*, a gentleman of good sort, and his fellow companion in Arms. For which murther hee was committed prisoner into a very high and strong tower within the Castle, (wherin County *Paradiser* who sold Canisia vnto the Turks, lay sometime prisoner) vntil his trial might within a few daies after bee made: the horror of which criminall place, together with the guilt of conscience, so troubled and wounded the minde of *Genderot*, as that all the hope now to saue his life was by making an escape, and so to auoid the stroke of Iustice. Which he happily brought to passe by the help of one of his Lacquies, who had found means to bring vnto him a little cord, wherby straining himself out
F at a little window (by which it was thought almost impossible for any man to haue got out) he safely got down to the ground, and there hauing two good horses ready for him, hee with his man fled amain, and so escaped, his Keepers drunk ouer night, being in the morning found yet sleeping, without perceiuing any thing; whose drunkennes and fauor toward the prisoner

Colonel Althem his regiment in mutiny.

had

had giuen him meanes to escape. The rest of the captains and lieutenants in prison at Prague were some of them beheaded, and some of them hanged, and the rest at the intercession of the Nobilitie of Austria, and of other great men pardoned, yet with condition, That they should pay the fines set vpon them, and serue their Emperor in his wars three moneths of their owne charge without pay: some few of the common souldiers, to the terrour of others had two of the fore fingers of their right hands cut off, and afterwards fast nailed vnto gibbets set vp by the high waies side.

The Regiment of Colonell Meysberg in mutiny

In like maner also, the regiment of Colonel *Meysberg* rose in mutinie for their pay & came and incamped at Sneche, about a league from Vienna; threatning to destroy the countrey, and to kill the chiefe men therein, if they were not paied their pay. Which rebellious mutiny the Captains did what they might to appease; they besought them, but in vaine; they intreated them, but to no purpose; they promised them pay, but preuailed not; yea, the Colonell himselfe thrust himselfe into the midst of them, with most earnest prayers, and his hands cast vp, putting them in mind of their duty, and laying before them the danger of most assured death and dishonour, if they continued further to proceed in that their disloyaltie, whereunto their headstrong fury so disorderly led them. But they as men inraged, carried headlong with their fury, breathing nothing but threats and destruction, and by no praiers or persuasion to be moued, presently made choice of another Chieftaine, vnder whose conduct and leading they resolued to rifle the suburbs of Vienna, and with the spoyle of them to pay themselues. Vpon which resolution they marched on, and so drew neere vnto the city: with which their so great and dangerous an insolencie the Gouernors of the city moued (the sufferance wherof, they accounted to be to themselues both dishonorable and harmfull) they on the other side resolued by plaine force to represse them, and by iust armes to chastise them, who were not otherwise to be reclaimed. But such be the miserable calamities of warre, where violent remedies must purge out of the body of the commonweale the good humors together with the bad, so to recouer the health thereof: which remedies, not but vpon necessity to be vsed, are so quicke and violent in their working, as that they afford not leisure to discerne the whole and sound from the sick and infected, to saue the one, and to spill the other; but that they must altogether run the selfe same way. For albeit that the whole regiment was in this mutinous action, and so all in like danger, yet were they not therof all alike guilty, many of them being euen against their wils and good liking carried away headlong, as with the violent course of an headie riuer.

Now the Captaines of the towne with their troupes and companies, strengthned with some other supply sent from other places, were to set forward against these rebellious mutiners, and to frustrate their designes: for the greater strengthning of whom, diuers of the burgesses of the towne were inforced to enter into this action also: amongst whom, there were two accounted very honest religious men, who by all meanes sought to excuse themselues from going, labouring both by liuely reasons, and by the Word of God, to proue, that they neither might nor ought of right to enter into armes against their Christian brethren, inforced with extremities, for want of their due pay, to forget their duty, and to do that beseemed them not. But what auaileth it to alleadge either reason or law amongst the clattering of armes; the noise whereof is so great, as that Reason and Law cannot there be heard. These two men seeing themselues inforced to goe, and much grieued in conscience to do that they were inioyned to do, and to help to shed the guiltlesse bloud of their innocent brethren (as they accounted them) entred both of them into a most strange and wofull resolution, which was to die themselues, rather than to imbrue their hands with the bloud of the guiltlesse: whereupon one of them hauing oftentimes called vpon the name of *Iesus*, with his owne sword thrust himselfe through the body, and so died: the other vpon the like resolution threw himselfe into the riuer, and so perished also: men worthy to be pitied for their conscience sake, but iustly to be condemned for their so weake and desperat a resolution. In fine, the rebellious mutiners seeing in what perill they were, being euen now ready to bee charged, and withall considering the weaknesse of their power in comparison of them that came against them, thought it best vpon the sight of so great a tempest to strike sail; and so changing their [illegible] intention, and laying downe their armes, craued pardon of the Archduke; who [illegible] them, and so tooke them to his mercy; yet with condition, that they should

A strange action of two of the citizens of Vienna.

A should again return vnto their garisons, and deliuer into his hands the ring leaders and chief authors of that mutiny to be punished according to their deserts, as afterwards they were: the ordinary end of such insolent and disordered actions, which haue nothing assured vnto them but death, which (all things els failing) attendeth only vpon them.

But while the Christians thus diuided were at variance among themselues, the Turks were ready enough to take aduantage of such their dangerous discord. And first of all *Zellaly* the old Rebell, but now gouernor of Temeswaire, hauing in his crafty head plotted the taking of the city of Lippa by surprise, and to that purpose gathering together the greatest power hee was able to make, in the euening set forward from Temeswar, and so trauelling by night came to Lippa, vnto the walls wherof he planted scaling ladders, and at the same time laboured to B haue forced the gates, in hope so to haue gained the town. Which was done with such a terrible noise and outcry as was possible by the Turks to be made, after that they were once discouered, therby to haue dismaied the Christians within the town: Who wel acquainted with such stratagems of their enemies, and now therwith awaked, came readily to the walls, and there so well defended themselues and their towne, that the Turks being repulsed, were glad to giue ouer the assault, and hauing lost a number of their men, with all speed to retyre. Vpon whom the Christians sallying out, slew many of them in that their disordered retreat, little differing from plaine flight, and tooke many more of them prisoners. Yea *Zellaly*, who not many hours before had thought to haue surprised Lippa, was now glad himselfe to haue recouered the walls of Temeswar.

C Some of the Turks that were there taken prisoners, being examined, reported, That the army that was this year to come into Hungary was like to be very great; and that a part thereof was now come to Belgrade, expecting there the comming of the Tartars, who were together with them to enter into Hungary. And that by reason of the wars in Persia, which deuoured almost all the soldiers in Constantinople, and yet could not be therewith satisfied; the great Sultan had commanded, That all such as were able to bear armes, as well in Bosna, as in that part of Hungary which was subiect vnto him, and in the other prouinces therunto adioyning, should be ready to join with his army in Hungary, for the furthering of his conquests there. And that the Persian King prosecuting the course of his victory, had ouerthrown *Cicala Bassa* with his Army, and taken his sonne prisoner, almost slain all his troupes; and entred into con-D federacie with *Caracase* chiefe of the Asian rebels, a man of great power, who had following of him a great number of valiant men, al resolutely set down for the troubling of the great Sultans estate.

About the same time the gouernor of Cassovia (a great and strong town in the vpper part of Hungary) going forth with a good part of his Garrison to appease the souldiers lying about in the Countrey (but now vp in mutinie for their pay) and there spending some few days about this businesse, in shewing them the danger of this their insolencie, and persuading of them by the euill successe and end of such like actions, to returne againe vnto their duties; and they againe on the contrary side, obstinately vrging the payment of their pay, or else to haue leaue to depart, as being not able longer to continue without the one or the other: And E so the time passing, it fortuned that certain Turks then prisoners at Cassovia, incouraged by the absence of the Gouernor and of the garrison souldiers, to attempt the gaining of their liberty, brake their irons, and slew their keepers, in hope so to haue escaped: but beeing in the doing therof discouered, and so againe surprised before they could do any further harme, and by torture examined, by what means they thought to haue escaped out of the City, the walls thereof being kept with continually Sentinels; they confessed, That their purpose was, the same night to haue set fire vpon diuers places of the city (so to haue drawn the people to the quenching therof) and at the same time to haue slain the Sentinels vpon the walls, and so to haue made their escape. For which their so mischieuous a fact and purpose, they were some of them executed, and the rest again committed to prison, were more streitly kept and lookt F to than before.

Now as Cassovia had by Gods prouidence thus escaped so great an intended mischief, Canisia at the same time alone felt the euil hap by the Turks intended both to Cassovia & Lippa; for a souldier in garrison in the citadel there, hauing through negligence or mishap cast fire

A terrible fire in Canisia.

fire into the pouder prouided for the store of the castle, the pouder taking fire, blew vp the ci- G
tadel, the towers, the houses & walls; and to be brief, made this poor place like another Rome
burnt by *Nero*. So that had any of the Christian forces bin then neere the place, it had bin an
easie matter to haue won the same; as wel for the smal resistance that was therin to haue been
found, in so great astonishment of the men, and destruction of the place. But such accidents
haue no certain hours limited to their beginnings, nor assurance of their commiing; so that ofs-
tentimes they chance without any man to make vse of them, and again fly away when greatest
preparation is made to obtain them.

The Turks of Buda ouerthrowne.

At the same time the Turks of Buda sent two hundred of the souldiers of their garrison to
fetch in forrage a little from Pesth: Who as they were in the doing thereof too presumptu-
ous, so were they well punished for their so great pride. For the Christians in Pesth hauing H
discouered them in this action, sallied out vpon them and charged them; against whom for
a while they right valiantly defended themselues, but oppressed with number, at length they
were quite ouerthrowne, most of them being there slaine, and the rest taken prisoners. Wher-
with the Bassa of Buda was so much offended, that in reuenge thereof hee in his rage threat-
ned with fire and sword to do what harm he could vnto the Christians. But as the common
prouerb saith, Halfe warned, halfe armed: and enemies threats bring this comfort with them,
That in receiuing the threatned harms, we are in hope to be therof reuenged, as therefore be-
fore prouided.

Great troubles in Transiluania.

Vnto these wofull troubles of Hungary, proceeding as well from the insolencies of the
Christian souldiers themselues, as from the fury of the Turkes, who were their antient and I
mortall enemies; were joined the like or rather worse calamities in Transylvania, extreame
famine and want of all things fore raging in both Countries: so that hardly hath any misery
or extremity been seen or heard of, euen in Countries by the iust and heauy iudgements of
Almighty God appointed to vtter ruine and destruction, which were not in those two coun-
tries to be found, and of many felt. For remedie wherof, *George Basta* the Emperours Lieu-
tenant in Transylvania, had there done what hee might for the appeasing of the tumults and
troubles in that prouince, and now of late brought the same into some good tearms, as it was
thought, and as is before declared. Howbeit that in proofe it fell out far otherwise, and that
the more he therin laboured, the farther he was off from his intent and purpose. For the No-
bility of that prouince, who were generally inclined vnto rebellion, and detesting the Ger- K
manes, together with their gouernment, reiected the Decrees and orders which were agreed
vpon in their late meeting together for the concluding of peace: insomuch, that assisted by
the Turks, they had taken certaine Castles and strong places in that prouince. And the bet-
ter to support their rebellion and insolencie, they had appointed a certaine place to meet at,
where the Turkes and they might confer together of the meanes which they intended for the
effecting of their designes. Whereof *Basta* hauing by secret means got vnderstanding, to re-
medy this pretended mischiefe, hee sent away a great number of Haiduckes to lie in wait to
surprise them vpon the way. Which men, who were skilfull in the passages of the country,
failed not in this action, but lay close in ambush, very conueniently for the surprising of their
enemies. Who proceeding in their intended purpose, and thinking of nothing lesse than of L
that which was intended against them, were suddenly, before they were aware, Turkes and
Transylvanians all together surprised and slaine. Which exploit beeing performed, these
Haiducks and other souldiers destitute of their pay, and inraged with fury, fell vpon the pro-
uince, vsing therein all hostilitie, as if they had beene mortall enemies vnto it; punishing the
guiltlesse for the guilty, and seising vpon all mens goods in common, to pay them that which
was by some few in priuat kept from them. All the whole prouince was subiect to the rage
and fury of those and other such mercilesse men of war, who without any remorse, indifferent-
ly slew and massacred all that came in their way; but especially the poore and weak innocent
people, who called vpon the Almighty God for remedy and redresse of these euils they su-
stained, and cried out vnto him for reuenge of their so great and cruel wrongs. The highways M
were euery where so ful of theeues, that no man could trauel from place to place, but that he
was in great danger to be set vpon and spoiled. For the Haiducks being men that liue onely
by prey and roaming vp and downe the Countrey, made good prise and booty of whatsoeuer
came

A came in their way, sparing neither Turks nor Christians: insomuch, that they hearing, how
that the Zecklers with a good conuoy were bringing a number of waggons laden with victu-
als, and a great many of Oxen and other cattell to Claudianople, although they were of the
same party, Beleefe, and Nation, yet they lay in wait for them to surprise them: against whom
the Zecklers seeking to defend themselues, were by them cruelly massacred, and their wag-
gons, with their Beeues and other Cattell, all carried quite away. But what should wee say?
Hunger breaketh euen the stone wals, and forceth men vnto all extremities, and now the fa-
mine in that Prouince was such, as that the people were for the most part glad to liue by fee-
ding vpon the roots of herbs and weeds, and such other vnwholesome things, whereof great
mortalite afterward ensued among st them: Which was the cause that *Horwat*, Captaine of
B these Haiduckes, being reproued for the outrages by them committed, and charged to take
order, that no more such like should afterward be done; answered, That it was not possible to
keep souldiers in any order amidst the extremitie of famine; for that the belly was an inex-
orable vsurer, which tooke pity vpon nothing, but with great rage exacting that which it
thought due for the nourishment of it selfe.

Amidst these troubles of Transyluania and Hungary, there were two of the Turks spies of
Buda discouered and taken; who at Vienna had obserued all the actions and proceedings of
the Christians, and to the vtmost of their power had informed themselues of their designes,
as also of their preparations and forces to be raised and leuied for this yeres warres: of which
two spyes, the one was empayled, and the other kept in close and streit prison, vntill that fur-
C ther matter might be drawne out from him.

The forces of the Christians were now beginning to gather themselues together and to
make an head in Hungary; a rise report at that time going, That they would forthwith take
the field: whereof the Bassa of Buda vnderstanding, and desirous in what he might to hinder
that their forwardnesse (whereof he doubted the effects) thought it best to betake himselfe to
his old and cunning practise, for the treaty and concluding of a peace with the Christians,
whereof he now made shew himselfe, together with the rest of the Turks, to be very desirous:
so by putting the Christians in hope thereof, to make them the more remisse and negligent in
their doings, and to gaine time of them, vntill that the Turks great army (then in preparing)
might be brought downe into Hungary. To which purpose he in most friendly manner thus
D writ vnto the Gouernour of Strigonium.

The Bassa of Buda, to the Gouernor of Strigonium sendeth Greeting.

Letters of the Bassa of Buda to the gouernor of Strigonium.

*WE know right well (noble Gouernour) that you are not ignorant, how that your brother the Go-
uernor of Strigonium before you, hath most earnestly embraced the negotiation of peace, in such
sort, as that we cannot so much yeeld vnto our ordinary quarrels and dissentions, but that we must giue
E you to vnderstand the causes which haue crossed and hindered the concluding of so great a good the last
year now passed. The first let came by reason of the time, chosen too late to bee imployed in that Treaty of
peace, when as now both the Armies were already on foot, and euen in readinesse to joyn battell, and could
not be then staied by that intreaty, nor sent back again without some exploit doing: Each part had resolued
vpon their proper designes, and euen chosen their ground for battell, and were then hardly to bee turned
from that whereupon they were before resolued. And albeit that during this last Winter the treaty for
the peace was again begun, and that the men of warre on both sides in hope thereof, rested vnarmed and
free from all hostility, (a most fit time to haue begun and ended this treaty of peace, which hath beene so
much wished for of our soueraigne Emperour, desired of his subiects, and requested by those of your Em-
perours, with whom my dread Soueraigne would confirme and contract a firme and continuall peace) yet
F for all that, since the departure of the Gouernour from Strigonium, we see three months to haue been pas-
sed, without any Letters at all, or message by word of mouth brought vnto vs concerning this matter. So
that we haue not any thing whereof to certifie our soueraigne Emperour. And forasmuch as the course
of time hath brought these two contrary Armies euen vnto the point of battell, and that they are mar-*

ching

ching one of them to incounter with the other, and so to enter into the lists of honour; wee haue thought good before, to desire to know of you what we are to expect concerning the peace. We therfore request you, as our very good brother and friend, in what you may, to stay the comming of our armies into this Kingdom, and to attend to that which may produce the conclusion of this Treaty, being on our part most ready to lend both our ear and desire to what soeuer shall be iust and meet in this Treaty, and necessary for the Common good: beseeching you to beleeue vs in this businesse, and not to doubt of our good will, more affected to your good, than is yours to our welfare. Wherof we in good time aduertise you, for that our army which is now before Belgrade, being once arriued here, and marching in field, we cannot possibly chuse it to return without somthing doing, considering the great harm, which vnder the assurance of your faith giuen, we haue received from your people during the time of the truce, which they haue many waies violated. Which their euill dealing hath greatly inflamed vs against your men in captiuitie with vs, and caused our soldiers to shew great rigor against their slaues. We therfore attend your answer, and the returne of your brother, to the end we may together resolue according vnto equitie and reason, of that which shall be needfull to be done for the common good and welfare.

Now for all this fair glosing, it was no hard matter to ghesse at the Bassa's secret meaning: for how desirous soeuer he seemed to be of peace, and willing to the furtherance thereof, yet neuertheless most true it is, that during the time of all these faire shewes, the Turkes hauing assembled the garrison souldiers on all sides, had by night surprised the Castle of Simnin vpon the Christians, slaine part of the soldiers therein, carried away the rest prisoners, and most cruelly afterwards burnt the place: so manifesting by their foule deeds the euill meaning of their faire and deceitfull words.

But now leauing the Bassa for a while vnto his crafty deuices, and passing ouer many smal skirmishes which hapned in Hungary and Transylvania, as not beseeming the grauitie of an history; let vs now out of Europ look ouer into Asia, to see how the great Turks affairs there in the mean time went.

Ths rebellion in Asia was by the comming ouer of *Zellaly* and his followers for a time somwhat pacified, but not suppressed; that pestilent humor of disloyaltie hauing before infected the minds of so many, as that in short time after the Rebels were much stronger, and the Rebellion much more dangerous than before. For the appeasing and suppressing whereof, *Cicala Bassa* the old Renegate, and a man of great experience and seruice, was sent by the Graund Sultan as Generall, with a great and mighty Army into Asia; where hee needed not long to looke for his enemies, they being as ready as he, either to giue or to accept of battel: so that for men so on both sides resolued, it was no hard matter to bring them to the triall of a battel. Which they with like desire and equall minde joyning, there made a great and terrible fight, the Bassa fighting for his honour, and the Rebell for his life: howbeit that at length, the Bassa after much bloud shed and a great number on both sides slaine, being put to the worse, fled with his Army altogether disordered and in rout, hauing in that so dangerous a confusion of his people much ado to saue himselfe. With which so shamefull an ouerthrow giuen him by the Rebell, the Bassa was more ashamed than discouraged; who again repaired his Army, ioyning thereunto great and mighty supplies, and so strengthned came now again the second time, to reuenge himselfe of the great dishonour which he had before receiued, and vtterly to suppresse the Rebels. Who now finding themselues too weake to incounter with so great and mighty a power, wisely betimes retyred, praying aid of the Persian King, who sent vnto them his owne sonne with a great Army of good and valiant souldiers. The which might haue giuen the Bassa cause enough to haue stayed his haste, and to haue beene well aduised, how he joined battell with such desperate and resolute enemies, and now backt with such strong supplies. But he being blinded with the fury of his former losse, and too much desirous to be thereof reuenged, with more hast than good speed came on, and joined battel with these his enemies, whowere now in readinesse, and well prouided to receiue him. The two Armies were in number equall; but the Rebels of the two more resolute and carefull of themselues and of their welfare, as they which had reposed all their hope and confidence in their owne armes and valour; so that the battel was with great outcries and fury begun both on the one

Cicala Bassa ouerthrowne by the Asian Rebels.

one side and the other: in the beginning wherof the Turks right furiously charged the rebels, and seemed somewhat to preuaile vpon them; vntill that the Persian Kings son with certaine troops of his most braue horsmen charging them in the rereward, & some other of the rebels with like fury assailing them vpon their flanks, their whole army was so disordred, that *Cicala* doing what he could to put his men again in order, and so to haue restored the battel, nothing therin preuailed, but was glad together with the rest of his army, now all in rout, to betake himself to flight. In this battel were forty thousand men slain on both sides, whereof thirty thousand were of the Bassa's Army, and the rest of the Rebels; who by this so great a victorie gained no lesse honour and reputation, than had the Sultans Generall got contempt and disgrace.

Cicala against ouerthrown.

The Persian King after this great discomfiture of the Turkes, continuing his conquests, took in the Countrey of Sirvan, (a matter of great importance) beeing now destitute of all reliefe, by the ouerthrow of *Cicala Bassa*; who had he preuailed against the Rebells, should haue marched thither against the Persian King, to haue stayed the course of his victories: who now victorious and out of fear, made head toward Arusta, a very great and strong towne, neer whereunto the riuer Tygris dischargeth it selfe into the great riuer of Euphrates; the which City he at last won, with all the places and countries thereunto adioyning; and hath since as a most happy and victorious Prince againe recouered from the Turkes, whatsoeuer they had since Sultan *Solymans* time by force of armes taken from the Persian Kings his predecessors, two or three strong places only excepted. Of which most notable Wars betwixt these two the most mighty Princes of the East, that is to say, the Great Turke and the Persian King, I can rather wish than hope to be better informed: and that not so much for curiosity, (although that the knowledge of such matters yeeld vnto such as bee desirous thereof great pleasure, with no lesse contentment) as for that they (though very farre off) in some sort much concern the good and quiet of the Christian Commonweale; the Persian wars beeing the only means whereby the fury of the great Turkish Sultan hath been, and yet is for a time auerted from the Christians in Europe, vpon the Persians in Asia: as it is greatly to be feared, that some one or other, if not more, of the Christian Princes neerest vnto him, shall to their great cost and harm feel, so soon as these two Mahometane Princes shall be at peace amongst themselues.

But leaue we the Bassa a while to grieue at his ouerthrowes, and the Persian King to triumph of these victories, and see what the great Sultan himself in the mean time doth.

Achmat sick of the small pox.

This yong Prince *Achmat* (now one of the greatest Monarchs in the world) had not many months reigned, but that he fel sick of the smal pox, wherwith he hauing a grosse & ful body, was so fouly tormented for a fortnights space, that oftentimes fainting, it was generally supposed he would therof haue died: Yea, diuers of the great Bassa's were in speech concerning his yonger brother to be taken out of the Seraglio to succeed him: which was thought would haue cost him his life, after that the Sultan his elder brother was again recouered. And no doubt it had, but that he was the onely Heir then left of the *Othoman* Family, if that his brother the Sultan should haue failed. But he againe recouering of his foul and childish disease, to shew vnto the Ianizaries and others who doubted thereof, that he was so recouered, most proudly mounted vpon a goodly horse sumptuously furnished, and in great state and magnificence rid up and down thorow most of the chiefe streets of the Imperial city of Constantinople; the people (as their accustomed manner is) in euery place as he went rejoycing to see him, and prosecuting him with their most joyfull acclamations, wishing vnto him a long and happy reigne. Neither is it any maruell, seeing the almighty God hath euen in the faces and countenances of Princes ingrauen some resemblance of his owne, if they become respectiue and admirable in the eies and sight of the common people, who cannot but honor them with their voyces, whom God hath blessed with his power, and other his extraordinarie worldly blessings.

This yong prince so recouered of his sicknesse and hauing shewed himself to his subiects, began forthwith to giue himselfe (according to the heat of his youthfull spirit) immoderatly vnto the pleasures of the field, and other such violent exercises, being in their moderate vse wholsome, but in their violences much hurtfull; but especially vpon the new recouery of his

late sicknesse, the griefes whereof came in hast, but were to leaue him at leisure. Whereupon two of his Bassaes carefull of his health, were so bold, as out of their loue to reproue him for such his violent and immoderate exercises (the day not being long enough for them) and by effectuall reasons to dissuade him from the same. But so far off was he from hearkening vnto their wholsome persuasions, as that to the contrary he therwith inraged, thrust them both out of their places. So dangerous a thing it is, euen in zeale and loue to presume to controll great Princes in their most vain pleasures; others in the mean time not louing them at all, but only for their owne profit attending vpon their idle appetites, injoying the preferments due vnto their more faithfull and loyall subiects, and yet secretly in themselues, smiling at the vanitie of such as by whom they be so vnworthily honoured and promoted.

Good counsell taken in euill part.

But as in the immoderate vse of all things there is a satietie which breedeth a disliking and distaste of them (pleasures being not by any meanes more commended, than by their nouelties and seldome vse) so this young Sultan *Achmat* hauing glutted himselfe with his pleasures, began now to cast his eyes vpon his other more necessarie affaires of State, but especially vpon his warres both with the Christian Emperour and the Mahometane Persian King. Now hee was not ignorant of the great valour and sufficiencie of *Hassan* the Visier Bassa, for the mannaging of his warres in Hungarie, wherein hee had of long time been exercised, and so therein best experienced. This old Captaine pleased him best, whom as an old, expert, and politicke Generall, hee resolued to continue in his charge as Lieutenant Generall of his warres in Hungarie, and by the continuation of him in so great and honourable a place, to binde him to all loyall seruices in those warres, euen to the vttermost of his power. This Great Bassa was then at Belgrade, vpon the frontier of his gouernment in doubtfull suspence expecting the resolution of his Prince concerning this businesse, and yet in hope longing after a second charge: Whose longing desire *Achmat* quickly satisfied, by sending vnto him both a commission for the continuation of his charge and dignitie, and certaine honourable Presents in token of his extraordinarie fauor towards him; which were a Generals Ensigne, with an Hungarian Mace of pure gold. Now whether these Presents, joyned vnto the continuation of his charge, were welcome vnto him or not, ambitious minds (such as was his) can easily tell: and hee to shew his contentment therewith, gaue thereof good testimonie by the publicke actions of joy, causing all the great Ordnance of the place in thundring wise to be oftentimes discharged, and the Trumpets and Drummes to be most joyfully sounded.

Hassan hasst appointed Lieutenant Generall of the Turks warres in Hungary.

In the meane time newes was brought to Constantinople, how that the Persian King hauing mustred his men, was in the field with aboue an hundred thousand good souldiers, and that *Bagages Bassa*, one of the great Rebels in Asia, had confederated himselfe with him, to the further troubling of the Turks estate. Whereupon *Achmat*, although he had before giuen order vnto *Hassan* the Visier Bassa his Lieutenant in Hungary, for the besieging and taking of Veradinum, a strong City in the vpper Hungary; now by a messenger sent in hast, commanded the same Bassa, all other businesses set apart, with all the power that he could make, forthwith to returne to Constantinople, there with him and the rest of the Bassa's to consult and resolue vpon the most necessarie warre, and of the readiest meanes for the continuing of the same. For albeit that the Turks were most desirous to haue warres with the Christians, and so (if it were possible) to haue conquered the remainders of Hungary; yet the danger of the Persian warres, and of the rebellion in Asia daily more and more increasing, suffered them not wholly to attend vnto the warres against the Christians in Hungary, but drew them now into a doubtfull consultation, which way first to turne their forces. But being come to Constantinople, the Grand Seignior tooke the paines and did him the honour to come vnto his house; whither the Councell for the State being assembled, it was there most proudly resolued vpon, euen forthwith at one and the selfe same time with equall forces to make warre both vpon the Christian Emperour in Hungary, and the Persian King in Asia, accounting themselues strong enough to subdue and bring vnder foot both the one and the other, no power vpon earth being in their proud conceit of themselues able to encounter or wirhstand theirs. So for the mannaging of these warres, and of their so proud a resolution to be performed in so remote parts of the world, *Hassan Bassa* was continued in his charge, as Generall of the army in

in Hungary; and *Cicala Bassa* was appointed to haue the command of the army to be sent against the Persian: Two most expert Captains, being to fight against their heredetarie enemies; *Hassan* against the Christians, and *Cicala* against the Persians, by whom he had not long before bin euil vsed. An ordinary policy of the *Othoman* Emperors, not to commit the charge of their armies against the Christians, vnto Renegates; for feare lest they, touched with some remorse of conscience, might betray the same, or otherwise deale vnfaithfully in their charge: but still to imploy them against the Persians, of whom they haue no further knowledge, but as of their enemies in the field. But *Cicala Bassa* well acquainted both with the difficulty and the danger of the Persian war, (the scarres whereof he yet bare about with him) made shew as if he had been vnwilling to take vpon him the charge thereof; and so begun to excuse himselfe, vntill that at length vpon promise made vnto him, for the furnishing of him with a sufficient army, and all things els necessary for so great a war, with a large and most honourable entertainment for himselfe, and all the Persian prisoners being also giuen vnto him in reward; he therewith contented, accepted of the honourable charge, whereof in his ambitious mind he was indeed most desirous. And so receiuing the Generals Ensigne, with the other marks and cognisances of his honour, causing the Drums to be strucken vp, and the Trumpets to bee joyfully sounded, he cheerfully prepared himselfe for that his so great an expedition; expecting but the comming of his sonne, who at the request of the Venetians was gon forth with a fleet of gallies to scoure the Leuant seas of the Pyrats, who then exceedingly troubled the trafficke of the Venetian Merchants.

Amiddest which the Turks so great designes, the Tartar Cham, bound for his pay to serue the Great Turke in his warres against the Christians; by his Embassadour excused himselfe vnto the Great Sultan, for that he could not himselfe in person come this yeare with his forces into Hungary, by reason that he was otherwise necessarily busied with the most vrgent affaires of his owne Estate: yet promising withall, in stead of himselfe, to send his sun with a good power of men. Now whereas many men maruell, why the Tartar Cham, being so great a Prince, and not much in danger vnto the Turke (being separated from him by the Blacke or Euxine sea) should be still so ready at the Turks call, to do him seruice in his warres; The causes whereof are diuers, and those not far to seeke. First, their neere affinitie (as both descended from the same beginning, by often marriages still confirmed: Then, Their likenesse of manners and condition, no smal bonds of loue and friendship: And thirdly, For that the Turkish Empire for want of heires males of the *Othoman* Family, is assured, and as it were entailen vnto the Tartar Cham: But most of all, For the yearely pension and great pay which he, being a bare Prince, receiueth from the Turks; his rude and needie people being also euer ready, in hope of the spoyle, to follow him into those warres. But this his excuse for not comming himselfe this yeare into Hungary, being by the Great Sultan accepted of, *Hassan Bassa* resolued vpon his expedition for Hungary, made great preparation for the good successe of the warre there, gaue great hope thereof vnto the Great Sultan, and caused himselfe to be proclaimed Lieutenant Generall of all the Great Sultans Forces against the Christians: euery man affourding vnto these good hopes a thousand wishes for his health and welfare: but especially the Mahometane Priests assured him of their helpe, so that hee would not faile to do the vttermost of his endeauour against the Christians their enemies. For why, the Turks doe account him the best and most zealous man, which can do the Christians most harme. And so with these great acclamations of joy and honour, *Hassan* the great Bassa set forward with his army from Constantinople, towards Hungary.

The reasons why the Tartar Cham is so ready to serue the great Turk in his warres against the Christians.

The Christian Emperor ignorant of all these the Turks great preparations and haughty designes, sought by all meanes how to resist them, sparing nothing that might any way serue or stand him in stead to that purpose. Experience had assured him of the Popes readinesse in contributing to this action, what in his power was; hauing before receiued so many testimonies of his good wil. Which caused him now to dispatch also his brother *Maximilian* the arch-duke, a good and a deuout Prince, to him, with expresse charge in the Emperors name to yeeld all submission to his Holines, to moue him to relieue the wofull estate of his distressed affairs. *Maximilian* setting forward about this busines, arriued at Venice, where he was by that State right

Maximilian the Archduke sent Embassadour from the Emperour vnto the Pope, to craue his aid against the Turke.

right honorably entertained. From Venice he trauelling toward Rome, and with a great Retinue approching the city, was there met by a great number of Noblemen with their Followers, sent from the Pope; and so by them with great honour was brought into the Vatican Palace, to the intent that so he might the oftner and with more ease haue accesse vnto the Pope, who then lay there sick of the gout. The next day he being brought vnto the Popes presence, & after vsual reuerence don hauing audience giuen him, in the presence of the cardinals he began to deliuer vnto him the causes of his comming, which (as he said) were two: first, To put his Holinesse in remembrance of the manifest peril and danger which hung ouer the heads of the Christians in general, from the Turk, but especially ouer them of Italy, being so neer the Turkish Empire, and a great gap laid open for the Turks therinto to enter, by the way of Canisia the key of Stiria. And then in the Emperors behalfe to request him to stretch forth his helping hand against this his mortal enemy; who was now drawing al his power together into one head, to destroy him: hauing certaine vnderstanding of his great preparation made thorowout all his dominions, to thrust him out of his, if in these extremities hee were not relieued by such Princes as could not in the end themselues auoid the last violence of these harms whereof he felt the first assaults. Which his Holinesse considering in the zeal of his deuotion, and by the increasing of the danger, he was in hope to find of it the like assistance in this his second need, that he had before receiued in his former affairs; the pretious balme of his deuout charitie being of greater vertue than to serue but for one time, but being of sufficient power to serue for all ages, and all times of necessity. And that therefore he besought his Holinesse, to apply the same vpon the present wound, seeing that without his help hee was more like to perish than to liue. Whereunto the Pope answered, That his former actions alreadie passed spake enough for him in this action, to manifest his deuout meaning, so that it was needlesse for him to vse further words to expresse the same. That the great supplies both of men and money which he had sent forth for the good of the Christian commonweale, were the sure testimonies of his carefulnesse for the same. And albeit that these euill haps had so far preuailed in Hungary, yet that he for his part had neuertheless still done what hee might for the remedying of those so great euils. And that now by the aduice of his honorable councellors there present, he had appointed an hundred and fifty thousand crownes to be paid towards the maintenance of the Christian army in Hungary this yeare; in hope to do more than that afterward for the Emperor in his wars against the Turks: whom God (as he said) suffered to preuaile vpon the Christians, not for any goodnesse that was in them, but for the chastising of the wickednesse of the Christians themselues.

Which summe of an hundred and fifty thousand crowns was afterward according to a decree made by the Pope and Cardinals, leuied and paid of the tenths of the clergy throughout all Italy. And so *Maximilian* the Archduke most magnificently entertained and feasted by the Pope, and by him rewarded with foure thousand crownes, hauing well dispatched the businesse he came for, returned againe vnto the Emperor his brother.

But as the Christian Emperor was thus carefull about his prouisions for the withstanding of the Turks, they were not any whit behind him in augmenting of their forces for the inuading of him, And now the Tartars in great number being about to come vnto their aid into Hungary, being denied passage by the Polonians, had turned head towards Valachia, with a purpose by force and strong hand to get that of these weake people, with the power of the stronger had embarred them of. And so presuming vpon their number, they entred into the same Prouince, which they all ouer rifled and spoiled at their pleasure. Where such of the countrey people as could escape their fury, fled into the townes, leauing their goods behinde them vnto their mercilesse rage, not with any thing to be satisfied. *Rodolph* the Vayuod himselfe as a man with fury dismaied, fled to Cronstat to *George Basta*: where he considering the danger he was now in, and that he was still to expect the like so often as the Tartars were for the seruice of the Turke to come into Hungary; before *Basta* tooke a new oath of alleagance vnto the Emperor, solemnely protesting to die and liue in his seruice; necessity now inforcing him to acknowledge his duty, and to seeke for the remedy of his harmes, which he had before oftentimes most proudly reiected. Vpon which his so humble submission, *Basta* receiued him and his countrey into his protection.

Valachia spoiled by the Tartars.

In

In the meane time two traitours were brought to Claudinople, who hauing by wonderful craft surprised a strong castle belonging vnto a certaine great Ladie a widow, neere vnto a burrough called Carasebe, and rifled and sacked the same, traiterously afterward sold it vnto the Turks, to the great hurt of the Emperors subiects neer vnto the place, and the no lesse aduantage of the Turks. Whereof the Haiducks hauing gotten vnderstanding, and cunning in such matters, vpon the sudden surprised the Turks by the way as they were comming to haue taken possession of the place: who seeing themselues too weake to withstand their enemies, & out of hope to saue themselues by flight, were there as men dismaied and appointed to be slaine, most of them by the Haiducks cut in pieces, and the rest taken prisoners. The two traitors being according to their deserts, for their shamefull treason most cruelly put to death, to the terror of others.

The Turks surprised by the Haiducks.

The Haiducks hauing no houses but the fields, nor other trade but their armes (spoyled of the one by the Turks, and armed with the other by necessitie) are alwaies in readinesse for seruice. In hope of profit, it is to them a pleasure to passe ouer the mountaines of ice, to trauell thorow the storms of thunder and lightning, to swim ouer the deep riuers, and to thrust themselues into a thousand dangers, which as it is no commendable kinde of life, so is the practise of it vniust. For as in this, so in other their actions they spare neither friend nor foe, all that comes in their way being subiect and as it were appointed to their fury: but especially when they want their pay, which affordeth vnto them a thousand excuses for the robbing and spoyling of all men without respect. With which maner of fury they were euen at this time inraged for want of their pay, in such sort, as that if their right hands spoiled the Turkes, their left hands robbed the Christians: as vpon one and the selfe same day they took from the Turkes of Agria a number of beasts and cattel, and rifled diuers villages of the Christians. And not content with these outrages, meeting with an hundred or six score waggons, laden with great store of victuals going toward Alba Iulia, conducted by the Zeclers, set vpon them, slew them that droue them, and carried away the Wagons with them. But these wrongs by Christians don vnto Christians, euen the mortal enemies of the Christians, the Turks themselues reuenged. For the Turks of Temeswar hauing bin abroad toward Lippa, and found good store of booty, meeting with these sharks, were by them charged, not so much for that they were their enemies, or for the zeal of Christianitie, or for desire of honour, as for to get from them their prey and booty. But the Turkes being in number twice as many as they, and withall well acquainted with such busines, were not so easily spoiled; but knowing their own strength, with their number oppressed their enemies, most of whom they slew, and tooke the rest prisoners: God being as iust in his punishments, as he is in his works powerfull, punishing the Wicked by the weapons of others as wicked or rather worse than they.

The Turks in the mean time while things thus passed, began again to fall to their old practise, for the soliciting of a peace. But such phansies were too stale and common, any more to deceiue the Christians withall: howbeit they yet gaue some ear thereunto, to discouer in their policie the commodities and inconueniences of the peace by them in shew offred, with a thousand protestations in their words, but far differing from their thoughts and deeds; who during the time of the parley, laboured in what they might to benefit themselues and to hurt vs. For euen in that same very time they fortified their Townes and Castles with men and victuals: but especially the City of Buda, whereinto by a Conuoy of three thousand Turks come from Belgrade, they put an exceeding quantitie of all sorts of necessary prouision, sufficient to serue the same for an whole yeare. Besides that, it was certainly knowne by certaine Turks taken prisoners and brought to Possonium, That all this parley and treaty of peace was but of purpose feigned to put the Christians in securitie; for that the Bassa of Buda, whowas the chiefe publisher of the same, had no such Commission from the great Sultan for the concluding of any peace in the absence of the Visier Bassa; vnto whom the Graund Seignior had giuen charge, not to make any peace with the Emperour, but vpon condition, That hee should first deliuer vnto him the City of Strigonium; which if hee would not yeeld, that then he should besiege it, and by force take it from him; and after the winning thereof, to refuse all other treaty of peace, it being the only cause for which the Turkes desired peace. Of all which their double dealing and crafty designes the Emperour vnderstanding, and wholely

ly resolued for war, presently sent County *Sultze* with commission to Vienna, and appointed *George Basta* Lieutenant General of his army into Hungary; aduising them carefully to looke vnto their charge, and not too much to trust vnto the glosing and flattering speeches of the Turks.

Reouin surprised by the Haiducks.

The Haiducks in the mean time alwaies in armes, as hauing no other inheritance whereon to liue, ceased not still to looke abroad to finde that which was neuer lost. Now it fortuned them in roaming abroad toward Belgrade, to light vpon Reouin a strong and fair Castle of the Turks, wherein eight hundred of the Turkes souldiers and other of their countrey people had their abode, together with the greatest part of their substance. In the strength of which castle the Turks trusting, and there lying in security, without further care of their safety, were vpon the sudden before they were aware, by these aduenturous men surprised; who for hast thrusting one another forward, at length caried the place, slew the greatest part of the Turks, and taking the rest prisoners, with a great and rich booty returned to Lippa. The like exploit they of the garison of Canisia attempted vpon the castle and borough of Lambac; which they took and spoiled, and afterward set it on fire: the flame whereof serued for a signal vnto the troups of County *Serin*, which passing that way, and fighting vpon the Turkes ouerloded with the spoils they had there taken, cut them in pieces, and so recouered from them their booty.

Petrinia in danger to be betrayed to the Turkes.

About this time, certaine of the garison souldiers of Petrinia, hauing secretly conspired with the Turks (by whom they were before corrupted) to deliuer vnto them that strong Castle; and being about to haue betrayed the same by a Mine which they were in making vnder a stable neer vnto a store house wherein the pouder for the store of the Castle lay; with a purpose by firing of the same, to haue giuen the Turks entrance by the ruines thereof, who lay close hidden in a wood neer vnto the place; it fortuned this their wicked purpose to bee perceiued by certain offenders then kept prisoners in the stable neer vnto the mine. Who hauing discouered the Traitours whole purpose, and in feare to be burned or blowne vp by the fury of the Mine so neere vnto them, discouered it vnto the Gaoler, who made the Gouernour therewith acquainted; by whose commandement they were forthwith apprehended, and beeing conuicted of that their so foule and heinous a treason, were with exemplary punishment executed.

Now as the Turks had oftentimes made shew as if they had bin desirous of peace, so ceased they not yet with great earnestnesse to solicit the same: so that the Emperour, although hee knew it to be a thing rather to be wished than hoped for; yet lest he should seem careless of the common quiet of his subiects and people, and to refuse so great a good so oftentimes offered him, now once again appointed certain personages of great place and authority, to attend the propositions of peace to be on the Turks behalf propounded. Of which commissioners *Cæsar Gallen* Sherif of Strigonium, an Italian, and a man of great experience in matters of state, was one. Whom the gouernor of Strigonium had of purpose sent to Pesth, to consider of some good means for the concluding of a peace, whereof he himself had laid the first foundation; and vnderstood that the Turks demands and pretensions not much differed from those which they had many times before demanded. Whereof the first was, That the Emperour should for the time to come wel and truly pay vnto the great Sultan & his successors, all such tribute as he was wont to pay to the Turkish Sultans his predecessors, during the time of his leagues with them, and that without any demand to be therof made. The second, That the Emperor should alwaies haue his Embassador lieger at the great Sultans court, with honourable presents, there to solicit the continuation of his loue and friendship toward the Emperor his master. The third, That the Emperor should deliuer vnto the Turks all the towns and Castles which he had taken from them either by force or by surprise, during the time of this war, together with the countries of Transylvania and Valachia. Vpon which demands granted, they promised to send a messenger vnto the great Sultan, in their names intreating him to surrender Canisia vnto the Emperor, but not Agria, which they said they might in no wise deliuer, except they were thereunto by force of arms constrained.

Vnto which their so proud and vnreasonable demands the Commissioners for the Emperor answered, That the Emperour long before this time had made peace with Sultan *Selymus* the

the second, and with Sultan *Amurath* the third, this Sultan *Achmat* his predecessors. An assured peace, sworn vnto and confirmed by all the iust and solemn oathes that could haue beene by any man desired: and for the more assurance thereof conceiued into writing, and with the most authentique seals of their Majesties confirmed. Whereby both parties were most seuerely and streitly forbidden, one of them to attempt any thing against the other, or to encroch the one of them vpon the other, during the time of such their League. And if so bee that contrary to the tenor thereof, either part should vndertake to surprise any place belonging to the other, and so become masters thereof; that vpon the least request of the party so wronged, the places surprised should be again forthwith restored, as vsurped vpon contrary to the publique faith, and the vsurpers to be seuerely for the same punished. And yet that the Turkes notwithstanding thrusting by heapes beyond the barres of this so strong and holy a League, had violated and broken the same, by surprising a number of places both in the high and lower countries of Hungary, neither giuing eare vnto any speech or request that could bee made vnto them for restitution therof.

And yet not so contentented, had also taken a number of places from the Emperor in Sclavonia, between the riuers of Culp and Vnna: which places he had oftentimes by as iust right redemanded, as they were by vniust forces vsurped before the beginning of these wars. Demands esteemed iust and reasonable euen by the Turks themselues, and yet for all that, altogether reiected by the great Sultans. Of which their so great injustice the Emperor had oftentimes most iustly complained, and so did euen at this day, at the feeling of such his hurts and harmes. And that the Emperour hauing by so many perfidious dealings made proof of the vntrustinesse of the Grand Seigniour his predecessors, what assurance then can hee conceiue of his fidelitie? or vpon what foundation of faith can hee build the sure building of peace, so much desired of him? And yet if he might hope so much of the faith of another man, as he is assured of his owne iust meaning, differing much from that of the grand Seigniours, (which he knew to be neuer answerable vnto his) that he for his part could be well contented to embrace the peace; prouided alwaies, that he might haue Canisia and Agria yeelded vnto him. Or that if they would needs still hold those places, that he might likewise in peace hold the places that he had before won in that war, the reasons being on both sides alike. And that as concerning Transylvania, he could not deliuer that without betraying his owne right, and the welfare of that prouince; hauing obtained the same as well by agreements and couenants between him and the son of the last Duke *Iohn*, as by the free and voluntary releasment which *Sigismund Bathor* the last and immediat prince thereof, had not long before made vnto him. For the defence of which his rights, hee had spent many men and great summes of money, and all for the keeping of that prouince by force of arms, which by so good right belonged vnto him.

And that for Valachia, he could be content to yeeld some part of his right vnto that prouince, so that the Turkes should cease from thenceforth to demand of him any more tributes; or that he should as of ordinary duty send his Embassadors with yearely presents to the great Sultan, not being able without need to consent vnto such a needlesse seruitude; seeing that all Princes ought to be at liberty, at their own choice to send their Embassadors, and not at another mans appointment.

Which answer of the Emperours Commissioners serued no no other purpose but for the Turks to laugh and sport at, how iust and reasonable soeuer they were; still pressing them to yeeld vnto their vnreasonable demands, or else threatning to aduertise the great Sultan therof, who by force would take that from them, to their further losse, which they refused to grant him by fair means, to their own good. And so the Treaty was for that time broken off without any thing concluded. Which caused the Gouernour of Strigonium to retyre himselfe backe againe vnto his Charge: yet for all that, leauing *Cæsar Gallen* behind him, to entertaine it in so small hope as was thereof yet left. Who afterwards seeing it almost desperate, making a great feast vnto certaine of the chiefe of the Turkes of Buda, and hauing in that merriment drawne from them a promise to liue as friends with them of the garison of Pesth, and of other places which lay neere vnto that Towne, he retyred himself afterwards vnto Strigonium also.

Shortly

The base cowardise of the Gouernour of Pesth.

Shortly after whose departure, *Iagenreuter* Gouernour of Pesth, notwithstanding the late G promises of the Turks at Buda, for their liuing by him in peace & amity; and the assured promise of *Cæsar Gallen*, at his last departure, for the speedy furnishing of the town both with men and all things necessary for the defence thereof, which he ought with great assurance to haue expected; yet dismaied with the report of the comming of *Hassan Bassa* the Turkes Generall with his great army, and that by the streit commandement of the great Sultan, he was to begin his conquests in Hungary with the winning of Pesth; as a man afraid of his own shadow, thought good betime to prouide for himselfe: and vpon that resolution, hauing yet seen no enemy at all to force him, trussing vp his baggage, the fift of September forsooke the Towne, with fiue Companies of footmen and six Troupes of horsemen following him: a sufficient number to haue for a time defended the Towne, and endured a siege, especially in so strong H a place, and so well prouided both of victuals and munition. All which, this cowardly Gouernour (but most vnworthy of that name) left together with his honour for a prey vnto his Enemies; hauing yet before his departure out of the Towne, caused the principal buildings thereof to be vndermined, and barrels of gun pouder to be layd vnder them, where they were shortly after all ouerthrown, and most part of the towne burnt. But being gone not past half a league from the place, he met with four hundred Haiducks, all well armed, whom the Gouernour of Strigonium had sent for the reliefe of Pesth, with a number of boats loded with corn, munition, and other necessaries of all sorts, for the better assurance of the place, and the performing of the promise before to the same end made by the Gouernor of Strigonium. Which Hungarian Haiducks meeting with these dismayed Cowards vpon the way, thought I it not the best way to go any further, as thinking themselues not able to doe that with their so small a number, which the other durst not vndertake with their far greater: wherefore ioyning themselues with the other fearfull Fugitiues, they with them returned to Strigonium; leauing their Vessels and munition vnto their enemies, who immediately after seised vpon them.

The next day after, the mines hauing taken their effect, the Turks wondring to see so great and terrible a fire in Pesth, which stil more and more increased, there being none that went about to quench it, aduentured to come ouer the riuer from Buda, and to draw neer to the town now all on a light fire, which finding abandoned & forsaken by the Christians, they diligently quenched, and repaired the ruines of the wall, and so without any losse became Masters of K the same.

Iagenreuter the cowardly late gouernor, with his fearful troups in the mean time comming to Strigonium, and by the Gouernor examined of the causes of his flight, & of the so shamefull leauing of his charge; and beeing able to alledge no other cause or reason, but the great bruit or report of the Visier Bassa's comming with his army to besiege the towne: was therefore committed to prison, and there reserued to be afterward iustly punished for his disloyaltie and cowardise.

The Bassa of Buda by the Gouernors cowardise thus possessed of Pesth, by letters excused himself to the gouernor of Strigonium for the taking therof, the treaty of peace being not as yet quite broken off: alledging for himself (as the truth was) that he had taken it as a place by L the Christians vpon a vain fear forsaken and desperatly set on fire, without any such cause giuen them by him or any of the Turks. And further, offered vnto the gouernor, if he so pleased, to deal with him for the exchange of prisoners on both sides taken, offering to exchange one for another. And as for the concluding of the peace, so oftentimes intreated of, and euen yet in hand, that he for his part was wonderfull desirous it might be fully concluded and ended, before the arriuall of *Hassan* with his Army in Hungarie: for that he being once come, there would then be no time amidst the noise of so many weapons, and so many men of Warre, to talke of peace.

Hassan comes into Hungary.

Hassan the Visier Bassa was now for all that already entered into Hungary, drawing after after him a world of men, and was come towards Sexart. For the viewing of which army the M Gouernor of Palantwar going forth with an hundred horsemen, by euill hap chanced before hee was aware, vpon the sudden to meet with fiue hundred Turkes, by the Bassa himselfe likewise sent forth to discouer the Countrey and the passages therof; by whom hee charged, and

A and with the multitude of his enemies oppressed, was himself taken prisoner, most of his men being in that conflict slaine, some few of them that were left aliue by speedy flight hardly escaping. Which euill hap on the Christians side, was forthwith recompenced with the better successe of the County *Serin*, who falling vpon three hundred Turks neere vnto Sigeth, being in number scarce halfe so many as them, yet set vpon them with such courage, that giuing them no leisure to consider of the weakenesse of his forces, they were by them ouerthrowne and cut in pieces, before they were well aware of him.

But together with the time of the yeare, to come vnto the maine point of these present warres in Hungary: the Turks finding themselues out of hope by any capitulations or treaties of peace, to regaine the strong towne of Strigonium out of the hands of the Christi-
B ans, were now resolued to employ the vttermost of their forces for the obtaining of the same; with a thousand protestations, That if by force of armes and strong hand they should gaine the place, they would neuer more haue peace with the Christians. At which their vain threats and speeches, the Christians before resolutely set downe for the defending of the place by them so much desired, and well acquainted with their great brags, could not but with scorne smile, as men nothing therewith dismaied, nor so to be remoued. Neuertheleſſe the Bassa constant in his resolution for the regaining of Strigonium, with all his forces came the eighteenth day of September and laied siege vnto it. Now vnto this siege the Turks, in hope of spoyle and booty, came flocking from all places, as it had beene to some great Mart; and the fields in all the Country thereabout were couered and swarmed with armes, men, horses, and
C tents. They encamped neere vnto *Charles* his hill, taking vp with their tents halfe a league of the Country round about: and at their first comming most brauely aduanced their Ensignes with their halfe Moones, the armes of their stil encreasing Empire. Whom the besieged in this action imitated, brauely aduancing their Ensignes vpon their walls, as did the Turks in the fields; and further brauing and prouoking them with a thousand thundering shot, discharged out of the Towne amongst them. All the wall round about the Towne glistered with armes and flames of fire, out of which the deadly bullets flew, carrying with them death and terrour into the middest of these new come enemies, for their welcome. The Turks neuertheleſſe came still resolutely on, and as men prodigall of their liues euen in the middest of so many dangers, began to make their approches. Vpon whom the Christians with great courage salli
D ed forth, to disturbe them in their works, and so for the space of certaine houres hauing had with them an hot and sharpe skirmish, without any great hurt receiued, retired againe into the towne, leauing vnto their enemies by that they had done, a good testimony of their valor and resolution. The Turks for all that lodged themselues, made their trenches, and so encamped before the mount of Saint *Thomas*, where by the placing of their cannon, they well declared their meaning for the battering of that fort.

Strigonium besieged by the Turks.

The Christians sally forth vpon the Turks.

Against which their designes, *George Basta*, Lieutenant General of the Imperial army, right resolutely opposed himselfe, hauing neere vnto Strigonium cast vp a strong fort, well furnish-
E ed with men and great artillery, from which he greatly annoied the Turks with his great ordnance, and with the fury thereof enforced them to remoue farther off with their approches: his army vpon the riuer of Danubius in the meane time lying betwixt the Isle of Strigonium, and the old towne of the Rascians, to keep the enemy from entering either into the one place or the other.

The carefull endeuors of Basta the Emperours Lieutenant Generall, for the preseruation of Strigonium.

County *Sultze* Gouernour of the place also hauing taken a generall muster of his men, and with comfortable and cheerefull speeches encouraged his souldiers, putting them in minde of their duty, and of the honourableneſſe of the action now in hand, as vndertaken for the maintenance of the Christian Religion, for the seruice of the Emperour, and the safe-
F gard of their owne liues: persuading them withall, not to put any trust or confidence in the Turks faith, or faire promises, considering that their weapons were euen yet wet with the bloud of their Christian brethren, most perfidiously by them of late massacred and slaine at the taking of Alba Regalis: encouraging them also with the goodnesse of their cause, with the carefulneſſe of their friends abroad for their reliefe, with the regard of their owne valour, and cowardise of their barbarous enemies, whose onely hope and trust was in their multitude: and withall comforting them, that holding out but some few moneths, the very elements themselues

The comfortable speech of County Sultze Gouernour of Strigonium, to his garrison.

selues and the time of the yeare, would as it were fight for them, and affoord them aid, their G
enemies being not able with their great army, in the extremity of Winter weather, without
their irreparable losses to hold the field. And that as for himselfe, his honour together with
his life, were so bound vnto his graue and sepulchre, at the foot of the wals of that place, as that
they could not be from the same separated; hauing proposed the glory of the preseruation of
that place, or else of an honourable death, as the end of all his actions, and consummation of all
his hopes. And that therefore he most earnestly besought them to follow his so honourable
a purpose, in assisting him in that action, so much concerning their liues and honour, and whol-
ly depending of their courage and resolution. And that for testimony of his earnest desire
to the furthering of this seruice, he was willing to depart with a good part of his substance and
treasure, to be bestowed vpon them, amiddest these the trophies of his honour; hauing com- H
manded them to haue certaine moneths pay payed before hand vnto them, which was accor-
dingly done.

A notable sally of the Christians out of the fort of S Thomas.

Now the Turks hauing a purpose easily to begin the conquest of Strigonium by the ta-
king of the strong fort of Saint *Thomas*, came the foure and twentieth day of September to
assault and batter the same: vpon whom fiue hundred horsemen, and two thousand footmen
sallying out of the fort, caused them, after a sharpe and bloudy conflict, and not without some
losse on both sides, to retyre backe againe, and to forsake the mount whereupon they were
encamped. But in pursuing of them too farre, they fell into a great ambush, before by the
Turkes for that purpose layed to entrap them; where betwixt them was fought a most sharpe
and bloudy fight; the Turks presuming vpon their multitude, and the Christians standing I
vpon their valour and honour. Vntill that in fine, valour by number being oppressed, seuen
hundred of the Turks being slaine, the Christians were enforced to retire, hauing lost about
an hundred of their men, and amongst them the valiant County *Casimir* of Hohenloth, for
whose dead body there was a notable fight betwixt the Christians and the Turks; not much
vnlike vnto that which the Poet *Homer* describeth, to haue been fought betwixt the Trojanes
and the Greekes, for the body of *Patroclus*. Howbeit that at length the Christians being ouer-
charged with the comming on of the whole army of the Turks, were glad (as I said) to retire,
and so to leaue the dead body of the County *Casimir* in the power of their mercilesse ene-
mies; who as dogs which reuenge themselues vpon the stones which are cast at them, being
not able to bite the hands of them that threw them, so did they vpon the body of this gentle K
Knight, by cutting off his nose and eares, and afterwards his head. But within some few daies
after, this body so disfigured was againe deliuered vnto the Christians for a Turke of good
account, who was about that time by them taken prisoner. At which time the Turks seemed
to be very desirous of peace, most earnestly requesting County *Fredericke* of Hohenloth (the
slaine Counties brother) not to be an hinderer thereof. Howbeit that this was but one of their
old practises, depending still vpon vnreasonable conditions, whereof the yeelding vp of Stri-
gonium was one of the chiefest, as the place by them most desired.

But if this siege of the Turks auailed them not against the place besieged, yet was it profi-
table for them against another place by them not artempted, which was the strong Towne of
Hatwan, more subject vnto feare, without any danger, than was Strigonium vnto the bullets L
and battery of the Turks, with just cause of distrust. For the souldiers which lay there in
garrison, terrified with the siege of Strigonium, and doubting lest the Turks leauing that siege,
should come and besiege them, trussing vp their bag and baggage, the nineteenth of Septem-

Hatwan most shamefully forsaken by the Christians

ber abandoned the place, and carrying away with them the best of the great ordnance, left the
rest altogether with the place, and great store of prouision, vnto the enemy, not in hope of any
such matter.

The bruit of the siege of Strigonium had called thither all the forces of both parties in
Hungary, and the Countries thereabouts, on the one side for the winning thereof, and on the
other for the defence of the same. Amongst others, the County of Tambier, Gouernour of
Lippa, was about to haue gone thither with certaine of his troups to haue aided the Generall, M
for the preseruation of the place. But in the meane time *Bethlem Habor*, chiefe of the rebels in
Transyluania, assisted by *Beckheres Bassa* with foure thousand Turks enterd into the Prouince,
to haue made himselfe master thereof vnder the protection of the Turke. Whereof the
County

A County hauing got knowledge, resolued to go and meet him, and to encounter him at the ve-
ry first enterance of him into the Prouince. This old Rebell knowing that *George Bassa* was
by the Emperours appointment gone out of the country with the best troups of his horsemen,
the greatest strength of the Prouince, came on in great security, thinking of nothing but of
victory, and of performing his intended exploit, without feare of any to let him: so that casting
no further perill, he was surprised by the County, before he was aware, and put to flight. Nei-
ther was the fight long betwixt men accustomed to vanquish, resolutely set downe, and well
armed, against men dasmaied, halfe naked, and surprised. In which conflict aboue a thousand
of them being slaine, and a thousand of horses of seruice taken, the rest fled; amongst whom
Bethlin himselfe with the Bassa flying, were glad by swimming to saue themselues amiddest a
B thousand chances and dangers of their liues.

Bethlem Habor the Rebell surprised & ouerthrowne by the County Tambier.

The Bassa of Temeswar aduertised of this ouerthrow by one of them that was fled from
the same, presently he sent forth his Lieutenant with a good number of men, to relieue the
vanquished Turkes: Who by the way vnderstanding of the generall ouerthrow of them
whom hee was sent forth to relieue, as also of the strength of his enemies, and that hee was
come too late to the relieſe of his friends, retired as fast as he could with his men backe againe
homeward toward Temeswar. But being in their retreat discouered, and hotly pursued by
these men imbrued with the bloud of their enemies, and yet breathing with victory, they
were by them ouertaken euen almost at the gates of their City, and there (as men before ouer-
come with feare, and ouerwhelmed with despaire) cut in pieces, without any fight or resi-
C stance by them made, beseeming men of their sort, the Lieutenant himselfe being there slaine
also.

Succors sent to the rebels by the Bassa of Temeswar, defeated by the County Tambier.

After which exploits done, the County turning towards Iula, chanced to light vpon cer-
taine companies of Turks loaded with booty, which they had got in roaming abroad into the
Countrey thereabout, whom he pursued euen vnto the gates of the towne, which they found
shut against them; for that they within the towne seeing the Christians euen at the heeles of
their companions, had shut their gates, neither durst now open the same, for feare lest the
Christians should together with them enter the towne, and so become masters thereof. Who
so shut out by their owne friends, were there all by the Christians slaine, euen in the sight of
their companions, not daring to let them in, nor able to relieue them. After which massacre
D done, the Christians not yet so contented, burnt the suburbs of the towne, and so loaded with
the spoiles of their enemies, departed. The County after so many honourable exploits in a
small time performed, returned to Lippa, where he arriued the 25 of September, and from
thence afterward aduertising *Basta* the Emperours Lieutenant Generall, of these his exploits
don, caused ten of the Turks Ensignes, all stained with their owne bloud, to be presented vn-
to him, as the sure tokens of his good seruine done.

But to returne againe vnto the siege of Strigonium, the greatest exploit by the Turks en-
tended for this yeare, from which we haue from the occurrent of the same time a little stray-
ed. The Visier Bassa perceiuing by the valiant and resolute defence of our men, how little
hee preuailed in this siege, and that it was like enough to tend at length to his dishonour,
E thought it good once againe to prooue, if hee might by composition gaine that which hee
was now almost out of hope by force to obtaine. And to that purpose caused a motion to
be made vnto the besieged, for a treaty to be had concerning a peace, and a day appointed for
the same. Vnto which motion for peace the Imperials (although they had no hope at all, of
any peace to be concluded) easily yeelded, lest they might bee thought obstinately to haue
rejected the same. Whereupon Commissioners were on both sides appointed, to meet to-
gether, to conferre of the matter. And so for the Emperour *Althem* himselfe, with *Ferdi-
nand Collonitz*, and *Fredericke* of Hohenlo, County of Rhene, were appointed neere vnto the
Rascian Towne to meet with the Turks Commissioners, to heare what they would say. How-
beit the Commissioners on both sides beeing met at the place aforesaid, all their conference
F was but vaine and to no purpose; the Turkes still vrging the yeelding vp of Strigonium,
and the Imperials as earnestly refusing the same. So that the treaty for peace being broken
off, and the Commissioners departing, the siege was more cruelly by the Turks continued
than before.

Now there were in the Turks army lying at the siege, certaine companies of Cossackes, G
men for their pay indifferent to serue any Prince of what Religion soeuer. Which seruiceable
men, in number 700, had agreed together the 28 of September, by night to forsake the Turks
campe, and to come vnto the Christians. Of which their purpose and designe the Visier Bassa
hauing by some vntrusty amongst them got knowledge, caused the footmen of these compa-
nies to be apprehended and slaine; the horsemen in the meane time making themselues way
ouer the bellies of such as would haue staied them, fled, and escaped, some of them to Koma-
ra, and some to Dotis. Threescore of these Cassocks being by the Turks hardly pursued, ad-
ventured to swim ouer Danubius, and so all naked came to *Collonitz*, by whom they were cour-
teously entertained and apparelled. And within three daies after, two hundred horsemen moe
of the same Cossackes came to *Collonitz* also: who marching in good order vnto the head of H
the Christian campe, were there sworne vnto the Emperours seruice; and in token of their
loyalty, there discharged their pistols thrice. Which horsemen *Collonitz* diuided among the
rest of his troups, as hauing before time had good experience of the courage and good seruice
of diuers such others of their fellowes.

The Ianizaries in mutiny against the Visier Bassa.

By these fugitiue soldiers it was vnderstood, that the Ianizaries in great number vp in mu-
tiny against the Visier Bassa, would haue enforced him to haue raised the siege, and so to haue
departed. The cause of their so great discontentment (as they pretended) was the manifest
and assured danger of their liues, with little or no hope at all for the gaining of the place:
They themselues being still exposed to the dangers both of the siege and of the field, hauing
the besieged on head of them armed with an assured resolution, and the Christian army at I
their backes, of knowne valour and experience. Besides that, the place it selfe was (as they
said) impregnable, being at all times to be relieued, by reason that it commanded ouer the
Danuby, which might alwaies relieue it both with men and victuals. And that therefore after
that they had satisfied their honour, by giuing an assault or two vnto the fort of Saint *Tho-*
mas, they had resolued to arise, and to be gone. And much about this time, *viz.* the nine and
twentieth of September, in the night time, was a most dreadfull fiery impression seene in fa-
shion much like a Rainebow, of a fiery red colour, which beginning ouer Cockera, and rising
higher ouer Strigonium, at length vanished away ouer the fort of Saint *Thomas*. The sight
whereof much troubled the beholders thereof, as well the Christians as the Turkes: such
strange meteors and apparitions being oftentimes the presages of the ruine of them to whom K
they appeare.

In the meane time whilest the Turks thus lay before Strigonium, at the siege of Saint *Tho-*
mas fort, the Lord *Basta*, Lieutenant Generall of the Emperours forces, to giue the Turks to
vnderstand, how that he was alwaies in readinesse to attend vpon their doings, and to take hold
of all such opportunities as should by them be offered, and so to keepe them in suspence,
came with seuen thousand braue horsemen, and shewed himselfe in the plaine field in order
of battell; so, as it were, brauing the Turks euen vnto their owne trenches: where haning dis-
charged their pistols thrice, they returned as victorious, alwaies keeping themselues in order,
as men ready either to giue or to accept of battell. Howbeit the Turks for the present keeping
themselues close within their trenches, mooued not; but afterwards being desirous to coun- L
ter-braue this the Christians presumption, the third day of October they came forth of their
trenches, and gaue a second assault to Saint *Thomas* fort, imploying the vttermost of their
power in this action, whereupon they well knew a great part both of their honour and of their
safety to depend. But in assayling the fort they met with them as resolutely set downe for the
defence thereof, and for the maintenence of their honour, as were they for the winning of the
same. So the assault was begun with great fury and aduenture, as was the other before: how-
beit that it endured not long, for that the Turks fought rather for the discharge of their duty,
and to haue some iust cause to raise their siege, than for any hope they had to preuaile, or to
carry the place. For it befell them according as they had expected, so that after that the
fight had endured little more than halfe an houre, amiddest the tempests of armes and fury, in M
fine the Turks out of hope to preuaile, gaue ouer the siege, and retired, hauing in that conflict
lost fiue hundred of their best souldiers.

The fort of S. Thomas againe assaulted.

The Gouernour of Strigonium had in the city vnder his charge six thousand Hiaduckes,
who

A who attainted with treason and feare, all forsooke the place excepting fiue hundred, prefer-
ring their liues vnworthy the sauing, before their duty, and the life and honour of their Ge-
nerall. With which shamefull treason, and the resolution of the great Bassa for forcing of
the place, the Germanes there left, seeing their Captaines dismaied, gathered themselues
together, promising by their own valour, to supply what wanted by reason of the trechery of
the others; offering themselues to be sworne againe vnto the seruice of the Emperour, and
rather to die all in the place, than to yeeld it vp vnto the Turks, or to leaue it vnto their ene-
mies: where by their generall consent a solemne decree was made, that whosoeuer hee were
which should speake or once make mention of yeelding the Towne, should forthwith there-
fore be hanged vpon a gibbet. The Turks although they had now in two assaults been twice
B repulsed, came yet forth once againe the fifth day of October, and assaulted Saint *Thomas*
fort the third time: wherein they failed not to doe what they might, but were by the Chri-
stians therein so receiued, that despairing of the winning thereof, they with great losse and
shame retired. Which disgrace caused them to returne to their old practises, for the ta-
king of places by policy. For hauing in many places vndermined the walls, and filled them
with gunpouder, they were in hope by that meanes to haue opened themselues a way vnto
their conquest. Of which their hope for all that, they were deceiued: for the Christians ha-
uing perceiued their meaning, did by countermining not only frustrate their endeauour, but
carried away the pouder also, which they had before laied in the mines, reseruing it to their
owne further necessity and vse. Wherefore the Turks seeing themselues of thir hope decei-
C ued, returned againe vnto their old practises, to come to a parly for peace. Of which their
motion the Christians nothing disliked. But the Commissioners on both sides being met
together for that purpose, in a little Island beneath Strigonium, when as the Turkes had of-
fered vnto the Christians the City of Agria for Strgonium; or if so be that that exchange
pleased them not, but that they would needs keepe the City of Strigonium still, that
then in consideration of the peace, they should deliuer vnto them the strong Townes of
Fileck, Saint Setschin, Pallanke, and Nouigrade; both of which demands were very vn-
reasonable: The Commissioners thereupon againe departed without concluding of any
thing.

The fort of S. Thomas the third time assaulted.

Now the army of the Turkes was in it selfe diuersly diuided with quite contrary desires;
D the Visier Bassa with some other of the Commanders, stood stifly for the taking of the place,
as men willing either to returne from thence with victory, or else there to end their daies: but
the Ianizaries to the contrary, were as earnest to be gone, and to raise the siege, deeming it
impossible then to preuaile against a place so strong, so well manned, and so easily to be still
relieued. With which their resolution so contrary vnto his, the Bassa enraged, and yet pro-
posing before his departure to proue the vttermost of his forces against the fort now already
by him thrice before assaulted, the tenth of October gaue thereunto six great assaults, but
with like successe as before, finding there still the same defendants, no whit discouraged, but
armed with their accustomed resolution. For the defendants encouraged by their most va-
liant commanders, with such fury repulsed the Turks, that they were glad to giue ouer assault
E vpon assault, and with great losse of their men to retire. Their often retreats also being vnto
them no lesse hurtfull than were their assaults, the deadly bullets being out of their fort dis-
charged vpon them like showers of haile. So that the Bassa now after so many assaults, out
of all hope to gaine the fort, and still pressed by the Ianizaries for the raising of the siege, im-
mediatly after rose with his army, quitted his trenches, and retired with his campe neere vn-
to a castle, about a league distant from Strigonium. From whence the Turks the better to
couer their dishonour, and to hinder the Christians from pursuing of them in their retreat,
the next day after came into the field with a good part of their army, and shewed themselues
before the Rascian Towne, and there skirmished with the Christian Haiduckes. Which
manner of skirmishing for all that was more in shew, than in effect, neither party therein re-
F ceiuing any great losse or hurt. In the meane time, the besieged which were in Strigonium,
hauing gotten certaine knowledge, that the enemy had already remoued his cannon and
other prouision for the siege backe againe into Buda, in token of joy discharged all their
great Ordnance out of the city and the fort; by the report thereof giuing knowledge vnto
the

The fort of S. Thomas six times in one day assaulted.

The siege of Strigonium giuen ouer by the Turks.

the other townes and castles of the Christians, of their deliuerance. Of which so common a joy euery one of them were partakers, as deliuered from some part of the feare which the siege of so great a city as was Strigonium, had brought vpon them. And so the siege of Strigonium, begun the eighteenth day of September, was by the Turks giuen ouer the thirteenth of October: the Ianizaries insolently threatening to haue slaine the great Bassa their Generall, if he had there any longer staied.

Bassa pursueth the Turks army departing from the siege of Strigonium.

Basta the Emperors Lieutenant in the meane time awaiting all opportunities, failed not to take hold of so fit an occasion, but with his horsemen following after the Turks army, slew of them a great number, and tooke some other of them prisoners. And afterward returning vnto their campe, found it void of men, but full of bullets, with certain pieces of great ordnance, which the Turks had left there, hauing not time to remoue the same to Buda. Vpon this rising of the Turks army the Commanders thereof were diuersly affected vnto the seruice that was further to be done, as they had before been in the time of the siege. Such of them as lay in Hungary or neere therunto, desiring still to hold the field, in hope of the spoile of the country: but they which dwelt farther off, especially such as were come out of Asia, desiring as much to be discharged, their horses being almost all dead with faintnesse and trauell, and themselues weary of the seruice.

Shortly after the rising of the Turks army from Strigonium, two fugitiues of the Turks most brauely mounted, came vnto *Basta* the Emperors Lieutenant, and presenting him with a ring of great value, and a most faire Turkish Ensigne, told him, most part of the Turks army to lie then incamped in the country neere vnto Pesth; and the great Cham, a young Prince of about twenty yeares old to be come thither with a great power of Tartars, to aid the Bassa: And that the Turks by their comming incouraged, were determined yet to make a great excursion for the spoiling of the country. All which shortly after was certainely knowne to be true, the plaine country of the vpper Hungary about Palanka, Setschin, and Villecampe, being by them, but especially of these new come Tartars, all spoiled and burnt. For remedy whereof *Sigefride Collonitz* opposing himselfe with his Hungarian horsemen, against these insolent forragers, so danted them, that ceasing further to spoile the country, they departed, carrying away with them such prisoners and spoile as they had there taken, and leauing behind them a strong garrison of three thousand good souldiers, for the repairing and keeping of Pesth, but a little before cowardly (as we said) by the Christians forsaken. But within some few daies after, *viz.* the foure and twentieth of October, the Visier Bassa by his letters written vnto County *Althem* Gouernour of Strigonium, made a mention for a treaty of peace to be had for the comfort of the distressed people of that spoiled country, solemnly protesting, most religiously on his part to keepe the same, if it should be once concluded: and yet in the meane time with fire and sword spoiling all the Countrey by the way as he departed out of Hungary.

New rebellion in Transyluania raised by Istiuan, surnamed Botscay.

But now as this poore Country began to feele reliefe by the departure of the great Bassa with his army out thereof, so the Country of Transyluania joyning thereunto, was at the same time as much with rebellion and discord distressed. *Bethlin Habor* the Rebell, with his Bassa ouerthrowne and driuen out of Transyluania (as is aforesaid) the Lord *Belgiosa, Basta* his Lieutenant in this prouince, thinking all things now at quiet, was making himself ready with his troups, to haue gon to aid the Lord *Basta* his General, then incamped in the plains of Strigonium, to hinder the Turks designes for the taking of this Towne. But as he was about so to haue done, behold, euen at the same time when he least feared, a second Rebell there started vp far worse than the first, namely, the Lord *Istiuan* (otherwise surnamed *Botscay*, or more truely * *Potscay*) who accompanied with great troups of men of warre vnder the protection of the Turke, and stiling himselfe by the name of the Prince of Transyluania, entering that Prouince, miserably burnt and spoiled the same. For the repressing of which so sudden a rebellion, *Belgiosa* with a thousand horse, vnder the leading of *Rotkeuitz* and *Peter Lasta*, marched toward Veradin: and with his troupe comming to Ador, a country village about a league distant from Veradin, and meaning thither to assemble together his army, he sent to *Petsie* Gouernour of Veradin, to put him in minde of his duty, and to craue his aid. Which valiant captaine, alwaies preft and ready to do his Prince seruice, failed not now of his duty, but calling together

He was in scorn called Potscay (which in the Bohemian language signifieth tarry, or stay) of the long delaies bee by way of disgrace had before endured in the emperors court.

together six companies of footmen out of Romosa, and joyning vnto them foure companies out of Veradin, together with the Silesian horsemen of *Schuet-Kenhut* his Regiment) whom by reason of his sickenesse (he was not able to lead) and with them the Haiduckes of County *Tambier*, came vnto the place of the rendezuous, bringing with him all warlike prouision in token of his fidelity. With this army *Belgiosa* marched against the Rebels, who as resolute men attended his comming: for why, *Botscay* knowing the Haiduckes of County *Tambier* secretly to fauour him and his rebellion more than they did *Belgiosa* and his just quarrels, stood in no feare of them, but assured himselfe of them as of his friends; who failed not of his hope and expectation, but euen at the first joyning of the battell, turned themselues to his part: with the going ouer of whom, the number of the Rebels was much encreased, and *Belgiosa* his power both in force and courage much weakened, seeing themselues at once exposed both vnto the force of their enemies, and to the treachery of their fellowes, who now with conjoyned forces most fiercely assailed them: who finding themselues now on all sides inuironed with so great a multitude, and not able with so small a number as was left, to withstand the violence of their enemies, and the treason of their companions; after they had to the vttermost of their power performed all the parts of valiant and couragious men, were there almost all cut in pieces, and there buried in the field of their loyalty, honoured with their owne bloud, and altogether embrued with the bloud of their enemies. In this vnlucky and disloyall fight were diuers good and faithfull Captaines slaine: *Petsie* Gouernour of Veradin, and *Pallas Lippa*, both great Captaines, and grieuously wounded, were there taken prisoners. The Lieutenant of *Petsie* also, hauing retired himselfe with some of his troups into a place of good strength, there so valiantly defended themselues, that *Botscay* out of hope to ouercome them by force, to get them into his power promised them vpon his Oath, if they would yeeld themselues, to suffer them in safety to depart. But what trust or credit is to be giuen to him who hath before broken his faith and loyalty to his Prince, this Rebell well shewed by the death of these valiant and warlike men, who after that they had vpon his faith and promise yeelded themselues, were by his appointment cruelly slaine and cut in pieces. The Silesian horsmen were there also ouerthrowne and buried in the middest of their enemies: and as for *Belgiosa* himselfe, he strangely escaped out of the battell, and saued himselfe by flying to Veradin. The Victorious Rebell after the battell, in stead of praising God, sacrificed to the Diuell, by sending a great part of the Ensignes by him gained, to the Visier Bassa, with a thousand praises of his glory, for supporting him in his rebellion; and vaunting much of this his victory, gaue him withall to vnderstand, That he had slaine aboue 6000 of his enemies.

Belgiosa in a great battell ouerthrowne by Botscay the Rebell.

This victory gotten, together with the humble submission of *Botscay*, obtained of the Great Sultan, That from thenceforth he should be stiled by the name of the Prince of Transyluania, with a further charge from him, to do the vttermost of his endeauour for the subduing vnto his obeysance the rest of Transyluania; promising plentifully to supply his wants both with men and mony, and out of hand to send him three thousand Tartars to his aid. And indeed this was a very great and bloudy battell, fought from the first breake of the day, vntill eleuen a clocke at noone: but whether so many were slaine there or no, it cannot certainely be told, for that diuers of them who were said to be slaine, and so accounted among the dead, had hid themselues in the wood thereby, and some others of them by some other meanes escaped death also. *Petsie* himselfe had with him when he was taken two Monkes, whom the souldiers in despight cut into many pieces, and carried him fast bound in chains to Derritza, to be there cured of the dangerous wounds by him in the battell receiued.

Botscay in his rebellion countenanced by the Great Sultan, and called Prince of Transyluania.

But as for *Pallas Lippa*, who being wounded, was taken prisoner with *Petsie*, hee was afterwards by *Botscay* appointed his Lieutenant Generall, and so by his commandement was publiquely proclaimed; as he which was desirous to take vpon him the defence of the reformed Religion, and of such as were willing to professe the same: who forthwith made a generall proclamation, That all they which were desirous of the liberty of conscience, and to liue free from the superstitions of the Roman Church, should repaire vnto him as vnto their head and chiefetaine, ready to entertaine them, and to allow to euery one of them fiue Dollars a month for their pay. Vpon which Proclamation made, a great multitude of men vpon the sudden resorted vnto him; so that in a short time he had following of him ten thousand Haiduckes, besides

beside a number of the other common rascall people; yea, almost all the gentlemen of the country repairing vnto him, bound themselues by oath to him, and one of them to another, That as they would not take vp armes to fight against the Christian Emperor, so they would not submit themselues vnto the Turke, but only stand vpon the defence of their religion, and the liberty of conscience. G

The Rebell *Botscay* thus wonderfully encreased in strength and number, beset almost all the passages of the country, and with the sword of rebellion in his hand, and his souldiers following him, commanded the cities still as he went to yeld vnto him: but hearing that *Belgiosa* was after the late ouerthrow gone from Veradin to Cassouia, where his wife lay; and being come thither, to haue been by the citisens rejected, who would not only not receiue him into their city, but turned his wife also out of their city vnto him; he with a great army comming thither, tooke the City without resistance, the Citisens for the most part enclining vnto him. Of which City beeing possessed, hee forthwith changed both the Religion and ciuile gouernment thereof, slew part of such as were of the Romish Religion, and thrust the rest out of the City, with all the Church men, tooke the Bishop and the Emperours Treasuror prisoners, and so changed the whole gouernment of the Towne vpside downe. The onely man he stood in feare of, was *Belgiosa*, for whom he laid wait by all meanes hee could to haue taken him, with a purpose to haue vsed him most hardly, if hee had fallen into his hands. H

The great city of Collonitz yeelded to the rebell Botscay.

These things thus done in Transyluania and in Hungary, the Visier Bassa being about to returne to Constantinople, to grace that little which he had done this yeare in Hungary, and to auoid the suspition of his euill successe in that Prouince, borrowed of *Botscay* the rest of the Ensignes, together with *Petsie* and other the noble Christian captiues which he had taken in the late battell with *Belgiosa*: which Ensignes and prisoners he confidently afterwards caused to be presented vnto the Great Sultan *Achmat*, as taken by himselfe; and in recompence thereof, left three thousand Turks and Tartars with the Rebell, to aid him in his wars both in Transyluania and Hungary. I

Bassa getth his Army against the Rebels in the vpper Hungary.

Bassa the Emperours Lieutenant in Hungary, and Gouernour of Transyluania, hearing of the stirres and troubles of late raised in both those Countries, by *Botscay* and his rebellious Followers, and hauing as he thought best, set all things in order againe at Strigonium, marched thence with his Army, being foureteene thousand strong, towards Cassouia, with a purpose to haue suppressed the rebellion in the vpper Hungary, before it should haue spred farther, to the endangering of the whole state of both those Countries, as afterward it did. Howbeit before he could come thither, the Rebels after the taking of Cassouia, being wonderfully encreased both in strength and number, had taken in most of the strong Townes and places in the vpper Hungary, the people almost generally now fauouring their quarrell, carrying with it the face of Religion, with the suppressing of the German gouernement, both things vnto them much pleasing. And now hearing that *Belgiosa* (a man of them most hated, beeing, as we said, shut out of Cassouia) was fled into the Castle of Zipze, they by Letters required of *Turson* Captaine of the Castle, to haue him deliuered vnto them, to be according to his deserts punished; promising withall, to doe *Turson* himselfe no harme, so that hee would take part with them in defence of their Religion, and of the liberty of conscience: which if hee should refuse to doe, yet that they would giue him free liberty to depart whither hee would, out of his Castle, and in safety to conduct him thither, so that he would forthwith resolue, what course hee would take. But if hee should of this his offer mislike also, then they threatened to spoyle his Countrey, to kill his people, to rase his Castle, and to make himselfe an example vnto others. Wherewith for all that hee nothing mooued, refused to deliuer vnto them *Belgiosa*, the man whom they so much desired, or yet to accept of any of their other offers. Whereupon the Rebels with great labour repairing the broken way betwixt Cassouia and the Castle, and bringing certaine pieces of great Ordnance from Cassouia, in great number came and streightly besieged the Castle. With whose attempts the valiant Captaine nothing mooued, with his thundering shot out of the Castle so welcommed them, that hauing thereby receiued great harme, they thought it not their best course to stay any longer there with so great a power, but with the greatest part K L M

Belgiosa in the Castle of Zipze besieged by the Rebels.

part thereof to go to Presburg, to reforme that city and some other places by the way; persuading themselues, That the Captaine of this castle so shut vp, and on euery side beset with his enemies, would at length of himselfe yeeld vp the castle. A

But while the Rebels thus lay at the siege of this castle, certaine companies of them went to haue taken the spoile of a Religious house there by: but comming thither, and breaking open the doores, and searching euery secret corner of the house, they found therein nothing worth the reckoning of, but so returned almost empty handed: for the Priests had for feare of them before carried away with them all the best of their goods and substance into the besieged castle. And so likewise the rise report of their comming to Presburg flying abroad, almost all the Priests and Iesuits in Presburg and the country thereabout, leauing their Churches and Colledges, fled with their substance to Vienna, scarcely accounting themselues safe there, vntill that the garrison of that strong city was increased with a new supply of six hundred good souldiers. B

And now the Rebels, their number still more and more encreasing, and hauing set all the vpper part of Hungary on a broyle, were besieging diuers other castles and strong places, yet holden for the Emperor; when as *Basta* in the meane time, comming from the siege of Strigonium, came and with his army encamped about three miles from Filek. Of whose comming the Rebels hearing, and thereupon retyring, he forthwith followed after them toward Budnoe, which castle they also left, and so neere vnto Ramosambat, the place of their rendezuous, gathered together a great number, with an intent to haue giuen *Basta* battell. Whereof *Basta* hauing knowledge, to spare the effusion of more Christian bloud, by an Herauld sent vnto them in friendly and courteous manner, aduised them to change their minds, and to returne againe vnto their former allegiance. But finding them obstinately set downe in their former purpose, for the maintaining of their rebellion, and the giuing of him battel, he marching forward with his army, with great force charged certaine companies of the Rebels, appointed to keepe the passage of Filek; who at the first right valiantly receiued the charge, and defended the passage, vntill that at length with number oppressed, and aboue foure hundred of them slaine, they were put to the worse, and enforced to flee; in which flight, amongst others there taken prisoners, *Blase Nemet* their captain was taken also, whom *Basta* caused to be hanged vp by the heels, with the Ensignes set vp about him which he had taken from the rebels in the late fight; and after he had for a time so hung, made him to be taken downe, and his head to be strucke off from his shoulders. In this conflict fifty of *Basta* his men were slaine also, and many moe hurt, and amongst them *Collonitz*, hurt in his shoulder and his foot with a small shot. C D

Basta after this victory marching on with his army, by the way met with certaine other companies of the rebellious Haiducks as he was going to S. *Peters*, with whom he had many an hot skirmish for the space of three daies together, being by them still put to the worse, insomuch that hauing burnt many of his carriages, tents and other luggage, he was of nothing more carefull, than how well to get out of their hands. Neuertheless seeing no other remedy, he with great courage not onely endured the often and fierce assaults of his enemies, still more and more encreasing vpon him, but the fourth day after so many vnfortunat skirmishes, (being the eight aud twentieth of Nouember) putting his men in order of battell, right valiantly againe charged the Rebels: who by reason of the darkenesse of the weather, it beeing then a very thicke mist, being not able to perceiue where the enemies attempts were most to be feared, or what way to turne their owne forces; as men dismaied, were easily by them ouerthrowne and put to flight: who so flying, *Basta* with his souldiers fiercely pursuing, made of them a great slaughter: so that in the space of lesse than three houres, fifteen hundred of them were in this thicke and darke mist slain, with some few also of *Basta* his souldiers, and amongst them *Fredericke* Earle of Solmes, and the County of Erbach wounded. Vpon the report of which ouerthrow, the Rebels which yet lay at the siege of the castle of Zipze, in hope there at length to haue taken *Belgiosa*, forthwith rose and retired themselues to Leusta. But *Basta* after this victory remooving to Saint *Andrewes*, and hauing recouered that towne from the Rebels, and thereinto put a new garrison, and so by this meanes somewhat daunted and repressed the insolency of the Haiduckes in those quarters, and being not well able longer to keepe the field with his army in so vnseasonable a time of the yeare, and so to maintaine warre as it were both E F

Basta distressed by the Rebels.

The Rebels by Basta ouerthrowne.

both against his enemies, and the extremities of nature, sought by letters to haue reclaimed them of Cassouia againe vnto their obedience; offering vnto them pardon for all their offences past, so that they would now at last acknowledge their fault, and receiue into their towne a garrison of the Emperors. To which purpose he writ also to them of Eperia, in hope that if he might so haue gained those two strong towns, to haue in them Wintered in safety with his army. But them of Cossouia hauing in the city a strang garrison of six thousand good souldiers, and out of feare to be by *Basta* besieged at that time of the yeare, and withall in hope (if need were) to be by *Botscay* relieued, (who was then reported to be forty thousand strong) vtterly refused to hearken to *Basta* his motion, for their reconciliation, or at all to submit themselues againe vnto the Emperour. Which caused him with his army to come neerer vnto the city, yet still seeking rather by faire meanes to haue persuaded the citizens to haue returned vnto their loyalty, than by force to haue constrained them. But finding them obstinately set downe, and by no persuasions to be remoued, but with their great ordnance in what they might to trouble his campe, he sent before the County *Hohenloh* and *Rotnitz*, with part of his army to Eperia, to command them vpon their allegiance to receiue the Emperours souldiers into the city, and to relieue them with such things as they were able: and within a few dayes after, *viz.* the fifth of December, followed himselfe with the rest of his army. But being come thither, after much talke had with the chiefe men of the City, it was at length, contrary to all mens expectation, agreed, That *Basta* assuring them of the free exercise of their religion, of the good behauiour of the souldiers towards them, and to defend them from the injury and incursions of their enemies, they should open the gates vnto the Imperials, and relieue them with what they were able, and so as before to continue in their allegiance and obedience vnto the Emperour. Of all which things when *Basta* had vpon his faith giuen, assured them, they opened their gates and receiued in the souldiers: vnto whom now almost dead and starued with hunger) nothing could haue happened more lucky or welcome. Leusta, Barbeld, Zebena, famous townes in those places, following the example of Eperia, submitted themselues in like manner, and helped *Basta* his souldiers with reliefe. Thither with great danger came vnto *Basta*, *Sigefrid Collonitz*, a man of great power and authority in that part of Hungary, to confer with him about the appeasing of these troubles: who afterward by his letters vnto the States and the rest of the Nobility of Hungary, yea, and to *Botscay* himselfe, in vaine persuading them to lay downe armes, and to returne againe vnto their wonted obedience vnto the Emperour.

Eperia yeelded vnto Basta.

There had been hitherto in the Imperiall campe great scarcity of victuals and of other necessaries, so that for want thereof, and for the extremitie of the cold, and other miseries, it was greatly feared, lest the campe should haue been broken vp; to the irrepairable losse of his Imperiall Majesty, as the state of things then stood in Hungary. For the remedy whereof, thirty waggons loded with mony and cloath were sent from Vienna, vnder the conduct of County *Solmes*, Colonell *Starenberg*, the Treasurer, and others: vnto whom *Tanhusar* joyned fifteene hundred Hussars (Hungarian horsemen so called) to strengthen the conuoy against the danger which was feared from the Haiducks which lay vpon the way, and who indeed were now roaming about and seeking after booty in euery corner of the country. Which Hussars being come with the rest of the conuoy into a thick wood, about two miles from Filek, like enemies set vpon the waggoners, whom they should haue conducted, and there made a great slaughter of such as were about to resist them; insomuch that the County *Solmes* had much ado to saue himselfe and to get out of their hands, leauing the waggons as a prey vnto the trecherous Hussars; who now become masters of them, draue them away to *Botscay* the Rebels campe: *Tanhusar* their Captaine in vaine pursuing after them (with such of his Hussars as more faithfull than the rest, had no hand in that so foule a treachery) and recouering nothind but tenne waggons loaded with cloath, which the traitors had left behinde them, hauing taken the horses out of them, and put them into the other waggons wherein the mony was, (which was reported to be 130000 florens) with the more speed to bring them vnto *Botscay*. Who hauing vpon the sudden receiued so great a summe of mony, by him not looked for, forthwith diuided the same amongst his souldiers, the more to encourage them in their rebellion against the Emperour.

The Hussars treacherously spoyle them whom they should haue conducted.

The

The newes of this so great a losse being quickly spred thorow all the Emperours campe, at the first filled the souldiers with griefe and disdaine against the trecherous Hussars, but afterwards with wrath and indignation against their own Commanders, as deeming it to haue bin nothing but a false report by them deuised and giuen out to deceiue them, and to feed them with a vaine hope. Which persuasion, though not true, had now so strongly possessed their minds, as that they were about all to haue risen vp in mutiny, and to haue forsaken the seruice, to the vtter perill of their Captains, and endangering of the whole Prouince, now vpon point to haue bin for euer lost. All which mischiefes *Basta* foreseeing, did first what he might with words and faire promises to haue appeased them; which not seruing, he with certaine thousands of duckats and waggons of cloth taken vp at Leusta and other townes there by, wisely contented them, in some good measure furnishing the old souldiers, before halfe naked, both with mony and apparell, the souldiers greatest contentments.

Basta wisely appeaseth his souldiers, ready to forsake his seruice.

Which mutiny so againe appeased, the Imperials shortly after surprising a castle not farre from Eperia, found therein a great many of Hungarian Gentlemen, whom they carried away with them prisoners, to learne of them what they might concerning the Rebels proceedings, and further designes. In the meane time the Haiducks on the other side besieged the castle of Sendra, which they after many assaults tooke, and put to the sword all the garrison souldiers therin; and departing thence, first rifled and after burnt the towne of Filek. They also took the castles of Boluar, Setschin, Dregell, Burac, Holloc, Blaueftein, and the strong castle of Cabrageria, whither they of Hatwan not long before had carried their great ordnance at such time as they for feare of the Turks, then lying at the siege of Strigonium, had abandoned the place: all strong holds in the vpper Hungary. After the taking of which places, *Ferentius Radius*, and *Charles Istuan* (*Botscay* his neere kinsman) and the chiefe captains and ringleaders of the rebels, exacted contribution mony of the minerall townes (as they call them) belonging vnto the Emperor in the vpper Hungary; but especially of the city of Newsoll, enforcing them also to sweare to be in all things obedient to *Botscay*, and to take his part against the Imperials, threatning with fire and sword to infest such places as should refuse to do the like. And to the intent that they should not by *Collonitz* be incouraged or defended, who to that end was comming thither, the Rebels in great number went to meet him, and hauing belaied all the passages, enforced him to retire himselfe vnto his castle of Libentsia, where he lying in great danger with his wife then in child-bed, accompanied but with 50 German souldiers only, for that he durst not to trust his Hungarian Cossackes, now in heart altogether enclining vnto the Rebels, was glad in post to send to Vienna, most humbly requesting to haue a new supply of German souldiers sent vnto him for his reliefe, and the furtherance of the Emperors seruice, in that so dangerous a time and wauering estate of that country, being the best part of that the Emperor then held in Hungary.

Diuers places taken by the Haiduckes.

Collonitz prayeth aid from Vienna.

Now while *Basta* thus lay with his army at Eperia and in the country thereabout, he dayly receiued great harme from the Haiduckes, who were still houering about him, as Hawkes ouer their prey; his souldiers, by necessity enforced to fetch in wood, and other things necessary into the campe, being still most miserably slaine and cut in pieces; yea, they were so bold, as oftentimes to trouble him in his campe, and to assayle the soldiers where they lay quartered in their trenches; as amongst other times, they did in the latter end of December to end the yeare withall: at which time they by night breaking into the quarter where *Charles Collonitz*, with *Copell* and *Pettinger*, two Captaines of Austria, with their companies lay, they slew the said *Copell*, with almost all his souldiers, and burnt *Pettinger* in his tent, *Collonitz* himselfe being at the same time in great danger, and hardly by them beset also; vntill that encouraging his men, by performing all the parts both of a good Captaine and valiant souldier, he by true valour enforced them at length to retire backe againe into the woods, from whence they came, hauing in this conflict slaine foureteene of them with his owne hand.

Copel and Pettinger slaine by the Haiduckes.

About this time was a spy taken in the Imperiall campe, one of *Botscay* his chiefe men, discouered by one comming from Cassouia to Eperia which knew him: who by *Basta* his commandement apprehended, vnd vpon torture examined, and confessing what he had done, was for his good seruice hanged and afterward quartered, to the terrour of others attempting the like.

A Spie taken.

The

The Turks this yeare were not much fortunat in their warres: *Hassan* the Visier Bassa and their Generall against the Christians in Hungary hauing in vaine (as is before declared) besieged Strigonium, and with all his forces done nothing worth the remembrance; and *Cicala Bassa* their other Generall against the Persians in the East being with all his great power by the Persian King ouerthrowne and put to flight, and the city of Babylon now called Bagdat taken: as it was first at Prague the two and twentieth of October reported by the Secretary of the Vayuod of Valachia, sent thither by an Embassador from his Master vnto the Emperour, and afterward confirmed by an Embassador sent from the Persian King himselfe vnto the Emperor; who hauing audience, told his Majesty, how that the King his Master was not ignorant of the great and difficult warre by him now for many yeares maintained against the Turkish Sultan, with whom although he for his part might haue liued in peace & amity, yet that mooued with the zeale which one Prince ought to haue to the relieſe of another, he had taken vp armes against him, so to auert some part of that heauy war from his Majesty euen vpon himselfe: and that he had already obtained many great and notable victories & conquests against him: and recouered a great territory, wrongfully before taken from the Persian Kings his predecessors by the Turkish Sultans: and that now he was of nothing more desirous, than to joine in a perpetual league and amity with his Majesty, that so in a most strong confederation combined together, they might neuer afterward be disseuered, or euer make peace with the Sultan, without one anothers knowledge and consent. And further, That for his part he was minded neuer to giue ouer the warre so happily by him begun, vntill he had driuen him euen into his Imperiall city of Constantinople, so that his Majesty should on his part do the like, by continuing of his present wars; it being not possible for the Turke to hold out against them both, and the only means to abate his greatnesse, and to assure them in their estates: requesting him withall, to send backe with him some graue man his Embassador, with sufficient authority and instructions to conferre about these matters with him; that so knowing and vnderstanding one anothers minde, the league and confederation betwixt them might the more easily and commodiously be made and concluded.

The cause of Cicala Bassa against the Persians.

Neither were the Turks busied with these forreine warres only, against these so great and mighty Princes, in places so remote and farre off, but vnto these were joyned their owne intestine and ciuill warres and troubles also; the Rebels being yet vp in the lesser Asia, and the Bassa's of Aleppo and Damasco, two of the most famous cities in Siria, and both of them men of great place and command, of late vp in armes one of them against the other: insomuch, that they had brought the matter to be tried by the sword in the plaine field, where the Bassa of Aleppo in a great and bloudy battell ouercome, and flying vnto his own city, was by the Bassa of Damasco pursued thither, and so streitly by him besieged with an army of thirty thousand men, that in fine he was glad to reconcile himselfe vnto him, and to make his peace, by yeelding vnto him whatsoeuer the other Bassa his enemy pleased to demand of him; as being thereunto driuen by the extremity of famine, which then reigned in the city; as also for that he had lost a great number of his men, whom he had sent secretly out of the city to seeke for victuals, being all slaine by the Bassa of Damasco his souldiers. With which so great matters the Bassaes of the Court (who had the mannaging of the State vnder the young Sultan) were much troubled, he himselfe (as was fittest for his yeres) in the meane time delighting himself with the pleasures of the Court, and much rejoycing at the birth of his first begotten son, who was about that time borne.

Sultan Achmat his first sonne born.

1605 The reuolution of time had now thus brought this yeare to an end, the troubles of Hungary and Transyluania yet still more and more so encreasing, as if that those most miserable countries had by the just and heauy judgements of God beene now appointed vnto their last and vtter ruine and destruction: the causes of their so great miseries proceeding not so much from the Turks their enemies, as from the naturall inhabitants themselues; who in minds diuided both in religion and affection, some of them continuing in their allegiance vnto the Emperor, and other some following the Ensignes of the Rebell *Botscay*, did both vnto themselues and to their country more harme in a little time, than had the Turks in many yeres before. Of which so dangerous a dissention, and of the harmes thereof insuing, *Belioiosa* left by *Basta* as his Lieutenant, was reported to haue beene the first and chiefe authour: For whereas the yeare before

before the Bishops and other Clergy men, in an assembly of them at Possonium, had without the knowledge of the Nobilitie and States of Hungary, published a Decree by them there made, for the burning or perpetual banishing of all such as were of the Reformed Religion in Hungary: and that the States of that kingdome vnderstanding thereof, and solemnly protesting against the same, vnder the Seale of the Lord Palatine had publiquely affirmed, with just Arms to defend themselues, if they should for their Religion be called into question or troubled: and had again repeated the same their protestation at Galset. Yet *Belioiosa* neuertheles in the meane time by cunning seising vpon the reformed churches at Cassovia, would not suffer the Citisens of the Reformed Religion there, to haue any Sermons in their owne priuat houses, or so much as to reade on the holy Bible. Neither any whit mooued with the former protestations of the Nobilitie and States, had taken vnto himselfe all the lands and goods of them of their Religion in Cassovia, not suffering them to bury the bodies of their dead within the city, neere vnto the Monasteries. And requesting to haue borrowed of *Botscay* certaine thousands of crownes, and thereof by him denied, caused his souldiers to ransacke two of his Castles, and to spoyle him of all the wealth and treasure he therein had. For which indignities and injuries *Botscay* inraged, caused open proclamation to be made, That hee would giue vnto euery Haiducke that would serue him, four Crownes a moneth pay, with all the booty that they could get. Whereupon six thousand Haiduckes which then serued vnder *Belioiosa*, forthwith reuolted vnto *Botscay*, their number increasing daily. But after that vnto this extraordinary pay, *Pallas Lippa* his Lieutenant had also joined the protection of the Reformed Religion, it is wonderfull to say, how the Haiducks by heaps resorted vnto him, and how the people in all parts of Hungary generally fauoured him and his quarrell; beeing in all places whereas he came, ready to join hands with him against the Imperials. The Turkes and Tartars also, both with men and mony furthering him in all his doings, whose help he refused not. Whereof proceeded all the aforesaid miseries both in Hungary and Transylvania, with many other worse than they, which together with the beginning of this year tooke their beginning and encrease also. Vnto which so great troubles still more and more encreasing, *Basta* not able by force to giue remedy, sought by lenitie and faire persuasions to haue eased the same: by Letters oftentimes aduising euen *Botscay* the chiefe Rebell himselfe, to change his minde, to lay downe armes, to disband his forces, and to persuade with the rest of his seditious followers, to submit themselues vnto the Emperour, and to return againe vnto their wonted obedience. Whereunto he at length answered, That if the gouernment of all Transylvania might be left vnto himselfe alone: If a naturall Hungarian borne might bee still chosen Lieutenant Generall in Hungary: if none but such as were Hungarians borne, should haue the gouernement and commaund of all the garrisons in Hungary: if the Wallon and French souldiers might be shut out of Hungarie: If the naturall Hungarians borne might from thenceforth be regarded and prouided of their pay: If it might bee lawfull for euery man to haue the free exercise of his Religion: If the authors of these troubles might be deliuered vnto the Hungarians to be punished: If the Emperour himselfe in person should come and be present at the Parliament at Presbourg: If the Germane garrison souldiers should still keepe themselues within the places wherunto they were appointed, without making of any incursions into the towns or villages neer vnto them, or hurting of the poor countrey men; he could then be content to come to such a good agreement for peace. With which offer he sent two of the Rebels his followers vnto *Basta*; who not liking thereof, returned them backe again without concluding of any thing.

The causes of Botscay his rebellion.

But while things were thus in talke, some of the Haiducks in the meane time, with a number of Tartars joined vnto them, in seeking after booty surprised Gokara a towne ouer against Strigonium: where hauing slain certain Germanes who had the keeping of the place, and rifled the town, as they were about to haue set it on fire, by the comming ouer of the gouernor of Strigonium with his garrison, they were inforced to forsake the place, and again to retire. This losse receiued at Gokara was again by our men requited by the taking of Palantwar, a good fortresse of the Turks, after a long and cruel fight taken by Captain *Bathian* (Commander of the Imperiall troupes on this side the riuer of Danubius) whereinto a number of the Turks being retyred, were there together with the garrison souldiers all slain, and among them diuers men of great account, who but some few daies before were come thither. Which fortresse

Gokara surprised by the Haiducks.

Palantwar taken by the Imperials.

tresse the Captain caused to be forthwith rased, because it should no more stand the Turks in G stead for the annoying of the Christians.

Vacia shamefully betrayed to the Turks.

The Turks about this time had a purpose to besiege Vacia, a city not farre from Vicegrade on the other side of Danubius, a place which still did them great harme, and stood the Christians in great stead. The garrison of which place was part Germans, and part Hungarians, as the rest of all the garrisons in the Imperiall towns of Hungary were. Of which the Turks purpose for the siege, the trecherous Haiducks there in garrison hauing got vnderstanding, conspired to deliuer vnto them the place; and yet not so contented, to ioyne thereunto a treason more bloudy and treacherous than was the betraying of the towne: for finding themselues by far too strong for the Germanes in garrison in the towne with them, they fell vpon them, fearing no such matter, and slew most part of them, the rest sauing themselues by speedy flight H to Strigonium: and so afterward, according to their former pretended treason, deliuered the towne to the Turks, joining with them and the Tartars, and directing them for the more easie spoiling of the Christians and the countrey thereabout.

The taking of this City of Vacia had in short time called together great numbers of the Turks and Tartars out of all places of the Realme; who together with the Haiducks made a great and puissant army, to the terror of the Christians, not then able to hold the field against them, and the encouraging of the Turks, thus holpen euen by the Christians themselues, to the destroying of one another. With this army they turned from Vacia to Gokara, with a purpose from thence to haue passed ouer the Danubius vpon the yce, and to haue surprised Strigonium. Which exploit they had once before attempted against the base towne, being I then by the Christians repulsed and beaten backe with their great and small shot out of the town, as now they were againe. Howbeit that seeing the number of their enemies daily more and more to increase, they in Strigonium stood more in doubt of a second siege, than they had done of the first; whereof we haue before spoken.

The report of these so great troubles, and of the generall reuolt of the discontented Haiducks in Hungarie, much troubled and grieued the Christian Emperor: Who both in respect of his honour, and of the safety of his estate, raised what power he might out of his prouinces thereabout, and leuied great summes of money from his subiects, taking a ducket vpon euery house in Austria, being then in great feare of these miseries and mischiefes so fast spreading, and still more and more increasing and approaching that way. Vnto whose forces already on K foot, had the aid promised from the King of Spaine, the Pope, the Princes of Italy and Germanie, with six thousand footmen and two thousand horse out of Bohemia, bin in time joyned, they might haue made a sufficient army vnder the conduct of *Basta* the Emperours Lieutenant, to haue repressed both the attempts of the enemy, and the insolencie of the rebellious Haiduckes. All or most part of which aid this yeare failing, and *Basta* with his small forces much weakened with wants and the extremitie of Winter, and not able to keep the field, the enemies still increasing both in number and in strength, and without feare of any to encounter them, at their pleasure roaming vp and downe, began now to draw neere vnto Vicegrade (a good and strong towne of Hungarie standing vpon the side of Danubius, about the mid way betwixt Buda & Strigonium) with a purpose to haue besieged the same. Of whose comming L the Germans there in garrison hearing, and warned by the trechery of the Haiducks of Vacia, what to feare from the Haiducks in garrison with them in Vicegrade, be time retyred themselues out of the towne into the Castle. In which doing they were well aduised, being otherwise like enough to haue run the same fortune that the Germanes their fellowes before had done at Vacia. For the Turks with the rebellious Haiducks were no sooner come thither, but

Vicegrade yelded vnto the Turks.

that the Haiducks in the towne, without more ado, opened the gates of the towne vnto them, as vnto their friends, directing them in best sort they could both for the besieging and winning of the castle. Which while the Turks hardly besieged, and the Germans therein notably defended, *Hassan* the Visier Bassa, together with *Begedes Bassa*, to persuade them to yeeld vp the Castle, writ vnto them in this sort. M

Right worthy and valiant friends, it is not to you vnknowne, the Castle of Vicegrade of right to belong vnto our most mighty and dread Soueraigne, the great Sultan. And therefore seeing that it is reason that euery man should haue that which of right belongeth vnto him; Wee aduertise and request

A *quest you to yeeld vp the same Castle vnto our most mighty Emperour, and the honorable Lord* Stephen Botscay, *Prince of Hungary; and with all your substance to depart thence. Promising you vpon our faith and honor, to suffer you quietly and in safety, with your wives and children, bag and baggage, to depart thence, and to prouide you sufficient shipping for the carrying away of your things to Strigonium. And if it shall please you to take part with vs, we promise you the same pay from our Emperor, that you had from your owne; and the same kind entertainment which the Wallons haue before had with vs. But if that you vpon an obstinat resolution shall refuse this our friendly motion and grace offered vnto you, blame vs not if we shall by strong hand and force of arms seek to obtaine our right. In kindnesse we offer you our friendship, and so with speed expect your answer.*

B But the Germanes hearkning not vnto these letters, as men resolued, valiantly stood vpon the defence of themselues, and of the place, vntill that by extream necessity forced thereunto, they yeelded the same by composition.

Basta in the mean time with his forces much diminished lying at Eperia, and in the country thereabout, seeing the general reuolt of the Haiducks, of late the Emperors chief strength in Hungary, and *Botscay* the Rebels strength daily to increase more and more, with no possibilitie for himselfe with so small forces as he then had, to represse the Rebels insolencie, or to remedie these so far spreading euils, but for want of greater strength he must lie stil as it were a man besieged; was therwith exceedingly grieued, and as it were almost ouerwhelmed with C the heauy burthen of so many great miseries at once besetting him. To threaten without power he knew to be but folly; and to speake faire, to be but vaine. Neuertheleſse hauing procured from the Emperour a generall pardon for all such as hauing taken part with the Rebels, were willing to return again to their allegiance: hee to assure all them whom it might concern, of the Emperours gratious fauour, and to put them all out of feare, caused Letters of generall pardon to be published, for all men to take knowledge of: The purport whereof was this:

Basta's proclamation for appeasing the rebellion in Hungary.

D *We* George Basta, *County of Hust and Marmar, Lord of Suli, Knight, Counsellor to his Imperiall Maiesty, Gouernor of the realm of Transylvania, and Lieutenant of the Christian Armies of the Emperour; To all Faithfull, loue and greeting. Whereas in this so troublesome a state of things, some as well of the Nobilitie as others in these vpper parts of Hungary, partly of their owne accord, and partly for feare, haue reuolted from his Imperiall Maiesty, and taken part with the traiterous Haiduckes in their rebellion, to the great preiudice of the Emperor his seruice, and the staining of their faith: We in the name of his Imperiall and royall Maiesty, whom we know to be greatly inclined, and ready to pardon his subiects euen of his owne naturall goodnesse and clemencie, haue by vertue of the full power and authoritie by his said Imperiall Maiesty granted vnto vs, giuen free grace and pardon to all them which haue withdrawn themselues from his obeisance, or forsaken the same, of what order, qualitie, or condition soeuer they bee: whom we will receiue into our protection as void of all crime: and request them, as much as in vs is possible, to make their profit of this grace, and to returne vnto their former duty and obeisance, vnder all assurance of impunitie for their forepassed faults, and without any search or inquiry to be of the same hereafter made, as well for matters of Religion as of State: assuring them of their liues, goods, fortunes, dignities, franchises, priuiledges, and immunities whatsoeuer; as is more at large declared by his Maiesties Letters patents which remain with vs. And if any letted either with their vrgent affairs, or with sicknes, cannot repair vnto vs within the day in the same Letters patents nominated, we will accept of their iust excuses. But if any contrary to our hope, shall vpon any indurat mind, or obstinat contumacie, faile to repent, and to make their appearance before vs within the day limited, we denounce them to be Rebels, subiect vnto the paine of Rebellion, and stained with the note of infamy; pronouncing their liues, their goods and dignities, to be confiscat and devolved vnto the Emperors coffers: for which they shall by vs, the Chieftains and Captaines of his armies, with all rigor and extremitie be prosecuted. Protesting before the Maiestie of God, before the Maiestie of the Emperor, and before all Christendome, vs not to be in any sort culpable of the euills, calamities, and miseries, which shall ensue of the wars and disasters which such their rebellion shall cause; but to be therefrom exempt and acquited, the only authors of these disorders hauing deserued these imprecations and calamities: vpon the heads of whom we iustly from henceforth lay them,*

them, as vpon the miserable authors therof; by their wickednesse hauing refused so great grace from the Emperor and vs; vnto all men made known by these presents. G

This proclamation solemnly by *Basta* published, with the sound of many drums and trumpets, the sixteenth of Ianuary, and ten daies libertie giuen for such as would to come in and again submit themselues; diuers gentlemen of the country neer vnto Eperia, where *Basta* with his army lay, for feare of being spoiled came in, and accepted of the grace offered: other of the Seditious dwelling farther off, little or nothing at all regarding the same. Insomuch that the Rebels in number daily increasing, and the rebellion farther and farther spreading, *Botscay* was was now grown so strong, that he dismissed from him most part of the Turkes, whose seruice he had in all these troubles hitherto vsed, reseruing yet certain Ianizaries, whom he mingled with the garrison of Haiducks which he had put into Cassovia. H

Pallas Lippa beheaded.

Pallas Lippa, before by *Botscay* taken prisoner, and vpon his reuolt from the Emperour, by *Botscay* made his Lieutenant General, and a great man amongst the Rebels (as is before declared) was now of many thought to be a most fortunat and happy man. But in the middest of such his happinesse, and the greatnes of his command, he was by the malice of some, enuying at his estate, accused to *Botscay*, as if he had had a purpose to haue made him away; and deliuering the strong city of Cassovia vnto *Basta*, to haue gon ouer again vnto the Emperour, and to haue followed his Ensignes. Vpon which suspition he was by *Botscay's* commandement beheaded, with fiue other men more of good place, suspected to haue bin partakers in the conspiracie with *Lippa*. In whose treasure, after he was executed, was found an hundred thousand Hungarian ducats, with seuen hundred chains of gold; all which he had scraped together in that short time wherin he had bin *Botscay's* Lieutenant amongst the rebels. With which money *Botscay* in his rebellion confirmed, became more furious and obstinat than before; not admitting any talk with *Basta* concerning peace, but vpon such vnreasonable conditions as best stood with his own good liking. I

Now long and tedious it were to prosecute euery particular exploit, with the diuers woful euents thereof during this so great and dangerous a rebellion in Hungary; which how heauy soeuer they were for the poore Christians there dwelling to endure, as tending all to the ruin and destruction both of themselues and of their countrey (sometime one of the most flourishing kingdomes thorowout all Christendome, but now become as it were a large Theatre for all the World to behold most wofull tragedies and bloudy massacres acted in) yet for all that, vnto some nothing is pleasing, but what is written of the greatest actions; as of great and bloudy battels, of the conquests of whole Kingdomes, and the ruine of most mighty and famous Princes; all other things else beeing vnto them tedious. In some part to ease them of such wearinesse, and to please their appetites, I will briefly passe ouer, and euen lightly touch such things as for the most part of this year passed in this troublesome Countrey; not staying but vpon matters of greatest weight and importance. K

The Haiduckes still proceeding in their rebellion, in the beginning of February besieged the castle of Sacmar, a place very fit for their purpose. Which Castle the souldiers there in garrison doubting to be able to hold against them, being not past threescore sound men left in it, and destitute also of their necessarie prouision, couenanting to haue their liues spared, at length yeelded vnto them. But in going thence, meeting with certaine other companies of Haiducks neer vnto Tokay, they were by them most part of them slaine, some few of them by speedy flight escaping. The same Haiducks which had taken Sacmar, immediatly after attempted to haue surprised the town and castle of Tocay also: but the Gouernor of the place in good time aduertised of their intent and purpose, caused the ice wherewith the Riuer was hard frozen, to be broken forty paces ouer neer vnto the castle, and the same to be lightly couered ouer with straw. Whither the Haiducks comming by night, and finding the ice on the other side the riuer, whereunto they first came, strong enough to beare them; by heapes thrusting one another forward to haue scaled the castle, the ice breaking vnder them, they there together by heapes most miserably perished; many of the rest which escaped that danger, being with shot out of the castle slain also. In this castle was no great store of victuals: wherof *Basta* vnderstanding, with his army marched from Eperia toward Budae, a town holden by the Rebels, L M

Sacmar yeelds to the Haiducks

A Rebels, in hope with the spoile thereof to haue relieued Tokay. But the Rebels hearing of his comming, hauing themselues burnt the town, had got themselues with that they had, into the Castle, and from thence with their great Ordnance so welcomed *Basta* at his comming, that disappointed of his purpose, and hauing lost some of his men, he was glad with all speed (not hauing stayed aboue foure houres) to returne again to Eperia: certain of the nobility of that country, which tooke part with the Rebels, being reported, in his absence to haue made a road towards Eperia, to the endangering of that City. In which his returne towards Eperia, the troops of County *Turon*, and of *Charles Collonitz*, by chance lighting vpon 500 Haiducks in a countrey village, set the same on fire, and therein burnt most of the said Rebels, and slew the rest of them that remained, in seeking by flight to haue saued themselues.

B In the mean time one of the great men among the Turks came to Cassouia, bringing with him a great sum of money, which being diuided amongst the Rebels there, much confirmed them, both in their rebellion, and deuotion toward the Turks; which rebellion they spared not for any cost by all meanes to maintaine, as more preuailing thereby, than by the greatest forces they could vse for the conquering of Hungary.

But *Basta* was no sooner with his army returned againe to Eperia, but that the souldiers generally exclaiming, and calling vpon him for their pay, were about in a mutinie to haue forsaken him; for the appeasing of which tumult, he was glad presently to make what shift he could for money, wherewith hee in some measure gaue them contentment, and so with much ado, agreed with them for six weeks seruice longer, thereby deliuering the citisens of Eperia from C a great feate, wherein they were, for being spoyled by those mutinous souldiers, of whom they stood in no lesse doubt than they did of their enemies. *Basta his souldiers in mutiny*

And now the seditious Haiducks after their wonted manner still roaming vp and down the vpper part of Hungarie, the second day of March, about seuen of the clocke in the morning came to Neusoll, a Faire in that countrey, and there by many reasons persuading the citisens to reuolt, and to take part with them, had parley with them till it was full twelue of the clock; but drawing still neerer and neerer to the town. Insomuch that *Turbelius* gouernor of the place, perceiuing a yeelding inclination in the citisens, and doubting without their help to be able to defend so great a city against the Haiducks, with so weak a garrison as he then had therein, he with his Cossacks, for his more safety retyred himself into the castle. Which don, the Haiducks forthwith breaking into the City with six companies, summoned the castle, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto them. Of whom *Turbelius* slew diuers with shot out of the castle: and the same day in the euening couragiously sallying out of the castle, with certaine companies of Harquebusiers, draue the Haiducks againe out of the city: which he afterward better fortified against their like attempts. And the next day vnderstanding by a countreyman, That certain companies of Haiducks and Turks together, were comming to Turtzo, a town not far off, carrying with them a great number of cattel, women and children, which they had got out of the country villages and towns therabout: he presently sent forth his lieutenant against them, with his Cossacks (a desperat kind of horsmen) who meeting with these Haiducks and Turks, slew of them about 150, and recouered from them all the captiues, the cattell, with 200 horses, and a mule loaded with 4000 Hungarian duckats. D E

Now had Filek (a most beautiful castle, and as it were the key of that part of the vpper Hungary, which the Christian Emperor yet held against the Turks) for certain months bin hardly besieged by the Haiducks: which although it was so well stored with victuals, and other necessary prouision, as that it might haue holden out three months longer siege, yet the soldiers there in garrison for want of water were enforced now at length to yeeld the same. For the keeping of which castle *Redeius Ferentsius*, captain of the Haiducks which had won it, placed therein a garrison, part Haiducks, part Turks: as not daring to trust either of them alone; the Haiducks for feare of their trecherie; nor the Turks, for that he knew them to be desirous of the place, for the commodious scituation thereof, as giuing them a way to enter farther into F the territories of the Christians: which *Redeius*, though a Rebell, would not yet in any sort grant them. *Filek yeelded to the Haiducks*

This Castle of Filek so (as is beforesaid) besieged, the valiant *Collonitz* had oftentimes in

vain sought to haue relieued, all the waies being so beset and as it were fortified with infinite numbers of the Turks, Tartars, and Rebels; so that there was no comming vnto it, and most of his own soldiers being Haiducks also, to whom he durst not well trust, for feare of being betrayed by them. Concerning which matters he shortly after writing to a certaine nobleman, after he had shewed vnto him, That he desired nothing more of the Emperor than to be discharged of his seruice, he thus breaketh forth:

A letter of Collonitz touching the troubles in Hungary.

I cannot (saith he) performe any more faithfull seruice vnto the Emperor: for being attended vpon by very traitors, I am inforced to hazard euen myne honest reputation. I would willingly serue with German horsmen, and I could also wish three thousand Cossacks, and two thousand Palonian Hussars to bee again raised, who would do notable seruice in pursuing the enemy: but euery moneth they must needs haue their wages payd them. The number of the enemy increaseth daily, and their strength still more and more, so that things cannot be in worse state than now they are. All deuices are directed to the hurt of the Emperor, neither is there any place quiet. What courage I am of, which haue lost all my wealth and substance, is easie for any man to iudge: all which for all that, I could conceal and dissemble, so that I might faithfully and according to my desire serue the Emperor; which for all that is not possible for me to do, without a sufficient strength of German soldiers. But this of all doth most comfort me, that I know I haue done my duty, for otherwise this mischiefe had spred farther. Many were in hope I would rather haue reuolted from the Emperor, than haue lost my goods: and some there were which doubted not to say so of me. The enemies are now in my dukedom of Cleve, and there make spoil of all. Setchin, Iarmeta, Tregla, Palanka, Samoschin, Blauenstein, Rauenstein, Vacia, Regiomont, Dissena, Pugantsa, Tabra, Libetna, Sitna, Dibina, Sacmaria, Sendra, Onoth, Disgiora, Zatnar, Calo, Scharospotac, Budnoc, Nagibana, Filek, and almost all Transiluania are now subiect to the rebels. So that what will ensue therof, except they speedily be confronted, euery man may right easily iudge.

Now if *Collonitz*, one of the greatest and best commanders of the Emperors forces against the Turks in Hungary, was thus beset and spoiled of his substance by the rebels, as he in these his letters complaineth, and as indeed he was, hauing at one time receiued so great harm from them as was valued to an hundred thousand ducats; and not daring to trust his owne Hungarian soldiers, whose hearts he knew to be with the rebels: In what state may the rest of the people of that distressed prouince be thought to haue bin, being at the same time exposed to the same rebels as a prey and spoil, and their country laid open for the Turkes and Tartars to forrage at their pleasure.

But in briefe to run along with the Haiducks: four thousand of them attempting to haue surprised Wiglase, were so from thence repulsed, as that many of them being there slain, thirtie fiue wagons were scarse sufficient to carry the rest of the wounded ouer the mountaines, of whom an hundred died by the way. But going from thence they brake into *Tursins* country, where hauing rifled all the towns and villages, they commanded all the States of the country, within three daies after to submit themselues to *Botscay*, & to swear vnto him fealty; or otherwise to expect all extremities: who with feare dismaied, promised to submit themselues vnto *Redeius*, *Botscay's* Lieutenant.

Embassadours sent to Botscay

Now for remedie of these euils, *Nagragius* and *Forgatius*, two graue Counsellors, were dispatched in the Emperours name to entreat of peace with *Botscay*. Who the seuen and twentieth day of March departing from Eperia, with fourscore harquebusiers towards Cassouia; before they came thither sent before them an herauld to aduertise *Botscay* of their comming. Which messenger so soon as he was come into Cassouia, the Turks so streightly kept, as that no man might speake with him but *Botscay* himselfe, and not he also, but in open place, and that in the hearing of the Turkes. Who at his first meeting with him told him, That if the Embassadors from whom he came were sent from the Nobilitie and States of Hungarie, they should be right welcome vnto him, and haue audience: but if they came from the Emperour, as had *Rogatius* and *Ciaccius* before them, sent from *Botscay*, they should then spare their labours and come no farther, for that all matters had with him beene often enough talked vpon: it being now more than time, that things so often consulted vpon, should bee no more talked

talked of, but indeed performed. Which messenger returning vnto the Embassadours, told them what *Botscay* had said, and that the Haiducks had in Cassouia built a bulwark of a wonderfull height, beset the gates with strong gards, and so filled the trenches with souldiers, that a man could hardly enter into the City; howbeit that euery man might safely come and goe thither about his trade and busines. He told them also, That *Botscay's* lieutenant had called together all the gouernors of the places therabouts, and aduised them for the space of fourteen daies to beware of the excursions of the Haiducks; and in the mean time for their more safetie, to bring their wiues and children, with such other things as they made most reckoning of, into the city; for that he could not as yet (as he said) represse the vnruly and headstrong Haiducks, being yet in their rage and fury, as the maner of the discontented multitude is. Of the which Haiducks, some going forth toward Neuhuse, and bringing home a great booty of cattel, were by *Collonitz* and *Trautmansdorf*, pursuing them with their horsmen, ouerthrowne, and all the booty again recouered.

Botscay about this time, *viz.* the 29 of March, summoned all the Nobilitie and States of Hungary, vnto an assembly to be holden at Serentium the 17 day of Aprill: writing to them to this effect:

Botsca's letters to the States of Hungary.

You know (said hee) right worthy and valiant men, into what extreame miseries our poore afflicted Country (all the antient priuiledges and immunities therof being conterned and trodden vnder foot) is by this comming in of strangers brought: whose insolencie is grown so far, that we cannot only not quietly possesse our own goods, but so much as enioy the liberty of our own consciences. For which cause the Nobilitie of the whole kingdome being the last year sent in embassy, and as it were foreseeing what was to come; the assembly of the Empire being ended, openly protested before the whole Imperial Diet, and by their letters oftentimes declared, That they should at length be of necessitie inforced to take vpon themselues the defence of their priuiledges and of their religion. By which their protestation for all that, they so little preuailed, that forthwith after, such an intollerable Edict was by the Emperours owne commandement published, as had exposed vs all and euery one of vs vnto most certain death, had we not prouided for ourselues betime. All which things are vnto you all most certainly known, both by the vnlawfull acts thereat Galest, and from thence again openly signified vnto the aforesaid Prouost General (vnto whom his Imperiall Maiestie had committed the shedding of our bloud, the abolishing of our priuiledges and religion, viz. the execution of this cruell Edict) that if he proceeded to go forward in that business, you would put in execution what you had before openly protested in the generall Assembly of the whole Empire at Presburg. But what answer you receiued from him, for asmuch as it is not vnto any of you vnknowne, it is not needfull here to rehearse. Wherfore when as he going about the execution of the aforesaid Edict, did in forcible maner with certain pieces of great ordnance impugn the army of his Imperiall Maiesty, both his and our dread Lord and Soueraign, and by force took from vs some of our castles, and besieged some other; we found no other remedie against these so great euills, but that which God himselfe euen then shewed to vs, which was, by force of arms to defend our selues so far as we might. In which our purpose, seeing the grace of God, and the good successe which we haue hitherto had, will vs to continue, although we haue suffered no little harm from the Germans and Haiducks (which for all that, is for the recouery of the libertie of our countrey patiently to be born) to the intent that we vnited with other our brethren thorow Hungarie, may the better withstand our enemies, and fight against them, it is most necessarie we should meet together, and all matters set apart, enter into consultation how herafter to resist our enemies, and set our Countrey in peace and quietnesse. Wherfore seeing that we haue determined to hold an assembly at Serents, the seuenteenth day of Aprill, wee by these Presents doe warne and charge you all, there at the aforesayd 17 day of Aprill to make your personall appearance, to ioyn in amitie with vs, and after Gods name called vpon, to consult and conclude vpon such things as may be both acceptable and pleasing vnto God, and most profitable and necessarie for the good of our afflicted country in generall. But if there shall be any which vpon a presumptuous and carelesse contempt, shall not at the time appointed come, nor seem to regard such things as so much concern the Common good and welfare of their native Country; let them assuredly know, both themselues to be therfore to be accounted for enemies vnto their country, and their goods also so to be disposed of, as shall vnto the Nobilitie and States then and there assembled, be thought meet and conuenient.

Much

A great tumult and fire in Constantinople.

Much about this time a great tumult was raised amongst the Ianizaries and other soldiers of the court at Constantinople, at which time a great fire arose also in the city (as oft times the like hath before done through the Ianizaries insolencie, who in such confusion of mens minds vse to make their own gaines) wherin there both men and women perished, with aboue fiue hundred shops and ware-houses full of rich merchandise, most part wherof belonged to the Iews, of whom almost two hundred are said to be there burnt. The deformitie and spoile made by which fire in the city remaining long after to be seen. These troubles much feared the yong Sultan, who first therewith halfe dismaied, and seeing the like to arise in Pera also on the other side of the hauen, about a mile from the Seraglio, could not but thinke that the soldiers were about some dangerous treason. Which suspition two messengers newly come from *Cicala Bassa* encreased; who earnestly by them desired new supplies to be forthwith sent vnto him: protesting, That forasmuch as he had not long before in a great battel lost a number of his men, if he were not with new supplies speedily relieued, he must of force retyre, and leaue all to the Persian. Howbeit, the fire quenched, and the Ianizaries and other souldiers with the spoil they had gotten by others losses satisfied, the tumult was without much adoe again quieted.

The Emperours soldiers in mutinie.

Now besides the aforesaid troubles from the rebels in Transylvania and the vpper Hungary, that nothing might be wanting vnto the miseries of those so miserable countries, the Emperours souldiers which serued vnder *Basta*, hauing of long from day to day in vain expected their pay, and seeing neither their pay nor other reliefe to come vnto them, rose vp in mutiny, and so in great rage brake into *Basta* the Generals lodging, where hauing heaped vpon him many vnworthy and despightfull reproches, with their pieces bent against him, and taking the spoil of many cariages loden with very rich commodities, they departed from him, and so marching thorow the country toward Presburg, by the way vsed such insolencie and cruelty, by rifling and spoiling whatsoeuer came to hand, as that they seemed vnto the people as they went, worse and more inhumane than the very Turks and Tartars themselues: where amongst other prey by them taken, which was very great, they carried away with them toward Presburg aboue ten thousand oxen and two thousand horses; threatning as they went, to burn the suburbs of the city so soone as they came thither, if they were not forthwith paid their pay. Whereupon many of the Citizens for feare forsooke their dwellings and remooued vnto Vienna.

Newsoll taken by the Haiduks.

But the rebels on the other side (as is before declared) hauing in vaine attempted Newsol, being forthwith driuen out of it again; assembling themselues in great number came now again and besieged it, and the 16 of April took it, to the great and incomparable losse of the citizens. Other of their fellowes in other places hauing but the day before taken Cibinium, Portfeld, Schemnitse, with some other places also.

Thus while the Haiducks at their pleasure on the one side spoil the vpper part of Hungary, and the Emperors soldiers on the other side for want of pay doe therein no lesse harme than they, as enemies rifling and ransacking euery corner of the Countrey as they went; the poore husbandmen dwelling here and there, dispersed abroad in the country, for feare leauing their homely dwellings with such things as they had, fled some of them into Polonia, other some into the mountains, where many of them perished with hunger: the poor husbandman not daring now to go forth to till his land, neither the shepheard to feed his flock, all places beeing filled with miserie, mourning, and heauinesse; the Turkes and Tartars, the common enemies of the Christians, beeing not the causers thereof, but euen the Christians themselues, one of them euen with greedinesse seeking the ruine and destruction of another: as it commonly happens in kingdoms and states diuided.

Neither did these so great troubles, the ground of so many miseries, containe themselues within the bounds of Hungary only, but brake out into other countries and prouinces thereunto adjoining also; but especially into Moravia, into which Countrey the Haiduckes breaking, miserably spoyled the same, by force took certaine townes, which they robbed and rifled, carrying away with them euen the very little children, taken from their heauy parents, to be sold afterwards vnto the Turks: a miserable kinde of merchandise, and of all Christians to be

he detested. For remedy of which mischiefs, by sufferance stil more and more increasing, *Lichtenstein* gouernor of the country hauing raised all the power he was able to make, went against them, and with much ado draue them out of the Countrey, with fire and sword now by them most grieuously spoyled. They for all that carrying away with them a great part of the wealth of that Country, with foure thousand captiues, all by them appointed vnto the Turks slauery.

About this time also *Basta* lying at Presbourg, and vnderstanding that fourteen thousand Turks and Tartars being come to S. *Georges*, six thousand of them were gone ouer the Danubius, about a mile beneath Presburg, to the end that whilst they were making a rode into Austria, the rest in the mean time might proue their forces vpon Presburg; with his horsemen followed after them himself, to cut off such stragling companies of them as otherwise might haue don great harm abroad in the country: leauing behind him in Presburg but three hundred Wallon horsmen, with certain companies of footmen for the keeping of the city: which three hundred horsmen beiug very good and expert soldiers, and desirous to be doing something, by night made a road out of the city toward S. *Georges*, where the rest of the Haiducks and Turkes in great securitie lay: vpon whom these resolute men vpon the sudden falling, brought a great fear vpon the whole camp; and hauing slain of them aboue fiue hundred before the rest could arm themselues, returned with a great victory, though but with smal prey; carrying with them some few horses of seruice to Presburg: where by that they had done, it was reasonably thought, that had they bin but a thousand strong, they had discomfited the enemies whole camp.

In the mean time they of the garison of Comora vnderstanding that *Begedes Bassa* was determined with a notable conuoy to go from Buda with seuenteen wagons loded with money and other things of great value, to *Botscay* the Rebel, and the Tartar Cham his son, who with certain thousands of Tartars was come to Solnoc, to the aid of *Botscay* and the rebels: they in hope of so great a booty lay in wait for him vpon the way whereby he must needs passe, and at his comming set vpon him and slew a number of his men; amongst whom it fortuned the Bassa himself to be slain, shot in the brest with a smal shot whilest hee was mounting vp his horse: whose dead body the Turkes about him hauing taken vp, and therewith about to flie, were there some of them slaine, and some of them taken prisoners, the rest by speedy flight escaping. Here were also all the aforesaid wagons taken, with an exceeding rich bootie. All which the garrison soldiers, well worthy therof, carried away with them to Comora, together with the Bassa's head, struck from his body with his own scimiter: which scimiter, with the Bassa's rich coat, *Pogranum* Gouernor of Comora afterward sent as a present to the Emperour at Prague. This Bassa whilst he liued was a most crafty and subtil man, the chiefe plotter and author of all the late troubles in Hungary; hauing before put all Transylvania into most dangerous stirs and tumults, and greatly confirmed *Botscay* in his rebellion. He spake the Hungarian language naturally, and was therin very eloquent, which serued him to great purpose both for the raising and maintaining of the rebellion both in Transilvania and in Hungary. Which so dangerous a man taken out of the way, many were in good hope of some good end to bee made of these ciuil wars, more dangerous vnto the state of both these afflicted countries, than were the great and puissant armies of the Turks; which were almost euery year in the heart of one or other of them to be seen.

Begedes Bassa slain.

Now was the rebellion grown so great in Hungary, and the rebels so strong, that euen the very name of the Germans was become vnto the Hungarians both odious and contemptible: insomuch that *Basta* offering to haue put new supplies of German souldiers into the City of Tyrna, then in danger of the Haiducks; the Gouernours of the place not onely refused to receiue them, but also to let them haue any thing of them for their ready money; saying, That they had citizens ynow in the city to defend the same against their enemies; and that therfore as they needed not the helpe of the Germanes, so they would haue nothing to do with them. And yet as soon as *Redeiu*, *Botscay* his lieutenant, was with his army come thither, they without more ado opened vnto him the gates of the city, and receiuing him in, were about to haue slain all the Germans there dwelling amongst them, being wel neere a third part of the inhabitants; & had so done, but that some wiser than the rest, considering that the Germans hauing there

there long dwelt, were by often mariages joined in affinitie with the Hungarians; and the G
Hungarians with them, otherwise persuaded them, lest in so doing they might seeme to bee
cruell against their owne bloud. And so the matter being referred to *Redeius* himselfe, it was
by him (by the counsel of one of the greatest men of the Turks) ordered, That the Germans
should be spared their liues; so that from thenceforth they should no more vse the Germans
but the Hungarian apparel and attyre; only the German attyre being taken away for the Germans themselues.

The Rebels proceedings in Hungary.

But to proceed with these troubles according to the course of the time and of the yeare, about the foure and twentieth day of May, the Turks and Tartars joyning their forces with the Rebels, burnt fourteen countrey Villages about the lake of Neuisdier, and as many more in other places also towards Newstat; leauing behinde them most lamentable remembrances H
and testimonies of their barbarous and inhumane crueltie, hauing put most of the women and children to the sword, and impaled diuers vpon stakes, carrying the men away with them as Captiues, and the beasts and cattell as a prey; and so leauing the country as they went almost desolate, scarse any being therein left to bewail the miseries thereof. And about the end of this same moneth the Rebels surprised Simega, Grotta, and Coppernacum, and a little while after Gintium: all which places they rifled and spoiled, as they did also Hogengoa, a great towne of the Lord *Lichtensteins*; and Nidersprunga a towne of *Collonitzes*, which they first rifled, and afterwards burnt: and with the terrour of this their dealing enforced all the Countrey thereabout both farre and neere to yeeld vnto them: onely Altsoll and Cremnicz, who continued in their loyaltie, and standing fast for the Emperour, did the Rebels very much I
harme.

About the beginning of Iune, certaine companies of Turks and Haiducks mingled together, came againe as they had before done, to Presburg. Of whose comming the Gouernour of the City hauing aduertisement, with three troupes of Wallon horsemen, and certain companies of harquebusiers, breaking out of the city, caused them forthwith to retyre. Which the Wallon horsemen seeing, to preuent them in their retreit, fetching a compasse about, met with them when they thought themselues past al danger, and falling vpon them, slew of them fiue hundred, and draue the rest into Danubius: so that of all those Turks and Haiducks none escaped but only fourteen, amongst whom three Turks and one fugitiue Citisen of Presburg were found, whom together with a great spoil the garrison soldiers carried backe with them K
into the city.

At the selfe same time the Citisens of Vesprinium fauouring the proceedings of the Haiducks, rose themselues in rebellion also, and taking the Captaine of the Castle, together with his Lieutenant and the keyes of the Castle, caused them to be carried to *Redeius*, *Botscay* his Lieutenant; yeelding themselues into his protection. Of which reuolt of the city the Turks tooke exceeding pleasure, and forthwith sent newes thereof vnto the Sultan, wishing him to hast the comming of his Army; for that the passages were now layd open vnto his further conquests. And further aduising him, still more and more to encourage *Botscay* in his rebellion.

And now was Hungary too little, or else too bare, to contain and satisfie the stil increasing L
Rebels; who in great number breaking into Stiria (as they had before done on the other side of Hungary into Moravia) did therin great harm, wasting and spoiling al before them as they went: insomuch that County *Serin*, the lord *Nadasti*, and *Budian*, all right worthy men, & such as hertofore had don great things against the Turks, for the Christian commonweale, seeing themselues and all that they had in danger to be spoiled, being not able to withstand the Rebels, nor hauing any other stay whereon to rest, submitted themselues vnto *Botscay*, as did many other noblemen of that country also. Out of Stiria the rebels made head into Austria, and there roming vp and down the country, did like harm.

Thus was the state of Austria and Hungary at this time most miserable: which for that it is so wel set down in certain letters by a graue and vnderstanding citisen of Vienna, who was M
himselfe an eye witnesse of most part therof, as that it cannot well be better expressed, I haue thought it good to refer the report therof vnto the letters themselues.

A

All Austria (saith he) *is full of misery and calamitie. From out of the Castle and Bulwarks here at Vienna, a man may sometimes at once behold fifteene Townes and villages all on fire in the Countrey hereabout, kindled partly by the Rebels and Turkes, and partly by our owne mutinous souldiers. Odenburg is yet besieged, and the Haiduckes haue forraged the Countrey as farre as Hinberg: whom had not the Regiment of* Collonitz *repressed, these our suburbs of Vienna had now beene taken, ransacked, and burnt. Newstat is on euery side besieged by the Enemy: all the Villages about Vienna, as far as Dressirc are with fire destroyed. They of Newstat went about to haue cut off some part of the Enemies Forces, but with euill successe, hauing lost aboue fifty of their owne men. Brunna and Entzendorfe are also with fire consumed. The Wallons lie incamped at Miedling, most miserably spoiling the Countrey people of all that they had. The Haiduckes hauing by night surprised the great towne of Altenbourg, and from thence carrying a great prey, haue burnt it. The Castle had endured the like fortune, had not an hundred Harquebusiers that were by chance come thither, holpen to defend it. Six thousand of the Enemies lie about Wisselbourg, but whether the Wallons will attempt any thing against them or no, is greatly doubted. Presbourg is also in great danger; for the Garrison souldiers there doe threaten the cruell spoyle of the Citisens, with all extremities, if by a certaine day they receiue not their pay. Who if they shall depart thence, there is no doubt but that the Haiduckes will forthwith succeed them in their places. These men indeed doe pretend Religion; but what louers they be thereof, the late example of a Minister by them most cruelly tormented, not farre from Cobbelsdorffe, doth manifestly shew. The report is, That the Vayuod of Valachia doth fauor neither part: into which prouince a great number of Tartars are*

A letter shewing the miserable troubles of Hungarie and Austria.

B

C *come in the aid of* Botscay. *All the Market places and streets here in this City, lie full of poore fugitiue creatures of all sexes and ages, a most miserable sight to behold. Our owne mutinous souldiers beset all the wayes to the City, and exclude vs from all manner of victuall; and not to vse many words, in cruelty and hostilitie almost exceed the very enemies. The Hungarian Rebels, who of late forraged Austria, haue carried away with them aboue eight thousand head of Cattell, which together with the prisoners by them taken, they haue sent into Turkey. The little boyes and children, which cannot by reason of their tender years go, they carry along with them vpon horses; whose pittiful mourning and lamentation might moue euen the very stones; and yet are they (inhumane men) no whit moued. Yea many of these poore soules are here and there by the way found dashed against the ground with their braines beaten out. And these Rebels in their behauiour shew such cruelty, as whereat the very Turkes themselues were a-*

D *mased. All things about Isenstad are by the Enemies taken and carried away. They of Newhuse, besieged by thirtie thousand of their Enemies, haue hitherto played the men, and of late repulsed the second assault, with much slaughter of their enemies. They say, That two thousand Tartars, as many Rebels, and thirteen thousand Turkes, are to be yet expected to come vnto the camp at Newhuse. who if they shall chance to come, it can scarce be that they of Newhuse can long well hold out against them; especially being not well appointed of necessarie prouision. The report is, That hauing taken Newhuse, they will remoue to Strigonium. It is also said, twelue thousand Turkes to haue now passed ouer the bridge at Essec; and great supplies both of men and money to come to* Botscay, *who lieth incamped about Eperia, and is said to haue made a couenant with the great Sultan, That what place soeuer either of them should first take, he should hold the same wholly vnto himselfe.* Tanhuser, *who of late was Gouernor of Fileck, is*

E *now (as the common report goeth) of counsell with* Botscay. Germenchius *hath put in three moneths victuall into Hust in Transylvania. God in his mercy behold our poore afflicted and distressed Countrey.*

Thus far he. Whereby the Reader (as I suppose) may easily gather the miserable estate of both the countries of Hungary and Austria; the Christians themselues being the chief authors therof.

The rebellious Haiduckes had hitherto most streightly besieged the city of Odenbourg, hauing assaulted it in fiue sundry places at once. Vpon whom *Trautmansdorffe*, who was Ge-
F neral of the garrison there, causing part of his horsemen to sally forth, skirmished with them from eleuen of the clocke in the forenoon, vntill two of the clocke in the afternoon, at which time the Haiducks beginning to preuaile, the Gouernor with the rest of his horsmen, certain

Ensignes

enſignes of footmen, with ſome of the citiſens, with three field peeces vpon the ſudden brea- G
king out of the gate, diſcomfited the Haiduckes, put them to flight, and ſlew many of them,
hauing taken from them twelue enſignes, with many priſoners, whom he carried with him in-
to the city. Of which ouerthrow the Haiduckes deſirous to be reuenged, with their renewed
forces ſhortly after returned againe vnto the city, burnt the ſuburbs of the ſame, and ſpoyled
the villages thereabout. But whileſt they thus lay about Odenburg, *Baſta* but with a ſmall
power drawing neere vnto them, they preſently roſe, and paſſing ouer the riuer Dranus car-
ried away with them two thouſand heads of Cattell, with a great number of Chriſtian
captiues.

The Turks being not to learne to make vſe of the diſcord of the Chriſtians among them-
ſelues, had oftentimes been in hand with *Botſcay*, to deliuer Caſſouia wholly into their hands. H
Of which ſtrong city, being the beſt that the Chriſtians now held in the vpper Hungary, the
Turkes were moſt deſirous, both for the commodious ſcituation thereof, and alſo for that
they deemed themſelues partly thereof already poſſeſſed, ſome good part of the garriſon
therein being Turkes, as well Ianizaries as others. The full poſſeſſion of which ſtrong City
the better to obtaine from *Botſcay*, and to get it into their owne hands, they ſent vnto him
three waggons loaded with mony and other rich commodities for a Preſent, and to ſupply
his wants, by a good conuoy of foure hundred Haiducks and ſome Turks joyned vnto them.
Which Haiducks as they were by the way to Caſſovia, to paſſe by Tocay a ſtrong town hol-
den by the Chriſtians, gaue ſecret knowledge vnto the Gouernour of the place, of their com-
ming that way; and that if he would receiue them into the towne, and ſo into his protection, I
they would with ſome ſmall helpe from him, deliuer into his hands that ſo rich a booty, and
ſo continue with him as his faithfull and truſty ſouldiers. Of whoſe offer the Gouernor well
assured, forthwith ſent out foure hundred of the ſouldiers of his garriſon to meet them; who
joyning with the aforeſaid Haiduckes which came with the Conuoy, ſet vpon the Turkes
which came with them, and ſlew them euery mothers ſonne, and ſo with the rich booty were
by the Gouernour receiued into the Towne, and by him courteouſly welcommed and enter-
tained. Where they had not long lien, but that after their woonted manner looking abroad
into the Countrey, they chanced to meet with certain Companies of *Botſcay* his men; with
whom they encountering, and hauing ſlaine of them neere about fiue hundred, tooke from
them ſeuen Waggons loded with good prouiſion, and thirty horſes, beſides much other rich K
ſpoile.

A great booty taken by the Chriſtians.

But the Rebels, notwithſtanding theſe and other ſuch like loſſes, increaſing both in num-
ber and ſtrength, ſtill more and more in all places preuailed, but eſpecially in the vpper part
of Hungary, the townes there one after another daily reuolting vnto them; as amongſt the
rest the ſtrong towne of Totiſa did; whereinto the Rebels entering, ſent from thence part of
the great Ordnance, together with *Relinger* a Germane Captaine Gouernour of the Towne,
and certaine other Germane ſouldiers there taken, vnto *Redeius*, *Botſcay* his Lieutenant, then
lying with a great army of thirty thouſand Hungarian Rebels and Turkes, at the ſiege of the
ſtrong towne and Caſtle of Newhuſe. Which as it had oftentimes by him been fiercely aſ-
faulted, ſo was it by the ſouldiers therein moſt notably defended; proteſting neuer to yeeld L
the ſame, but to hold it out euen to the laſt man therein to bee left aliue. Which cauſed *Re-
deius* for the encouraging of his ſouldiers (who had now lien there certaine moneths at the
ſiege thereof) to promiſe vnto them the whole ſpoile of the towne, and of all that therinwas.
And yet for all that, oftentimes kept backe the Turkes from aſſaulting the ſame, for feare leſt
if they ſhould by force haue taken it, they would by force alſo haue holden it vnto themſelues,
as a place for them moſt commodious for the conquering of that which remained of the vp-
per part of Hungary. Which hee, although one of the greateſt Rebels, was yet loth to haue
it fall into their hands; and yet himſelf, with the Haiducks the Hungarian Rebels, afterward,
viz. the 25 of Iuly, gaue thereunto a moſt furious aſſault; inſomuch that hauing aduanced
ten of their Enſignes to the top of the Rampiers, they were in great hope euen preſently to M
haue taken it, but yet were by the reſolute valour of the defendants notably repulſed, and in-
forced againe to retyre, leauing behind them aboue ſeuen hundred of their moſt forward men
dead

Totiſa yeelded to the Turks.

A dead in the trenches. Vnto which ſiege the Baſſa of Agria came alſo afterward with three
thouſand horſemen and a number of Ianizaries; ſo that the beſieged, partly with mines, part-
ly with ſhot and often aſſaults diſtreſſed, were ſo waſted and wounded, that there were ſcarcely
two hundred whole and ſound men left in the whole garriſon: beſide that, both victuals and
pouder begun now to grow ſcarce alſo, ſo that they were brought vnto ſuch extremity, as that
well they could not be in worſe caſe: and yet armed with a conſtant reſolution, they ſeemed
not to be any thing therewith danted or diſcouraged, but ſtill valiantly held it out.

The Hungarians dwelling in the Iſle of Shut in the riuer of Danubium, hauing before ſub-
mitted themſelues vnto the Rebels, did with their helpe much trouble the paſſages vnto the
towne of Rab and Comara, and the City of Strigonium; vnto whom certaine meſſengers
B were ſent on the Emperours behalfe to perſuade with them to forſake the Rebels and to re-
turne againe vnto their antient obedience. Who ſo well vſed the matter with them, that ta-
king a truce for eight daies, they in the meane time ſent fiue of the chiefe men amongſt them
by ſhip to Presburg, offering vnto the Gouernour there, That if they might be ſecured of their
goods and ſafety, and that the Haiduckes that were with them might be entertained in pay,
they would be ready againe to take the oath of allegiance and faithfulneſſe to ſerue him as
became his loyall ſubjects and valiant ſouldiers: and for the aſſurance thereof, to leaue their
wiues and children as pledges at Presburg. Which their offer was vnto the Gouernour very
acceptable and welcome, who yeelding vnto their requeſt, in friendly ſort diſmiſſed them.
But they being returned home, and hauing declared vnto the reſt of their fellowes what they
C had done; it was by generall conſent agreed, that foure thouſand of them ſhould joyne them-
ſelues vnto the Emperours power vnder the Regiment of *Collonitz*, who to be knowne from
others, wore in their creſts certaine ſpeciall feathers; their wiues and children being carried
to Presburg as pledges of their faith: but this agreement by them made with the Gouernour
of Presburg being once knowne, the reſt of the Rebels in the Countrey thereabout together
aſſembled with the Turks, inuaded the Iſle, in hope vpon the ſudden to haue ſurpriſed them:
but deceiued of their expectation, were by the inhabitants of the Iſle, and by the helpe of
certaine Germane troupes ouerthrowne and put to flight, and three thouſand of them there
ſlaine.

The Rebels in the Iſle of Shut ſubmit themſelues againe vnto the Emperour.

About the beginning of Iuly certaine Commiſſioners were ſent on the Emperours behalfe
D to Coſſouia, to intreat with *Botſcay* concerning a pacification to be made, who being by him
there honourably entertained, and hauing with him ſtaied almoſt a whole moneth, were at
length the nine and twentieth of the ſame moneth againe diſmiſſed. Now the articles which
Botſcay propounded vnto theſe Commiſſinners to be conſidered of for the making of a peace,
and which for the moſt part were agreed vpon in the peace afterward concluded betwixt the
great Sultan and the Emperour, were theſe.

First, That it ſhould be lawfull for all ſuch as would, to haue the free exercise of the refor-
med religion. For although (as he ſaid) he was not ignorant that there was an antient decree
amongſt the Hungarians, whereby all that profeſſed not the Catholicke Religion, or that re-
uolted from the ſame were to be burnt, and that he deſired not to haue that article repealed;
E yet that his requeſt was, That the Emperour hauing regard vnto the troubles of the preſent
time, would promiſe and aſſure, That from thenceforth no man ſhould be troubled for his Re-
ligion, or called in queſtion for his conſcience and Beliefe. Beſides that, he requeſted to haue
the Principality of Tranſyluania during his life; yet with this condition, That after his death
it ſhould againe returne vnto the Emperour, ſo that the Emperour in his abſence ſhould ap-
point a naturall Hungarian to gouerne the ſame, as alſo to haue the chiefe gouernment in
Hungary. That there ſhould no more Biſhops ſit in counſell but one, and that he, if it ſhould
be ſo thought meet, ſhould beare the office of the Chancelour. That the liberty and priue-
ledges of that Kingdome ſhould be kept whole and inuiolate. That it ſhould be lawfull for
him only to make choice of the chiefe Palatine of the Kingdome. That goods confiſcated
F for any offence committed, ſhould not be diſperſed or ſold, but giuen to men of diſert. That
all offenders againſt the State from thenceforth ſhould be judged by the Counſell of Hun-
gary. That none ſhould be preferred to Biſhoprickes in Hungary, but ſuch as were of the no-
ble Hungarian bloud. That all injuries heretofore don ſhould be abſoltely pardoned, forgiuen

Articles by Botſcay propounded vnto the Emperours commiſſioners for the appeaſing of the tumults in the vpper Hungary.

and forgotten. All which things if they might be granted, he promised to labor to the vtter- G
most of his power, vpon the best conditions he might to procure a peace betwixt the Great
Sultan and the Emperor. Last of all he requested, That the charters of peace containing these
articles thus agreed vpon, might be subscribed and confirmed by the Bishop of Rome, the
Emperor, the King of Polonia, and all the Imperiall Kingdomes and Prouinces.

The great Sultan doth that Botscay should come to a peace with the Emperour.

The Turkish Sultan vnderstanding of this treaty of peace betwixt the Emperour and *Bots-*
cay by a messenger sent in haste to *Botscay*, sought by great offers and promises to hinder the
same: putting him withall in remembrance, that a little before this treaty made, he had not
onely by words but by letters also subscribed with his owne hand, promised vnto *Botscay* his
Embassadors sent to Constantinople, That hee would bring to passe, that *Botscay* rewarded
with such priuiledges as King *Iohn* in former time enjoyed, should in short time be proclai- H
med and crowned King of Hungary, and that to that purpose he was euen now ready to send
a sceptre and a crowne, the ornaments of a King, to Alba Regalis. But for the present, he by
these messengers sent vnto *Botscay* two goodly horses, with furniture of gold, glistering with
pretious stones. He sent him also a rich scimiter, a paire of golden spurs, and a long horsmans
coat garnished with gold and pretious stones of great price; persuading him valiantly to per-
sist in his former course and purpose. Which he failed not to doe: for immediatly after, he
with a gallant traine went from Cassouia into Transyluania, there to take of the Nobility of
that Prouince the oath of their fidelity vnto him; accounting no paines or labor great, which
he tooke to turne the people from their obedience vnto the Emperor, and to strengthen him-
selfe. At which time he also sent *Redeius* his Chancellor, with some others into Polonia, to I
renew the confederation which was sometime betwixt the Polonians and the Hungarians:
who being admitted vnto the Kings presence, and audience giuen him, first declared the cau-
ses of the discord and ciuill war that then was in Hungary, which he imputed chiefly vnto the
oppression of Religion, the free exercise thereof being forbidden them; and to the insolency
of the Germans, who there at their pleasure commanded ouer them. Vpon which two points
he stood much, labouring with many words to persuade the King thereof: and afterwards re-
questing him of his gratious goodnesse, and of the care which he, together with other Christi-
an Princes, had for the common quiet of the Christian common-weale in generall, and especi-
ally of those two distressed countries, lying as it were euen in the enemies mouth, to enter into
consultation how the same euils might be remedied, and those so great troubles again appea- K
sed, and to the effecting of so good a worke to put to his helping hand. Whereunto the King
answered, That the friendship wherein *Botscay* offered to joine with him being but the renuing
of the antient amity betwixt the countries of Polonia and Hungary, to be vnto him pleasing;
howbeit, he could not for all that (as he said) well like of *Botscay* his reuolt from that house and
family, whereunto he was himselfe so neere joyned in affinity; promising yet neuertheless,
That he would propound the matter vnto his Nobility, to be further considered of: which
when he had indeed done, it was by common consent agreed, That no aid should be giuen out
of Polonia vnto *Botscay* or the Rebels; and that whosoeuer should from thence affoord him any
aid, should therefore lose his head. With which answer the Embassadours returned to *Bots-*
cay much discontented, being now with a great power againe returned out of Transyluania to L
Cassouia.

The Lord Russworme beheaded.

About this time the Lord *Russworm* (sometimes Generall of the Emperours army against
the Turks in Hungary, a man of great note and valor, and of whom we haue before much spo-
ken) at Prague falling into words, and from words to blowes, with *Francis* Count *Beliojosa* his
brother, and their men taking their parts on both sides, it fortuned the said *Francis*, the Earles
brother, being grieuously wounded, to be there slaine; *Beliojosa* himselfe being also in fiue pla-
ces dangerously hurt: who so hardly prosecuted the death of his brother against the Lord
Russworm, that within a while after, hee was therefore by the Emperour condemned, and at
Prague beheaded, and diuers of his men hanged, with such weapons hanging at their heeles, as
wherewith they had slaine the said *Francis* the Earles brother. M

Now was the time of the yeare come, when as the Turks great armies were wont to bee
seene euen in the heart of Hungary: howbeit, such were their troubles in Asia, both with the
Persian, and their owne Rebels, that they were not at leisure now to send such great forces
as

A as they had before vsed, into Hungary: neither could the Christian Emperour on the other
side now raise such a power as he had in former times don to oppose against them, and to hin-
der their proceedings. The Hungarians themselues (his greatest strength in those wars) were
now generally reuolted from him, and for most part followed the Ensignes of the Rebell
Botscay. The Princes wont to send him aid both out of Italy and out of Germany, now affoor-
ded him little or none at all: and his mercenary souldiers for want of pay were now almost
euery where vp in mutiny ready to forsake his seruice, and to pay themselues with the spoyle
of his Countries euen to the gates of Vienna. So that had not the Turks beene so busied in
the East, but at leisure to haue turned their whole power into Hungary, as oftentimes they
had before done, it is hardly to be imagined, what should haue letted them to haue ouer-run
B not onely that which remained of Hungary, but euen all Austria, with some good part of
Germany also; the Emperours preparations being then so small, and his forces so weake, as
that they were not able to hold the field against his owne rebellious subjects, much lesse a-
gainst so puissant and dreadfull an enemy. But God which with his word hath set bounds vnto
the raging sea, beyond which it cannot passe, and by whose power Kings do reigne and Princes
beare rule, had by other meanes auerted the greatest part of the Turks forces Eastwards: so
that *Serdar Bassa*, Sultan *Achmat* his Lieutenant Generall for his wars against the Christians,
came this yeare but with a right small army (in comparison of those which the Turkish Sul-
tans were wont to send) into Hungary. Howbeit, with such forces as hee brought, and with
such supplies of the Rebels in Hungary as came vnto him, hee being growne fifty thousand
C strong, and out of feare of the Emperours forces, came the nine and twentieth day of August
to Strigonium, and with his army (part Turks, part Tartars, and part disloyall Christians) en-
camped in the selfesame place where the Turks army had but the yeare before lodged; hauing
brought with him forty great pieces of battery, with all things else necessary for the siege.
Neither were the Turks sooner encamped, but that the Tartars which came with them to the
siege (after their wonted manner) more desirous of prey and booty, than of honor and victory,
passing ouer the riuer of Gran into the territory of the Christians, there spoiled and burnt all
before them as they went.

Strigonium besieged by the Turks.

The Turks in the meane time to depriue the besieged of all reliefe to be sent vnto them
down the riuer of Danubius, made a great bridge of boats ouer the riuer, well fortified at both
D ends thereof on each side the riuer with a strong *Corps de guard* for the defence thereof, so that
nothing could that way passe to or from the besieged city. Which things much dismaied
them in the city, seeing no preparation to be made on the other side for their defence or re-
liefe: yea, *Basta* himselfe, Generall of such small forces as the Emperour had then, seeing the
enemy so strong, and himselfe so weake, began greatly to doubt of the euent of this siege: and
yet neuertheless resolutely set downe to employ both his valour and his wisedome for the
safegard of the place, he, during the time of the siege failed not to the vttermost of his power
to shew the effects both of the one and of the other.

The Turkes make a bridge ouer the riuer of Danubius.

And now the Turks assisted with the Hungarian Rebels, had performed an exploit vpon the
Isle of Strigonium, aswell to take the same from the Imperials, as for the spoile and pillage
E thereof. The inhabitants there had still remained faithfull vnto the seruice of the Emperor,
whom the Rebels for all that had oftentimes sought both by force and by persuasion to haue
remoued from this their loyalty and just deuoire. Within this Isle were 200 Haiducks, retur-
ned againe to the Emperors seruice, who were joyned vnto the Islanders, for the better defence
both of them and of the Island. But the Rebels knowing well the passages and entrances into
the Isle, vpon the sudden surprised the same, and in it these poore Haiducks, whom they cut
all in pieces: which losse caused *Basta* to resolue to send the Wallons he had in his army into
the Isle for the defence thereof. Which they of the Island vnderstanding, made request vnto
the Generall, That he would not in any wise so doe, for that they greatly feared lest the Wal-
lons, being men altogether giuen to the spoile, not finding the Rebels to prey vpon, should
F after their wonted manner pray vpon them, the Emperours faithfull subjects. At whose in-
stance the former purpose for the sending of the Wallons beeing changed, *Collonitz* him-
selfe was appointed vnto that seruice; with whom *Mounsieur de Laual*, a noble young
Gentleman of France (who but a few dayes before was newly come vnto the campe for

The Isle of Strigonium spoyled by the Haiducks.

the

the honourable desire hee had to see seruice, and to serue himselfe, with his troupe of horse-
men whom he had brought with him out of France) went ouer into the Island also. Where- G
into when as the Rebels shortly after againe entered, they were by *Collonitz* ouerthrowne
and driuen out of the Isle, two hundred and fifty of them being slaine, and aboue fifty moe
of them taken prisoners. In which conflict the noble young Gentleman *Mounsieur Laual*, so
brauely behaued himselfe, as that he gained vnto himselfe much honour and renowne, euery
mans mouth being full of his prayses, and wondering to see so great courage in so young
yeares, he being then scarce nineteene yeares old. With which losse the Rebels rather en-
raged than discouraged, shortly after returned againe, in great number and better resolued;
where betwixt them, and them that were left for the defence of the Island, was fought a more
sharpe and bloudy fight than was the former; yet so, as that the Rebels were enforced
againe with losse to retyre. In which so hot and bloudy a skirmish, *Mounsieur Laual*, ha- H
uing most valiantly borne himselfe against the enemy, and done enough for his honour, but
not so contented, but carryed away with the heat of youth, and the desire of glory, and not
otherwise to be persuaded, but still aduenturously pressing on the retiring enemy, was there
with a small shot slaine; all they which knew him much lamenting his vntimely death. But
the Rebels not so discouraged, but still in one place or other inuading the Island, and threate-
ning the Islanders with all extremities, except they would take part with them; what by
force, what by persuasion, so much preuailed with them, that the most part of them reuol-
ting from the Emperour, vpon the sudden set vpon the Count of Rhene, beeing then in the
Island, and hauing slaine three hundred of his men, grieuously wounded himselfe also. For I
the speedy appeasing of which multitude, *Basta* sent ouer into the Island certaine com-
panies of Ratzians and Wallons, who not regarding that the Islanders were dayly dam-
nified by the Rebels, most miserably spoyled them of whatsoeuer the Rebels had yet left
them.

The Haiduckes ouerthrowne by Collonitz.

S. Thomas Fort battered and assaulted by the Turks.

The Turks encamped before Strigonium, first planted their battery against the strong
fort, standing aloft vpon S. *Thomas* hill: for that from thence they should haue receiued infi-
nit harme, if they should before the winning thereof haue attempted to haue woon the City;
it standing on their backes, and all the plaine betwixt the hill and the city wherein they were
to plant their battery being subject vnto it. Which fort, though very strong, they with conti-
nuall battery by the space of almost three weekes, hauing with infinit charge, and the losse of K
a number of their men, made faultable, the foure and twentieth day of September mounted
the hill to assault the same. Vnto which assault they went vp the hill so thicke one thrusting
another forward, that the hill seemed now to be nothing but a mount or heape of armed men,
scarce any part of it being to be seene, it was so couered with them. Vpon whom so swarming
vp, the Christians in the fort, hauing reposed all the hope of their welfare in their valour, and
resolued thereby to die or liue, courageously discharged their murthring shot both great and
small, scarce any of their deadly bullets falling in vaine. Howbeit the Turks, resolutely set
downe for the performing of that they had taken in hand, without respect of death or danger,
came still desperatly on, vntill that they were come to the push of pike, and so to handy
blowes euen in the very breaches, which the long fury of the Turks cannon had made very L
faultable. Fiue houres this furious assault was by the Turks maintained, and by the Christi-
ans with inuincible courage and resolution endured, many braue and valiant men falling on
both sides: and thrice the Turks repulsed, were enforced to retire, but were still by their com-
manders brought on agaire. The losse was to both sides common, many worthy men there
ending their daies, worthy of eternall fame. The Christians fell dead vpon the Turks slaine
by their valor, and the Turks vpon the Christians slaine by their multitude. But what should
we say? The Turks by numbers died, but not their force, that being by their great numbers
still maintained euen in despight of death, and alwaies liuing in their great multitude, yet left
aliue. Which was not so with the defendants, but euen quite contrary; who could not lose
one onely man, without diminishing of their forces, and means of resistance: so that they still M
lost without hope of safegard, and yet could not be in safety, without continuing of their so
great losses. But he that still fighteth only for to saue his life, without hope of killing of his e-
nemy, being too mighty for him to ouercome, must needs at last die ouercome, if it were but
with

A with very wearinesse. So in the end of this long and furious assault, nine hundred of the Chri-
stians being slaine, together with the Count *Oetingen*, their Chiefetaine, and his Lieutenant
mortally wounded, and nothing now more left but a few sore hurt men, and the dead wals for
the Turks to ouercome, they entered the place, slew those few whom they found yet brea-
thing, made booty of their death, bloud, and armes; and by the infinite price of their owne
bloud, gained that place which had now no more bloud or life left in it. From whence they
carried certaine great pieces, to helpe to batter the city withall, and to vanquish them, for
whose defence they were but a little before appointed.

S. Thomas fort woon by the Turks.

The Turks hauing thus gained S. *Thomas* fort, euen as they were yet embrued with bloud,
and prickt forward with fury, forthwith planted thirty great pieces of battery against the
B base towne of Strigonium, standing low by the side of Danubius, and commonly called the
Water-towne; which they with all their force and fury most terribly battered. This base
towne was inuironed with a pallisado of wood, to defend it against all sudden surprises, as al-
most all the townes of Hungary are: Whereunto the confused multitude of the Turks carri-
ed a number of brush faggots, stuffed with gunpouder and brimstone, which being set on fire,
presently set fire vpon the pallisado also, and burnt it downe to the ground, making a way for
the Turks to come euen to the wals of the city; which they with their great ordnance both
night and day incessantly most terribly battered, vntil that by the fury of the cannon they had
therein made a faire and large faultable breach. A great shame for our men to suffer the same
so to be made, and not againe repaired: whereas the Turks before in the same place, had made
C it good against the great army of the Archduke *Matthias*, being neuer to be driuen and forced
out of it by the Christians valour, vntill they were therein slaine; and to be now by our men
through their cowardise not to be able to be made good. For why, it was euen the same place
of battell, the same men, the same armes, and the same forme of fight, but not the same coura-
ges. The Turks can very well learne of vs that which is for them profitable, and make vse
thereof to their owne aduantage; whereas we can borrow nothing of them to seruе vs against
them, and so profit our selues by their example. Besides that, the confidence they haue in their
multitude carrieth them vnto such aduantages, as from which the despaire of being secon-
ded and relieued keepeth vs: whose boldnesse also firmely grounded vpon a resolution to die,
passeth our resolution far, in fighting only to saue their liues.

The base towne of Strigonium battered.

D The breach so made, the Turks in good order, staied vpon a firme resolution, came brauely
marching on, one of them thrusting another, and as it were striuing among themselues who
should haue the honour to giue the first charge; their haughtinesse of minde animating of
them to seeke for honour euen where perils were rifest; so to haue the honor to die amongst
the most forward and valiant men of war, rather than to liue among cowards of no reputation
or valor. During the heat of which their so great and firme a resolution, they regarded not the
showers of deadly bullets falling amongst them as thicke as haile, as too weake to dant their
haughty courages; but thrusting one another amiddest so great dangers, came vnto the
breach, there to try the matter hand to hand with our men. The Ianizaries were the men es-
pecially appointed to this seruice, and had taken the same vpon them; who with their great
E muskets on their rests cruelly gauled our men, exposed to the danger of their deadly shot vp-
on the brinke as it were of their own graues. The great Bassa himselfe was there present at the
assault, encouraging his souldiers with speeches full of terrour and of comfort, as he saw occa-
sion for either to be vsed, wherewith he stirred vp their valor as is a ship with a faire or rough
gale of wind. Death it selfe could not ouercome these miscreants, their number still repairing
in a moment what death had taken away in an houre: whereas our men slew others but to be
slaine themselues; and fought not, but to become sacrifices vnto death themselues, and not by
their resistance to carry away the victory against inexorable destiny. The fight was great and
terrible, and the bullets still flew, few of them falling in vaine amongst such a multitude and
prease of men. They of the high towne, who themselues expected the like danger where-
F in their companions now floated betwixt life and death, stood aboue looking on, not daring
to giue them aide, or to remoue out of their strength, but reseruing themselues with all
their forces for the sole safegard of themselues and of their owne defence. Howbeit all this
while the enemies forces still encreased, and the Christians diminished; for death could not

The base towne assaulted.

A terrible assault.

weaken theirs, whereas it still destroyed ours, who failed but in number, not in valour, and gaue place but vnto the force of death, and not vnto the force of men. All the deadly blowes appointed to be giuen for the defence of a breach, had been by our men giuen; all the armes necessary for such a purpose had been employed, all resistance that could be desired had been made, and all the duties of valiant and worthy men performed; so that nothing here wanted but number, and not valour. But in all such actions there are two things necessary, the one for the helping of the other, for the correspondency of their power; which both joyned in one body, may doe all things, but being diuided, can neither of them doe any thing against him which is possessed of both.

The base towne of Strigonium woon by the Turks.

The vpper towne of Strigonium in vain by the Turks assaulted.

In fine, after foure attempts in this assault, most of the Christian defendants being slaine, the Turks forced the rest, and gained the breach, treading vnder-foot the dead bodies both of the Turks and of the Christians, to get into the City. This place thus woon, and those that were left, put to the sword, and the towne rifled; the Turks yet in breath, and all embrued in bloud, gaue an attempt vnto the high Towne, in some hope euen at that time in so great a confusion of the defendants to haue carried the same also. Howbeit, the defendants beholding their weapons yet dropping with the bloud of their friends and companions, and ready to shead theirs also, for the present notably repulsed them. Who so disappointed of their purpose, and desiring to gaine the place with the least losse they might, resolued to take the same by vndermining of it, reposing more trust in the spade and the mattocke, than in their swords and harquebusies; beeing by experience of their former sieges taught, how hard and dangerous a thing it was by battery and assault to obtaine the same. This trauell in the mynes tooke successe according to their desire: for within a few dayes the mynes (with much labour) beeing brought to perfection, and fire put vnto them, they fayled not to worke their effect, but with great violence blew vp the walls, their rampiers, men, and munition, altogether, casting forth such smoakes and flames, as wherewith a number of the defendants were smothered and burnt. Which breaches so made, and the defences of the City blowne vp, in such sort, that the Christians lay open to the enemies deadly shot, beeing not able any more to shew themselues without danger of their liues, the Turks in order forthwith came to assault and force the same. Which the Captaines of the Christians beholding, prepared themselues to withstand them, and to that purpose would haue giuen order vnto their souldiers for the defence both of the breach and of the walls, whom they found such as *Eumenes* at his greatest need found his, not willing in any wise to fight, and in the most assured perill of death, without courage, either to vanquish their enemies, or defend themselues, in such sort, that not one of them would put themselues in order, shew themselues vpon the breach, or come neere the walls. Lazie cowards, chusing rather to attend an assured death in their cowardise and want of courage, than to adiuenture their liues into the danger of armes, well deseruing to endure the same with dishonour, seeing that they refused by honourable resistance to preserue their liues. The Captaines for all that by faire speeches and by threats ceased not to stire them vp, praying, exhorting, and sometime with death theatening them, if they thus refused to doe their duty, and with their naked swords in their hands would haue enforced them to the breach. But all in vaine; their dead courages beeing not to be reuiued or stirred vp in their so great a feare of death: Which much dismaied the Captaines, seeing their liues and honour, together with the place (through this tumult and cowardise of their souldiers) to be in extreme perill. During which time the Turks comming on, had without any great resistance gained the foot of the breach: whom the souldiers now seeing so neere vnto them, and out of hope to be relieued, and destitute of courage also, in stead of trusting vnto their armes and valour, betooke themselues vnto the refuge of their shame and cowardise. For compassing in the Count *Dampierre*, Gouernour of the place, they would by reasons haue persuaded him to haue yeelded, and by threats haue feared him from further resisting of the enemy. Their fury emboldened them, proceeding not from their valour, but from their feare; storming against their Generall for not beeing a coward, as they themselues were; trembling for feare of their enemies, and insulting against him. They had but one man of him to fight against, which made them furious and hardy: hardy with cowardise against one, not

Strigonium vndermined.

The braue resolution of Count Dampierre Gouernour of Strigonium.

not daring to hold vp their weapons against their enemies being many. Howbeit the Count in the middle of these feares enraged, continued firme in his resolution, his courage encreasing in this storme of mutiny, wishing rather to die by the hands of his owne souldiers, in the performing of his duty, than to be saued by the Turks in the bottome of his dishonour. Which his so braue a resolution caused him euen in the middest of these furious and tumultuous companies, to put them in minde of their duties, and to persuade with them: That the perill they so much feared, was greater through their owne feare, than indeed it was: that onely their fearefull apprehension made the danger, and not the action that was by them to be performed; seeing that it was impossible for the enemy to ouercome them, if they would, but resolutely stand vpon their valour to resist him. That all things resting but in opinion, were by themselues to be subdued, if they had but the desire to ouercome them, and yet of power to ouerthrow them, if they would yeeld to their dishonour. That therefore they should propound vnto themselues the honor and the shame that was to ensue vnto them, by the different deportment of themselues in this action, how much the deformity of the one differed from the beauty of the other, and aspire vnto the honour which their enemies had sometimes got in the same place, and in the very same action wherein they were now, for hauing with lesse appearance of their safety ouercome the like danger, wherein their holding out had made them victorious with honour, without any great fight at all. That it should be an eternall infamy vnto them, that the Turks should surmount them in their resolution, in an action wherein they ought to shew themselues most valorous; and by their cowardise become subject vnto them, whom at other times they had accounted vnworthy to be compared with them in valour. That they should lay their hands vpon their hearts, and remember their estate and faith; bound vnto the first by their honour, and to the second by their duty. That they were men of Warre, liuing by their pay, which bound them to the seruice of him from whom they receiued it, euen vnto death; hauing before obliged their liues vnto their pay: and that they were Christian subjects, bound to keepe their promise giuen by oath before God. That forgetting either the one or the other of these things, they deprived themselues of the pay promised to them which performed their seruice; and losing their renowne in this world for their cowardise, and in the World to come for breaking their faith. That therefore they should continue constant in the performance of their duty, resolueing with themselues rather to endure an honourable death, vnto which belonged the recompence of an eternall fame for their valour and fidelity; than to prolong a miserable life with perpetuall infamy for their cowardise: whereof, for all that, they could no more assure themselues by the yeelding vp of the place, than by the defending thereof, for as much as the Turks were oftentimes euen as cruell vpon them that yeelded, as those that resisted; keeping no faith with the Christians, but as best stood with their profit and their pleasure. And that therefore for his part he was resolued, rather to die with honour in the place, than to be beholden to his enemies for an infamous and miserable life. And that therefore he besought them to follow him in this last action of their deuoire, which carried with it all the trophies of their precedent actions, wherein they had oftentimes assisted him in many actions of lesse worth, and of much greater perill.

Most shamefull cowardise.

This discourse grounded vpon so good reasons, and proceeding for so great valour, might haue preuailed with any other generous mindes, except with these degenerate souldiers, who by their cowardise had hardened themselues against all the points of honour which might any way moue them; in such sort that they stood as fast in their base cowardise as did their Generall in his valorous and constant resolution. They stood with their hands behinde them, without any weapons in them, as was their minde without any courage at all: and as men appointed to be sacrificed vpon the altar of death, attending without mouing, but the hands of them that should sacrifice them. Great and shamelesse cowardise, not daring by resistance to withstand the violence of their enemies, for feare of hindering them in their desires, being indeed such as had vowed their death to satisfie their owne fury. Meane while some of these souldiers seeing their speeches to be but vaine, and not able to moue their Gouernour to satisfie their desire, conceiued the same their requests, with the reasons thereof, into writing, which they sent vnto him. Which the Gouernour hauing read, in their sight tore the letters

ters in pieces, and trode the same vnder his feet; rejecting as well their demands by letters, as he had done their requests by words. In briefe, hauing forgotten nothing of the duty of a worthy Generall, and valiant Captaine, joyned now thereunto the office of a simple souldier, going himselfe vnto the breach, with some few to defend the same. But the more the Count stood vpon this his so great resolution, the more these cowardly and mutinous villaines proceeded in their base obstinacy, in so much that they fell from prayers, to fury and rage, threatening to deliuer him their Gouernour, together with the place, vnto the Enemy, to saue their liues, if he himselfe would not by treaty saue them from the imminent perils. If these base cowards were before deafe vnto the just remonstrances of their Gouernour, which might haue preserued them from death and infamy, he was also as deafe as they, to conceiue their requests, or to be mooued with their threats; knowing that he had more reason on his side, by constant valour to withstand the wicked and shamefull resolution of his soldiers, than they had with dishonour to enforce him, or to offer him violence, to their eternall shame and infamy.

In the meane time these obstinate and enraged cowards proceeded from words to deeds, and from requests to violence, as did oft times the disloyall souldiers of Rome, in slaying the good Emperors. For they in cruell manner without reuerence, by force layed hands vpon the Gouernor, put him in prison, and afterwards crauing parley, fell to treaty with the great Bassa about the deliuery vp of the place. Wherewith the Bassa well contented, sent in vnto them *Haly Bassa*, to conclude the matter. Where after some little talke, it was agreed; That they should deliuer vp the place (which was not indeed theirs to dispose of) and that the Bassa should therefore promise and suffer them with bag and baggage in safety to depart whither they would, with their ensignes frilled vp, and fire in their matches; leauing behinde them their great ordnance, with all their other munition and warlike prouision. Which only composition by the perfidious souldiers made in the absence and indurance of their Generall, was by the Turks faithfully kept, amongst a thousand others like before by them broken whether it were in respect of the easie conquest of the city, (being one of the chiefe and principall places of all Hungary) or for that they being ouer-joyed with the gaining of that which they had so long desired, and now so little hoped for, they forgat their wonted cruelty and breach of faith, is doubted.

The conditions whereupon Strigonium was deliuered to the Turks.

This city thus yeelded the third of October, and the Turks forgetting their wonted cruelty, according to their faith and promise before giuen, in safety conducted these cowardly souldiers within a league of Comora, helping them by the way to carry their sicke and wounded men, together with their fardles, which the Turks oft times carried vpon their own shoulders. These cowards which thus went out, with their Gouernor sent out also with them, were in number a thousand whole and sound men, fitted whilst they were in the city, with all things necessary for their honour, and defence of the place: but themselues destitute and void of all honour and courage. A thousand, which all together were not worth their Gouernor alone, seeing that in him alone there remained more valour than in all that whole multitude. Many of the Inhabitants which had there long dwelt, would not forsake the place, but by the leaue of the Turks there remained still; the rest which would not, hauing leaue in safety to depart whither they would.

Thus this famous City of Strigonium, one of the strongest bulwarkes of Christendome against the Turks, which the Christians had now holden by the space of ten yeares and one moneth, after that it was by Count *Charles Mansfelt* won from the Turks, when as it had long time before beene in the Turks possession, wonne from the Christians by Sultan *Solyman*, now againe (as is before said) fell into the power of the Turks, with thirteene and ten pieces of great ordnance, and a wonderfull deale of other warlike prouision.

Base cowardise worthily punished.

These base and cowardly Souldiers, together with the Count their Gouernour, being come to Comora, were justly despoyled both of their honour and of their armes, and sent backe againe to Presburg, where cursed and detested of all the World, and especially of the Hungarians themselues, (who although they were reuolted from their allegeance toward the Emperour, yet could they not but much detest their so shamefull and notable cowardise) were there the chiefe of them committed to prison; where after they had for a cer-

A a certaine time lien, and being brought to iudgement, and conuicted of treason, in deliuering vp the city of Strigonium vnto the Turks, & in so doing to haue greatly damnified the Christian commonweale, they were therefore condemned, and according to the quality of their offences, diuersly in this manner executed. Captain *Leonard Fredericke Schleker* had his iudgement, first to haue his right hand cut off, and his tongue drawne out behinde in his necke, and both of them nailed to the gallowes, and afterwards to bee hanged; howbeit through the intercession of many of his friends he was not hanged but beheaded. *Iohn Michael Scorer*, *Iohn Hopfi*, *Adam Lindawar*, *Philip Dur*, and *Casper Lielharter*, all Captaines, were adiudged to haue their right hands first cut off and nailed to the gallowes, and afterward hanged, but through the intercession of County *Mansfield*, they were hanged, and their hands not cut off. *Iohn*
B *Lautenberger* was condemned to bee quartered aliue; but was at the intercession of County *Mansfield*, first beheaded and afterward quartred. *Iohn Discoff* with eleuen other were only hanged. *Laurence Marshall* was enioyned to serue two yeares against the Turks as a common souldier, without pay; but through the intercession of County *Mansfield* had one yeare pardoned him. *Ieremy Strelin*, with diuers other, which were either fled, or else remained still in Strigonium, were iudged, their names to be set vpon the gallows, and being afterwards caught, some of them to be quartred, and other some their hands to be cut off, and nailed vpon the gallows, and afterward hanged. And thus these disloyall captains, by shunning of an honourable death in defence of Strigonium, and performing of their duty, by neglecting the same, procured vnto themselues a most shamefull death, attended vpon with perpetuall infamy and dishonour.

C But as the losse of this strong place was vnto the Christians heauy and grieuous, so was it to the Turks no lesse pleasing and ioyfull; it being the place they had of long aboue al others desired, and whereat they had euer since the losse thereof, with their great armies in Hungary, for the space of ten yeares still aimed. Howbeit this their ioy endured not long, their prosperitie beeing too hot to hold out without some cooling blast of aduerse fortune. For the same report of Fame, which with the right hand presented vnto the Great Sultan at Constantinople, the pleasing newes of the winning of Strigonium in Hungary; euen with the left hand deliuered likewise vnto him the melancholie report of the ouerthrow of his great armies in Asia, with the losse of Damasco the greatest city of Syria. For, to begin with the greatest first: The King of Persia, inuaded by *Cicala Bassa*, Sultan *Achmat* his great Lieutenant in Asia; and
D hearing that the Bassa of Caramania had expresse charge, with all speed to come vnto him with a great supply of souldiers to be taken vp in Caramania and the countries thereabout: he then hauing a puissant army on foot, before prepared for all euents, presently set forward against *Cicala*: whom he comming vpon before he was ready to fight, by his vnexpected comming, and sudden charge, ouerthrew his army, and tooke from him all his great Ordnance. *Cicala* himselfe with three hundred souldiers, with much ado escaping and retyring himselfe to Adena; which city the Persian King, pursuing *Cicala*, shortly after streitly besieged. With which vnluckie newes Sultan *Achmat* much troubled, forthwith writ vnto the Bassa of Trebezond, with all speed to send aid vnto *Cicala*: who taking vnto him some other of the Turks Commanders, with a great army set forward on his journey. Of whose comming *Cicala* hea-
E ring, the better to direct the Bassa in his proceeding, caused himselfe with ten of his souldiers whom he best trusted, secretly by night to be let downe ouer the wals of the city. And so comming to the Bassa, together with him kept on his way to joyne battell with the King as neere vnto the city as he could, for that he had taken order before he came out of the City, that so soone as they should perceiue the battell to be ioyned, they should forthwith sally out vpon the backs of the Persians, and so by holding them with a doubtfull battell, to further the victorie. All which the Persian King, hearing of the Bassaes comming, wisely doubting, and not willing to forsake the siege, diuided his army, and leauing one part thereof to continue the siege, went himselfe with the other to meet the Bassa. Wherein hee vsed such expedition and speed, that with all his power falling vpon him before he could put his men in order, or range
F his battell, he made of the Turks (now confusedly and without all order fighting more for the safegard of their liues, than for any hope they had of victory) such an exceeding great slaughter, that few of them escaped, but were there almost all slaine. *Cicala* himselfe but with two or three moe, hauing much ado by getting into a little boat, and so by passing ouer the riuer, to escape

Cicala Bassa with his army ouerthrowne by the Persian king.

The Bassa of Trapezond discomfited.

escape the danger. After which victory so easily gained, the King returning againe to the G
siege, after many sharpe and great assaults thereunto giuen, and many men on both sides lost,
had the same at length yeelded vnto his mercy.

Now with this news of the losse of his armies, and of the victories of the Persian King, Sul-
tan *Achmat* enraged, caused *Cicala Bassa* his house at Constantinople, ful of treasure & wealth,
to be rifled; after the manner of the world, deeming of the doings of him so great a Captaine,
according to the euent and euill successe thereof, though not in his power to haue been reme-
died: neuertheless shortly after, he caused great summes of mony to be deliuered out of his
treasures, and new forces raised for the renewing of the warre against the Persian King. Vnto
which seruice (now become vnto the Turks dreadfull) when as many of the Ianizaries were
to be appointed, they after t heir proud and insolent manner, all arising vp in mutiny, said flat- H
ly, That they would not stirre one foot out of Constantinople, except they were both before
hand payed, and assured also to haue their wages encreased: complaining grieuously withall,
of the Bassa of Damasco, the Great Sultan his high Treasurer, that he conuerting the Sultans
treasures to his owne vse, did not pay the souldiers their wages due. For the appeasing of
which mutiny and tumult, the Sultan caused the same Bassa to be apprehended and his head
strucken off, and so with the price of his bloud againe appeased them.

The Ianizaries mutiny.

But leauing the Persian King triumphing in his victories, and the Great Sultan grieuing at
his losses, let vs turne aside into Siria, to see the troubles the Turks had euen among them-
selues, to the weakening of their State, and the encreasing of the Great Sultans cares & griefe.
The two Bassa's of Damasco and Aleppo had (as is before declared) been at great discord and I
variance betwixt themselues, and the Bassa of Aleppo in field ouerthrowne, and in his city be-
sieged, glad to make peace with the other Bassa, by yeelding vnto all such things as it pleased
him to demand. Which two Bassa's for all that being diuersly affected vnto the Sate, long a-
greed not, he of Damasco continuing faithful in his allegiance towards the Great Sultan, and
the other of Aleppo secretly inclining vnto Rebellion. Which the Bassa of Damasco perceiu-
ing, and joyning vnto him the Bassa's of Tripolis and Gazare, with their vnited forces went
against the Bassa of Aleppo, leading with them 60000 good men, with purpose to haue besie-
ged the Bassa of Aleppo his enemy, in his city. But he betimes aduertised of this his designe,
and not vnprouided for his comming, quickely called together his Forces, and had in very
short time raised an army of thirty thousand valiant men, whom he encouraging, and finding K
them willing to follow him whithersoeuer he would lead them, marched directly towards his
enemies; with whom he meeting, readily joyned battell with them, which was fought with
such fury and hideous noise, as if it had been two thunder claps opposing each other in one
cloud, striuing of themselues, which should burst out first, being like people, like armes, and
like order of fight. The medley for a great time continued sharpe and furious, the number of
the one side counteruailing the valour of the other, and the others valor ballancing the others
great number: howbeit in the end the lone Bassa ouercame the other three, and the smaller
number the greater, and putting them to flight, remained sole victors of the field. Now the
victorious Bassa, as wise to vse the victory, as hee was valiant to obtaine the same, so eagerly
pursued them, that without giuing them leaue to breathe, hee besieged Tripolis, the Bassa L
whereof at his comming abandoned the same, and carrying with him all his treasure, fled in-
to Cyprus; which made the taking of the place vnto the victorious Bassa easie, who rifled and
ransacked the same: and not content with this conquest, forthwith besieged the great and
strong city of Damasco, resolued to die in the plaines thereof, or to become victorious with-
in the walls of the same. During which siege, the Bassa of Tripolis had out of the prouinces
and countries of the Turks thereabouts, raised another great army, and was comming to raise
the siege, and to rescue the City. Whereof the Bassa of Aleppo hearing, rose with the grea-
test part of his army, and meeting with him, gaue him battell, and therein the second time
ouerthrew him and put him to flight. Which misfortune so dismaied the minds of the besie-
ged, that despairing of all succour and reliefe, they by consent of their Gouernor fell to parly M
with the enemies, and so vpon certaine capitulations yeelded vnto him the place. Whereinto
the Bassa entering, found therein great treasure, raised of the Turks tributes, whereupon he
seised, and by the meanes thereof resolued to make himselfe Master of all Syria, the chiefe
city

The Bassaes of Damasco, Tripola, and Gazare, ouerthrown by the Bassa of Aleppo.

Damasco taken & rifled by the Bassa of Aleppo.

A city whereof he had now in his owne power; whereunto he gaue free accesse and traffique vn-
to all the Merchants of Persia and of the Indies.

Now in the time of this his prosperity, newes was brought him, That the Beglerbeg of
Natolia had sent his Lieutenant with a great Army against him; who knowing that dili-
gence was the spirit of conquest, and that to conquer was to little purpose, without a vigi-
lant care for the preseruation thereof, rested not vpon his former good fortune, but marched
directly towards his enemies. Wherein his successe was answerable to his designe, for
within the space of two dayes hee had taken all the passages which might giue way vnto his
enemies to distresse him: and in the streights of the mountaines, whereby the enemy was to
passe, layed a great ambush of two thousand harquebusiers and three thousand horse, who,
B the enemies being passed, and hee charging them a head, set vpon them in the reareward,
and brought such a feare vpon them, that hauing made a great fight, in fine, they hauing
lost a number of men, were glad to fly, and to leaue the Victory vnto the Bassa. And to the
encreasing of his good happes, hee intercepted a Ship, cast by weather vpon that Coast, la-
ded with great treasure, bound from Alexandria to Constantinople with the tributes of
Ægypt, belonging to the Great Sultan. Of all which things the Persian King aduertised,
sought to joyne with him in amity, highly commending all his valiant acts, and sending vn-
to him honourable Presents; to wit, a Pistoll, an Helmet, and a Targuet, all set with pre-
tious stones, esteemed to bee worth fifty thousand Crownes. This flame of rebellion
spread abroad out of Syria, into Caramania, and so farther and farther into the lesser Asia.
C Which was the cause that the Great Sultan sent with all speed vnto the Visier Bassa, then
in Hungary; commanding him, now that Strigonium was taken, which before had hin-
dered the concluding of peace, hee should now vpon reasonable conditions conclude
the same, to the end that his affaires on this side of his Empire beeing set in quiet and se-
curity, hee might forthwith after turne his Forces against the Persians and the Rebels in
Asia.

The Beglerbeg of Natolia his Lieutenant with his Army discomfited by the Bassa of Aleppo.

But after all these great troubles, to returne againe into Hungary. The Rebels there had
of long besieged the strong Towne of Newhuse, as is before declared: which being hither-
to valiantly defended by the German garri on therein, was now brought to such extremity,
as that it was thought almost impossible to be longer defended, the garrison souldiers there-
D in being with often assaults for the most part slaine, and the rest of them that were left, grie-
uously wounded. Of which strong Towne (beeing as it were the Key of that side of the
Countrey) the Turkes which together with the Rebels besieged the same, were for the
commodious scituation thereof very desirous: and the Rebels thereunto as vnwilling, for
that it being once in their hand, would hardly euer bee againe from them recouered. For
which cause *Illishascius* one of the Captaines of the Hungarian Rebels then at the siege there-
of, perceiuing it could not be long kept, to the intent that the Turks should not by force ob-
taine the same, by Letters requested of *Basta* the Emperours Lieutenant, though then his
enemy, That the Towne might be deliuered vnto *Humanoius*, another Captaine of the Hun-
garian Rebels, left the Turks should by force obtaine the same: assuring him vpon the perill
E of his owne life, and the confiscation of all his goods to the Emperour, that vpon a reconci-
liation and peace to be made betwixt the Emperour and the Hungarians his subjects, hee
should againe deliuer the same Towne and Fortresse into his possession. Whereupon by
commandement of the Archduke and of *Basta*, the Towne was yeelded vp the seuenteenth day
of the Moneth of October, vnto the aforesaid *Humanoius*, and the Hungarians only receiued
into the towne; yet with this condition, That the Germane souldiers which were yet left, and
who had valiantly thus long endured the siege, might still stay in the towne in pay, and keepe
watch and ward together with the rest of the Hungarians, *Humanoius* hauing command ouer
them all.

Newhuse yeelded vnto the Hungarian Rebels.

Wherefore the Turks seeing themselues disappointed of their purpose, for the obraining
F of this strong Towne, rising by night, and not a little discontented with the Hungarians,
marched towards Strigonium, at the siege whereof the Visier Bassa lay. Howbeit within a
few dayes after, the Hungarians not liking to haue the Germane in garrison with them, tur-
ned them with their Captaine *Strenius* out of the Towne, and yet safely conducted them to
Comara.

At

At the same time they of Altensoll, another strong towne of the vpper Hungary, not farre from Neuhuse, hauing bin long besieged by the Rebels, and driuen for want of victuall to eat their horses for the space of fiue weeks; and hauing now eaten them all but seuen, and nothing else left, yeelded themselues together with their towne to the Rebels: as did also they of Wiglas, Shemnitz, and Cremnits. G

In the meane time *Boiscay* with a very great army of his Hungarian Rebels, came to Tyirna, a strong towne about sixteene miles distant from Vienna, attended vpon with a guard of an hundred tall souldiers, gallantly apparelled all in blew: a little before whose comming, *Humanoius*, vnto whom Neuhuse was a little before yeelded, had summoned Presburg, requiring the same to be yeelded vnto him. Which thing *Boiscoy*, being now come, by Letters likewise required of the Citisens, threatning otherwise most streightly to besiege them. H Whereupon *Schonberg* Gouernour of Presburg, doubting of the faithfulnesse of the Citisens, being almost all Hungarians, retired himselfe with a good part of his souldiers into the Castle; with protestation, to spend his life and all that he had for the keeping and defence thereof. With whose constancy the Citisens mooued, continued firme in their allegiance vnto the Emperour. Which *Boiscay* perceiuing, and that the City was not to be got by threats, forthwith remooued and went to Pesth, where he was most honourably receiued by the Visier Bassa, and by him presented with a crowne of curious workemanship, and threescore thousand duckats, with fiue and twenty most goodly horses: and there hauing receiued from him full power to entreat of peace, and to conclude the same with the Imperials, with *Haly Bassa* and certaine other of the chiefe of the Turks joyned in Commission with him, againe departed I and went to Kyrpa, vnto an assembly of the Hungarians there to be holden: whither but a little before *Sigismund Forgatt* was come with the Emperors resolution, concerning the negotiation of peace; when as in the meane time other Commissioners from the Emperour were come to Comara about the treaty of peace with the Turks, they themselues so requiring. Howbeit *Collonitz* at the same time by letters writ vnto the Archduke, aduising him that this treaty of peace might not, together and at one time, be taken in hand with the Turks and the Rebels: but that if it were possible, an attonement should be first made with the Rebels, and afterward a peace concluded with the Turks; the common good of the common-weale so requiring; for that he perceiued the Turks indeed not to be desirous of peace at all, but only to go about, by keeping the Christians at variance among themselues, and in suspence betwixt K hope and feare, to do them harme, and themselues good; which was afterward found to be so indeed.

A treaty of peace.

The Persian King had some moneths before sent three Embassadours vnto his Imperiall Majesty, who being come at diuers times one after another, were all with peculiar letters dismissed from Prague the 29 of Nouember. Vnto the first of which Embassadours Letters were giuen, of this purport.

The Emperors Letters vnto the Persian King.

Zinel Chan Beg *whom your Majesty hath sent Embassadour vnto vs, we haue willingly seene and receiued, and giuen him audience, in declaring of such things as he had from you in charge. It is vnto vs both acceptable and pleasing, that your Majesty hath regard, so friendly to salute vs, and so carefully to seeke to joyne in amity and friendship with vs, whereby your Majesty much bindeth vs vnto the like desire of mutuall loue and friendship; and that we againe on our parts should be ready to performe such things as may be vnto your Majesty pleasing: and that we should wish for nothing more, than that our friendship should dayly more and more be confirmed, and for the common good of vs both, for many yeares preserued: wherein we for our parts will not be wanting. Whereas your Majesty with great courage hath vndertaken, and with so happy successe of victories continued your warres against the Turke, whereof you had so just cause, we from our hearts in your behalfe rejoyce as all other Christians worthily doe: and we our selues are thereby much animated valiantly and constantly to proceed in our warres, which we now so many yeares haue made with the same enemy, nothing doubting but that God the reuenger of wrong will so prosper the honourable endeauours of your Majesty, as that you shall* L M *not onely recouer such things as haue beene wrongfully taken from you, but also weaken and destroy the power of that perfidious enemy. Which that it may the better bee brought to passe, wee also renew our warres, raise greater forces, and by our Embassadours and Letters exhort and incite the greatest Christian Princes and Potentates to extend their power against this our common enemy: and thereby*

A *thereby to giue fitter opportunitie and occasion vnto your Maiesty for the better proceeding of your affairs in Asia. The course of our notable victories which wee haue in few yeares past obtained against the Turkes, the tumults and troubles which the Turks haue by secret deuices raised in Hungary, haue somewhat hindred: howbeit we hope by Gods permission, that all things shall shortly be again restored to their former estate, so that we may wholly without let turn our selues with our power against the Turkes. Yet in the mean time we haue thus much preuailed with the King of Spaine, as that hee hath already set forth a fleet vnto the borders of his territories, to distract his forces, the prosperous successe of which Fleet we daily expect. We haue also mooned the Pope, that he should also giue aid in this common Cause, and excite other Princes also to do the like; which he with great endeauor doth. But concerning such things as shall hereafter happen, we shall by Letters and Embassadors certifie your Maiesty as occasion shall re-*
B *quire: as at this present we had appointed to send vnto you the Baron of Dohna, a famous and noble gentleman, who (all things being ready for his iourney) suddenly died. And would now haue sent another, had not the vnexpected change of the affairs of the Muscouits otherwise dissuaded vs, we hauing no other way but that, at this time to send into Persia. For concerning this great Prince which is now reported to reign there, what his minde is, or how he standeth affected, we haue as yet no experience. In the mean time wee so desire a perpetuall and firme friendship betweene vs and your Maiesty, with a certain secure and free commerce, that if your Maiesty (which we wish) shall extend your victories vnto the sea, your subiects may haue free access and traffique vnto all our Kingdomes and Dominions. We also thanke your Maiesty, that you so kindely entertaine the Christians into your Kingdomes, and grant vnto them to haue the free exercise of their Religion. As also for that you haue sent your Embassadours vnto the King of*
C *France, although without wished successe: whereby we easily gather your Maieties great care and circumspection in every way. As concerning them whom your Maiesty hath sent vnto vs, they haue diligently and faithfully performed their duty, so that they haue deserued praise and fauour both here and in Persia: whom we much commend vnto your Maiesty, to whom in all things we offer our greatest loue and affection.*

Vnto the second Embassador were also giuen Letters from the Emperor, to this effect.

D *Whilest we were yet busied in the dispatch of* Zinel Chan Beg, *your former Embassador, in the mean time* Methi Culi Beg *another Embassador of yours came vnto vs, whom we haue curteously entertained, and graciously heard. By whose speech, as also by your Maieties letters, wee haue with exceeding great pleasure vnderstood both your friendly greeting of vs, as also of the happy successe of your affaires against the Turks since the departure of your former Embassador, together with your kinde affection toward the Christians in those parts. One of the seruants also of our Embassadour which died by the way, hath reported vnto vs, how curteously our said Embassador was by your Maiesty receiued; and how you haue shewed your selfe affected against the common Enemy: which was vnto vs a thing both acceptable and pleasing. Vnto both which your embassies the more solemnly to answer, we had appointed again to send an honorable embassage vnto your Maiesty, had not these lets and impediments hapned, which in our Let-*
E *ters giuen vnto your former Embassador are declared. But so soon and as often as may be, we will endeauor either by letters or Embassadors, more at large to manifest our loue and affection toward you. Wherefore we greatly desire that your Maiesty may continue in perfect amitie with vs, and valiantly proceed in subduing of the common enemy; we on our part being ready to perform all things wherby we may testifie vnto you the desire we haue for the preseruation of our mutual loue and friendship, as also of our endeauors in our wars against him. God almighty long preserue your Maiesty in health, and make you still victorious against the common enemy.*

Vnto the third Embassador were likewise Letters giuen from the Emperor, of this purport.

F *Whereas* Ius Bassi Hassan Beg, *your Maieties Embassadour vnto the French King, came this way, at the same time that other two of your Embassadors were heere present with vs; wee receiued him with*

the same curtesie wherwith we receiued them, making stay of him vntill they might all three be together dismissed. And for that his Embassage was vndertaken for the furtherance of the common good, though it wanted the wished successe, yet we haue thought it good to giue thanks vnto your Maiestie, and in most friendly maner to greet you by this your said Embassador, whom we highly commend to you, for that for the time he here staid in our court, he so behaued himselfe, as that he well deserued both our and your Maiesties fauor, wherof we wish him to be partaker. Almighty God blesse your Maiestie with all felititie, and long to his good pleasure preserue the same.

These Embassadors with these letters thus dismissed, one of them went into Polonia, and there declared vnto the King the great loue and affection of the Persian King toward him, offering vnto him all loue and kindnesse: first requesting him, That he would join with his Majestie in all friendship and brotherly loue: and then, That he would take vp armes against the Turks their common enemy: promising on his masters behalfe, That he should not lay down arms vntill that the enemy were vtterly brought to nought and destroied, so that the Christian princes would on the other side likewise impugn him. This was a strange message, and not before heard of in Polonia, where for all that the messenger was curteously and bountifully entertained, and afterwards with good words put in hope of obtaining what he had requested, was so honorably dismissed.

The Turks and Hungarian Rebels by the Imperials ouerthrowne.

But leauing these Embassadors vnto their long journey, to return again into Hungary. A great number of the Turkes and Hungarian Rebels meeting together at Hidweg, had a purpose secretly to haue surprised and oppressed the Imperial soldiers in their camp. Of which their purpose they in good time aduertised, and therfore keeping strong Watch and ward, so receiued the Turks and Rebels at their comming, contrary to their expectation, as that after a small fight they caused them to fly: whom the Imperials so hotly pursued towards Canisia, that they slew of them aboue a thousand, tooke about two hundred more of them prisoners, with fifteen hundred horses which they caried away with them: and so hauing left sufficient garisons on that side of the countrey towards Canisia, returned themselues towards Vienna. In the mean time the Emperors Commissioners being met together at Comora, about the treaty of peace with the Turks and the Hungarians, the sixt of December receiuing letters from the Bassa of Buda, certaine of them the next day after went by water down the riuer of Danubius to Buda: where they being honorably receiued, and hauing with the Bassa much and long talke concerning a peace, found little difficultie therin, but that the Turks said they could therof determine nothing, without the presence and consent of the Hungarians. With which answer they ful of hope returned backe again to Comora, as did also *Sigismund Forgat*, with the like hope of peace from *Botscay*. At which time *Botscay* beeing about to depart from the assembly at Kirpay, back again to Cassovia, gaue power to *Illishascius* for the furtherance of the treaty for peace. Who hauing receiued letters of safe conduct from the Archduke *Matthias*, about the end of December, together with his wife went to Vienna: who being admitted vnto the Archdukes presence, and hauing had an houre and a halfes talk with him, and euery day after conferred with the Counsellors from eight a clock to twelue, at the length composed all difficulties and differences touching the treaty of peace, excepting fiue Articles onely concerning Religion; the free exercise whereof the Hungarians in any wise required. So that now men began to conceiue some good hope of a peace to be in time concluded.

1606 *The Haiducks do great harme in the vpper Hungarie.*

This year thus ending with the beginning of the treaty for peace, the next year began with the wonted troubles of war, the rebellious Haiducks doing great harm in the vpper Hungary, tyrannising after their wonted maner vpon men of all sorts and conditions. Where assaulting diuers cities, and being valiantly repulsed, they were constrained to retyre by the Polonian Cossacks defending the same: yet did they neuertheleſſe no little harm vnto the Country inhabitants. Wherof complaint being made to the King of Polonia, he by his Embassador sent to *Botscay* at Cassovia, obtained, that those spoiling Haiducks should be called back again out of those parts.

Now had *Illishascius* the negotiator for the treaty of peace to bee made with the Rebels, so well

The free exercise of rel gion granted to the Hungarians.

well dealt in that matter, as that the same in the later end of Ianuarie should haue been published at Vienna, but that certaine of the chiefe of the Clergy could not be brought to consent, that the free exercise of Religion should indifferently be granted to all the people in generall, but vnto the Nobilitie onely. Whereupon *Illishascius* with the rest of the Commissioners for the Hungarians, with great discontentment being about to return home again without any thing at all concluded, the Deputies for the Emperor seeing that it could not otherwise be brought to passe, at length agreed (although neuer so much contrary to the good liking of the Clergy-men) to satisfie the Hungarians in this their request, and that the free exercise as well of the Reformed as of the Romish Religion, should bee permitted to all men thorowout all Hungary, in such sort as they had before beene in the time of the Emperours *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*. Concerning which point for the free libertie of Religion, Letters were deliuered vnto *Illishascius*; all the other points concerning the peace beeing put off vntill the next assembly of the chiefe States of Hungary, shortly after to be holden at the city of Presburg.

About the beginning of March, the Spahi at Constantinople had requested of the Visier Bassa, That it might bee lawfull for themselues to take vp their woonted Pension of the Farmers and husbandmen here and there in the Countrey. Which although it were vnto them by the Visier Bassa denied, (who had commaundement from the great Sultan, within a few daies after to giue euery one of them his present pay in ready money) yet they not so contented, but going out of the city, presumptuously presumed to trouble the countrey men, and to do the Farmers great harm. For which their insolencie the great Sultan (the chiefe Captaines and leaders of them being again returned into the City) caused them some to bee beheaded, some to be hanged, and other some to be bound in chains and drowned: whereby no small fear was struck into the rest of the common souldiers. But the rebellion in Asia stil increasing, and the rebels there secretly both fauouring and furthering the proceedings of the Persian King, the Sultan forthwith sent for the Visier Bassa, who the last yeare had serued in Hungary, to go into Asia to represse the Rebels there, and also to withstand the proceedings of the Persian King: committing in the mean time the managing of the war in Hungary vnto his Lieutenant.

The treaty of peace both with the Turkes and the Rebels was yet in hand; whereunto how much the Turks were for their part inclined, the garrison souldiers of Rab had good proofe: for the eighteenth day of March, being the day at their request appointed for the treatie, and wheron the Commissioners on both parts there meeting together, should haue furthered the negotiation of the peace, not past fifty of the Turkes comming to the gate of the towne, required to be let in, as if they had come for that purpose. Whom our men nothing suspecting, were about to receiue them into the town: when as a Sentinel without the town (it beeing a thicke mist) perceiued three thousand more of the Turks lurking there by: and forthwith giuing an alarm to those of the town, bewraied the enemies treachery; who therupon retyred, they of the town discharging their great ordnance after them.

The next moneth about the beginning of Aprill certain messengers came from Eperia (a City seated in the vpper Hungary, yet holden for the Emperour) to Vienna, declaring the most miserable state of that city: which although the way therunto being three or four weeks before opened, it had receiued some good store of victuals, yet now (as they said) was so on euery side beset by the Rebels, as that no prouision at all could more therunto come: hoping by that means to bring to passe, that the citizens pinched with hunger and want of things necessarie, should at length yeeld themselues together with the city into their power. By which means they but a little before had obtained the strong town of Tokay; wherin the famin was so great, that the souldiers had not only eaten their shooes and leather jerkins, but had now also killed two boyes to eat, and some others of them had cast lots amongst themselues, which should be kild for the other to eat. By which extremitie *Ruber* the Gouernor of the place was inforced to yeeld. Vnto whom *Botscay*, who then lay at Cassovia, is said to haue offred a great summe of mony, with many other good things, to haue taken his part: all which he most constantly refused, protesting, euen vnto death to continue faithfull in his obedience to the Emperour.

Tokay taken by the Rebels.

About the same time *Illishaschius*, who had before not a little laboured about the furthering of the peace in Hungarie, writ letters from Cassouia vnto a certaine great man at Vienna; whereby he declared, that *Botscay* without the consent of the Estates of Hungarie could of himselfe determine nothing concerning the conclusion of the peace: who had oft times told him to his face, that rather than they would againe submit themselues to a forreine Gouernour, they would for euer put themselues vnder the Turks protection: and yet promised by the same lettters, that although he had got vnto himselfe great displeasure thereby with the Haiduckes, he would not for all that cease by all meanes to draw the States of the country in their next assembly vnto his part, so that that which was before concluded at Vienna concerning Religion, should not againe be reuersed: for many of them (as he said) were afraid that it would not be performed, which was there promised vnto the States concerning the exercise of their Religion. And that therefore they could not yet bee persuaded to put themselues from vnder the Turks protection, vntill they saw themselues sufficiently secured, both for the liberty of their Religion, and the keeping of their antient priuiledges. And that they could not, nor would, not endure a forreine Gouernour to rule ouer them, with whom they could not talke; nor yet suffer Clergy men to haue any voyces in their ciuill affaires. And therefore (he said) he thought it very necessarie that the Emperour should not doubt in this point to gratifie the Hungarians. And that Transyluania, whereupon hee had been hitherto inforced to bestow so great cost for the keeping thereof, being now left vnto *Botscay*, he should appoint such a Gouernour ouer Hungarie as the States of that country should require. For that there was no hope of any peace to be made with the Turks, except *Botscay* and the States of Hungarie should vndertake the treaty thereof; seeing that they but only seeking for a peace in shew, were oftentimes discouered but to seeke for their owne aduantages and profits.

Illishaschius reproachfully vsed by the Hungarians.

But concerning *Illishaschius* himselfe, the Hungarian Rebels seeing him so much to labour about the concluding of a peace, in scorne called him by the by-name of *Cripelishacius*, as hee that too much inclined vnto the Germanes: which by-name he tooke in so ill part, as that he departed streight to Eperia, with a purpose not to haue been present at the next assembly of the States: but being again pacified, and by *Botscay* called back, he made such a notable speech vnto the States in their next assembly, that all men now began both to hope and wish more for peace than they had before done.

In the meane time, the Turks in great number being gathered together to Belgrade, expected the end of this treaty for peace, and letters from the great Sultan to *Botscay* were intercepted also: whereby he aduised him to proceed in his purpose, and ioyning with his powers, to seize vpon Austria, Bohemia, and Morauia; for that he could not be contented with Hungary and Transyluania, and leaue the rest of the Prouinces vnto *Botscay* as his inheritance.

The Tartars about this time were about so make a road into Polonia, but when as they with their oft incursions had not a little troubled the Haiduckes also in the vpper Hungary, they resolued amongst themselues to ioyne their forces together, and to fight as well against the Turks as the Tartars, and from thenceforth neither to trust the one nor the other.

Hereupon, when as the Turks in great number came to assault Lippa, a towne of the Haiduckes, they forsaking the towne, fortified the Castle with certaine companies of armed men, and afterwards bestowed many others here and there in caues and cellers in the towne, and layed great store of gunpouder in the streets. Into which towne the Turks comming, and finding the gates open, and none to resist them, hasted to haue taken the Castle. But in the meane time the pouder which the Haiduckes had layed taking fire, blew vp a number of them, and they which lay hid in the caues and cellers forthwith breaking out, slew of them whom soeuer they met, and so made of the Turks a great slaughter, and again cleered the towne.

The Estates of Austria considering the great harmes they had in these late troubles receiued, as well from the Hungarian Rebels, as from the Emperors mutinous souldiers, and by experience taught how dangerous a thing it was for them to rest vpon other mens protection, being

being vnto them strangers; resolued now in a general assembly of the Estates by them about this time holden, to take vpon themselues the defence of their Countrey against such sudden incursions and tumults of the mutinous soldiers, and no more to rely vpon forrein protection, still to seek when they had most need thereof. Wherefore to assure themselues in their own strength, they with a general consent agreed to haue alwaies in readines two thousand horsemen and eight thousand footmen to be maintained at the common charge; fifty of the country peasants stil finding of one of the said souldiers.

And much about this time, *viz.* the third of Iune, *Illishascius* a great man among the rebels, and yet the greatest furtherer of the peace, (as appeared by his doings, and by that wee haue before of him written) hauing before obtained letters of safe conduct from the Archduke, came now again with his wife also to Vienna; there more at large to conferre vpon the Articles for a peace to be concluded, with such as were on the Emperors behalfe for that purpose deputed. Where comming to confer and talke about that matter, he was so crossed by *Nicolas* then Bishop of Vienna, who hitherto had been present in counsell together with the rest of the Commissioners (a great enemy vnto the peace, in respect of the article concerning the liberty of the Reformed Religion) he was, I say, by him so crossed, as that there was no hope of any thing to be for the common quiet concluded, so long as he was there present. For the which cause he, on both sides and of all men desirous of the peace disliked, was in the Archdukes name willed no more to come into the Councel, for disturbing of the peace. In which negotiation for concluding of the peace, *Illishascius* had taken such pains in trauelling to and fro, betwixt the Archduke then lying at Vienna, and *Botscay* with the States of Hungary then lying at Cassovia, and so debated the matter on both sides, that all things beeing as good as agreed vpon, for a full conclusion of all matters, he himselfe, together with *George Humanoius*, *Francis Magot*, *Sebastian Tockel*, *Stanislaus Turson*, and others, with two hundred horse, and thirty two wagons, in all four hundred persons, the seuenth of September came to Vienna, with fifty Hussars following them. Shortly after whose comming, the treaty for peace was earnestly begun, with often messengers passing to and fro betwixt Vienna and Cassovia, to *Botscay* lying then very dangerously sick, vntil that all the articles of the peace were neere about the 14 day of September fully on both parts agreed vpon: most difference arising about the Article for the free exercise of Religion. For although it was before declared, that men might haue the free exercise of Religion; yet the Hungarians recalling that general word Religion, to a particularitie, would needs haue it set down, that men might haue the free exercise of those Religions which are at this day called the Lutheran, Calvinian, and Romish religion. Neither would they conclude any peace, til they were of their request in that point satisfied. Which peace so concluded, the next day after, the Deputies for the Hungarians sent an Embassador to the Visier Bassa at Buda, to certifie him of all their proceedings, and to request him not as yet to attempt any thing for the disturbing of the peace. Now the Articles of the peace were as followeth.

Peace between the Emperour and the discontented Hungarians.

Articles of Peace agreed vpon betwixt the Emperor and his discontented subiects in the vpper Hungary.

1. *That from thenceforth it should be lawfull for euery man thorowout the kingdome of Hungary to haue the free vse of his Religion, and to beleeue what he would.*
2. *That if the Hungarians so thought good, they might chuse a Palatine for their Gouernour; and that in the meantime the Archduke* Matthias *should no more vse the title of a Gouernor, but of a Vice-Roy.*
3. *That the Crown of Hungary should still be left in the Emperors keeping.*
4. *That the Bishops that were nobly descended in Hungary, and had lands of their owne, should from thenceforth be admitted into the Councell, but the other Bishops not so to be receiued.*
5. *That* Botscay *for himselfe and his heirs male should for euer hold Transyluania.*
6. *That the same country of Transyluania should be still subiect to the kingdom of Hungary.*
7. *That for his arms he should bear three royall Crowns and three open Helmets.*

8 *That he should no more afterward stile himselfe Prince, but Lord of part of the Kingdome of Hungary.* G

9 *That they should pay the Haiducks their wages which had leuied them.*

10 *That the harms don on both sides should for euer be forgotten.*

11 *That Bohemia, Moravia, Lausnisium, and Austria, should not only with their Letters and seales confirm the articles, but also swear at Vienna, to keep the same so far as should concern them.*

12 *That the Hungarians should likewise send some to Vienna, who in their behalfe should with their Letters, Seals and Oaths, confirm and ratifie these articles.*

13 *That the assembly of the States of Hungary should be referred vntill a more conuenient time for them.*

14 *That all these things being don, this agreement should be publiquely confirmed and inrolled in the Records of the kingdom of Hungary.* H

15 *That it should be lawfull for the Hungarians by their Embassadors to inuite the Princes of the Empire to the approuing and confirming of these Articles.*

Which fifteen articles were on the Emperors part subscribed by *Trausam, Mollart, Sigifred, Pruner, Lichtenstein*, and *Kreuberge*: and on the Hungarians part, by *Illishascius, Peter Erkod, George Turso, Sigismund Forgat*, and others.

The twentieth of September following, the Embassadors for *Botscay* and the Hungarians being admitted vnto the presence of the Archduke *Matthias*, obtained of him pardon for the forepassed rebellion, and all that was therein don. Vnto whom securitie for the same was afterward giuen by the prouinces; therby also to assure them that they should not be therfore afterwards troubled. But yet for all that was before don, the title of the prince of Transylvania was left vnto *Botscay* for term of his life. Who feeling his sicknes daily to increase, would ostentimes say, That he could willingly die, so that it would please God before his death to giue him leaue to excuse himselfe of his rebellion before the whole Roman Empire. And so about the end of September, all the aforesaid Embassadours for the Hungarians and *Botscay*, being assembled into the castle of Vienna, together with the Emperors Councel, and certain other Noblemen of the prouinces belonging to the Emperor, receiued euery one of them the articles of the peace, copied out and fair written in parchment. Which don they returned to their own dwellings: but *Illishascius* went from thence to Newhuse, to bee present at the peace to be afterwards made with the Turks also: from whence he afterwards writ letters vnto the Visier Bassa, to request him, not as yet to attempt any thing against the Emperors prouinces, but peaceably and quietly to expect his Commissioners, which were shortly to come to him. I K

A great fire at Constantinople.

But in the mean time whilst this peace was thus in concluding, certain Tartars at Constantinople, in their insolencie set fire vpon a certaine Iewes house: whereof arose such a terrible flame, as burnt not only many houses, but a great number of Iewes themselues also; the harm there don being esteemed at forty hundred thousand duckats. In which tumult and noise of the people running to and fro and quenching of the fire, the great Sultan hauing a fall from his horse, was therof for a while sicke.

The Turks of Canisia also hauing conspired with the Captain of the lesser Comora, came to haue surprised the same. But the garrison souldiers there hauing before had a suspition of it, suffered so many of the Turkes as they knew they were able to ouercome, to enter: and so shutting the gates of the city, kild them euery mothers son, the rest which were without returning again to Canisia. L

Peace thus as is aforesaid concluded with the Hungarians, *George Turson, Nicolas Istuan, Iohn Mollart, Althem*, with some others the Emperors Commissioners for a peace to be made with the Turks, went to Comara; *Sigifrid Collonitz* and *Budin* following them with the army: for as yet they durst not altogether trust the Turks, for intercepting them by the way. Which Commissioners caried with them *Solyman* Bassa of Buda, who had now bin seuen yeares kept prisoner in the castle of Vienna; and *Aly Bassa*, both brauely apparelled in blew silk; six wagons following them, wherin were caried certaine presents for the great Sultan, to wit, a most curious clock, certain fair pieces of plate, an hundred thousand duckats, and diuers other things of great value. M

But

A But whilst they there staid, expecting to hear from the Visier Bassa then at Buda, a sudden insolent accident fel out, like enough againe to haue broken off the peace already made with the Hungarians, as also to haue vtterly cut off the treaty of peace to be had with the Turkes, and to haue set them altogether by the ears again. For albeit that the first article of the peace made with the Hungarians was, That euery man should haue the free exercise of his religion; yet the eighth of October, about three a clock in the afternoon, when as a certaine Hungarian Lutheran preacher was in the pulpit preaching to the people in a church in the suburbes of Comora, *Buchem* and *Knevie* two captaines comming from dinner with certaine of their seruants more than halfe drunk, with their swords drawn ran into the church and draue the Preacher out thence; vpon whom captain *Buchems* trumpetter also discharged a pistol, and raised B such a tumult in the church, that diuers children were troden to death vnder foot, and the rest put in great fear of their liues.

Which insolent fact so mooued the Hungarians, that *Turson* and *Budian* there present with the rest of the Commissioners, ready to haue gon about the treaty for peace, would needs the next day haue departed from Comora, and were hardly by *Mollart* and *Collonitz* intreated to stay. *Buchem* and *Knevie* the two Captaines were bound to their appearance for answering of the matter, and the trumpeter with irons on his heels was clapt in prison. But the news hereof being carried to Neuhusel, and as the manner of report is, by fame made far greater than it was, as, That 150 persons was slain in the Church, there arose such a tumult among the Hungarians there, as that *Illishascius* with the rest of the captains had much adoe to quiet and ap- C pease the same: who joining with the Turks of Strigonium and the Haiducks of the Island, had determined now by night to haue inuaded Comora, where the outrage was committed; had not *Pograma* the elder (a man of great grauitie) comming from thence, declared to *Illishascius* and the rest of the captains all the matter as it was don; vpon whose relation the whole tumult was again appeased. But forasmuch as the two aforesaid captains bound to their appearance, were by night fled to Vienna, the Hungarians were very ernest to haue them seuerely punished, as breakers of the first article of the peace concerning Religion. *Botscay* in the mean time beheaded *Catayus* his Chancellor, who had gon about to poison him, in hope after his death to haue bin Prince of Transylvania himself; placing *Iohn Ianusy* in his stead, and giuing him *Catay* his lands.

Botscay causes his Chancellor to be beheaded.

D Peace now made with the Hungarians as is aforesaid, and Commissioners appointed for a treaty of peace to be had with the Turks also (wherunto the Visier Bassa, then lying at Buda, was as forward as any, beeing so commaunded from the great Sultan his master) there wanted but a place commodious for the said Commissioners, without suspition of danger, and indifferent for them all to meet in. Wherupon *Cæsar Gallen*, a man of great experience in such matters, with some other captains, were appointed to find out a fit place for them to meet in: who hauing viewed many, at length made choice of one within half a league of Comora, so fit for that purpose, as if Nature had therfore prouided it. The great riuer of Danubius beeing there diuided into three parts, made therin three Islands, al compassed round with the arms therof; into which Islands the Commissioners for the Emperor, for the Turk, and for the Hungarians E might come without let one of another, to intreat of their affairs, and so in little boats prepared for that purpose, passe ouer one to another as their occasions required. Into which so commodious a place, the Deputies for the Emperour the 25 of October, conducted by the horsemen of *Mansfelt, Hohenlo* and *Bonchimin*, came. After whom followed *Illishascius* and the other deputies for the Hungarians, assisted with the nobility of Hungary, al attending the comming of the great Sultans Commissioners; who likewise immediatly after came, being brought vp the riuer in 24 braue ships wel appointed.

These Commissioners being thus apart arriued in the Islands, began first to consult by themselues euery one, of their seueral affairs and businesses; and afterwards many times meeting together, with much grauitie consulted and conferred of the best waies and meanes for F the making of a good and assured peace for the appeasing of these wars: which euery one of them, and all together, to that end employing the vttermost of their indeauours, at last the nineteenth of November it was betwixt all the three parties fully agreed vpon and concluded, and hostages on all parts giuen one to another, with oathes and promises solemnly on all

sides

Peace between the Emperour and the grand Sultan.

sides giuen and receiued for the inuiolate keeping and obseruing of the same. The Articles follow.

Articles of the Peace concluded betwixt the Great Sultan and the German Emperor.

First, That the Emperor and the great Sultan, in all their Letters, Dispatches, Instruments, and Embassages, should not stile themselues by any other names or additions, but by the names of Welbeloued father and son; to wit, the Emperor calling the great Sultan his Son; and the great Sultan the Emperor (in respect of his years) his Father.

That in the beginning of their Letters they should take vpon them the name and quality of Emperor, and not of King, respectiuely one of them to another.

That these two Emperors should take order, that the realme of Hungary and the Archdukedome of Austria might be in rest, peace, and tranquilitie, and altogether deliuered and assured from all incursions, oppressions, and outrages of the men of war on both parties.

That it should be lawfull for the King of Spain, if he so thought good, to enter into this treaty of peace, without the opposition or let of one or other of these Emperors in any sort.

That the Tartars, and all other people vsually wont to come in arms into Hungary, should be comprised within this treaty of the peace, so to be disarmed of all power, by their means to do harm within the realm of Hungary, and they there assured from their violences and robberies.

That euery one, both on the one part and on the other, should forbear from making incursions and pillages and enterprises of war, and from all acts of hostility one against another; and yet euery one neuertheless to haue power to pursue theeues and robbers, and such others seeking after booty, to the disturbing of the peace, and injuring of the Commonweale. Wherof euery man should haue power to giue knowledge, to the intent by common force to suppresse them, and to cause them to recompence the wrongs and harmes by them done.

That all places, castles, towns, and forts should remain without attempt either on the one part or on the other, whether it were by force, surprise, or treason; and so likewise the goods, families, and catell of the countrymen which were of their territories and jurisdiction; Botscay *still holding all that was lately to him granted by the Treaty of Vienna.*

That all prisoners taken in the wars should be set at liberty, but especially such as had beene taken in Townes and Citadels, which by their valour and courage they sought to haue defended. And the other prisoners to bee deliuered by exchange and ransome, as should bee most expedient and easie for both parties.

That all controuersies hapning as well on this side as beyond the riuer of Danubius, should be peaceably ended by the iudgement of the gouernor of Rab, of the Bassa of Buda, of the Gouernour of Sclauonia, and of the Gouernors of other places; and that if they should chance to be of such important weight and consequence, as that they could not by these magistrats be determined and composed; that they should in that case be reserued to be decided by their Imperial Maiesties; and that it should bee lawfull both for the one party and for the other, to repair and build the places ruined, but not to build places of new, which might preiudice either the one part or the other.

That Amurath *the Visier Bassa should send his messengers with presents to the Archduke* Matthias; *and that the Emperor should dispatch an Embassador toward the great Sultan with 200000 Dukets: And that the great Sultan likewise should send his Embassador to Prague with great and rich presents to the Emperor.*

That this peace should begin in the year 1607, and continue for the space of twenty years; and that one of the Emperors should send vnto the other euery three years their Embassadors with honorable and rich presents, according to the pleasure and power of their Maiesties.

That all the Emperors successors, as also those of the kingdome of Hungary, should bee comprehended within the agreement of peace; together with all their kindred, allyes, and confederats; as likewise those of the great Sultans also.

That the Christians should again haue the city of Vacia deliuered to them, which they should at their pleasure keepe and fortifie: and that Strigonium, with all the Villages thereto belonging, should remaine vnto

vnto the Great Sultan; yet so as that no man should be with any new tribute oppressed; and that such as had before been free from paying of tribute, should still keep the same priuiledges.

And that the Turks should not exact their tribute by the point of their swords, but by the way of Iustice, which they should commit vnto the discretion of the Iudges and Receiuers, to that end appointed, that so it might be payed without oppressing of the people, except haply they which should pay it, vpon presumption should deny it, or too long deferre the payment of it: in which case it should be lawfull both for the one side and the other, to vse such meanes as should seeme vnto them good for the obtaining thereof.

These are the Articles of this peace, which God turne to the glory of his Name, and the benefit of the Christian Commonweale; and for which all the townes of Hungary made great ioy and triumph, which they declared by the thundring of their Cannons, which they in great number discharged, with many other solemnities and triumphs. The Commissioners themselues in token of their conceiued ioy, magnificently feasted one another also: which the Turks first began; and not content to haue made them great cheere, gaue vnto our Commissioners great Presents also: for the Bassa of Buda gaue vnto *Mollart*, *Althem*, *Turson*, *Istuan*, *Collonitz*, *Budian*, *Hendoc*, *Cæsar Gallen*, and *Eleschin*, braue and couragious horses most gallantly furnished; and to the rest exceeding rich garments and tapestrie hangings of great value. And as at the time of this feast, the troupe of *Mansfeld* had by many sallies and vollies of shot giuen great pleasure vnto the Turks as they sate at the table; *Alla Bassa* to declare the contentment and pleasure he had therein receiued, sent to the captaine of this troupe two hundred duckets, which he would not accept, requesting in stead of them to haue deliuered vnto him a certain captiue by the Turks then kept prisoner; whom the Bassa caused freely to be deliuered vnto him, and withall sent backe againe the two hundred duckets to be diuided among the souldiers; which for all that *Mansfeld* refused, sending them backe againe vnto the Bassa. After which actions of ioy and peace, euery man returned home well content and pleased.

These things thus done, and the peace confirmed, the Bassa of Buda forthwith sent his Embassadors to Constantinople, certifying the great Sultan of the peace now made with the Christians: who thereof conceiuing great ioy, with a number of Ianizaries and others, in great magnificence went to the Church, to giue thanks therefore vnto his Prophet *Mahomet*, and spent the next day with great sport and pleasure, purposing from thenceforth to turne all his force and power for the suppressing of his Rebels in Asia; and the subduing of the Persian King.

The Haiduckes begin new stirs in Hungary.

Now albeit that there was a peace of late concluded with the Hungarians at Vienna (as is before declared) yet diuers stirs and tumults were neuertheless by the Haiduckes in diuers places of the vpper Hungary still raised: insomuch that about the end of Nouember the Inhabitants of the County of Bocotsie were through their insolences inforced to ioyne battell with them, wherein a number were on both sides slaine, and three countrey villages burnt: so that it should seeme, no peace can be so well and indifferently made, but that some will be still troubling and impugning the same.

Botscay calleth an assembly of the States of Hungary.

Shortly after, *viz.* the thirteenth of December, *Botscay* calling together an assembly of the Estates of Hungary, propounded to them to be considered of, first, That the last reuolt, almost generally made throughout all Hungarie, with all the stirres and troubles thereby raised, had all been hitherto to no other end made, but for the defence of their Religion, and the maintenance of their antient liberty: Then, That whereas they by their generall good liking had made choice of him for their prince, and that hitherto he had done nothing without their knowledge and consent; and that euen now at this present he was by their consent ready to depart from the Castles and free Cities in the vpper Hungary; and had now sent his Letters vnto the Archduke *Matthias*, for the sending of his Deputies to receiue them; whether hee should from thence forth relinquish the title of a Prince, or not. And that forasmuch as no warre could bee made without great harme doing, that he would therefore for the auoiding of further troubles about such matters, that a Decree should be made, That all such wrongs and iniuries should bee forgiuen and forgotten, and that euery man should still hold all such goods

goods, whether they were moueable or immoueable, during the time of this late warre. He G
wished them also in the next generall assembly of the States, with all their power and endea-
uor, to vrge the repealing of the Article concerning the burning of Heretiques, with al other
Articles contrary to their Religion: and not to remit any thing concerning the choice of their
Palatine, as had in former time bin vsed: neither in this next generall assembly of the Estates
to neglect any thing which might seeme to concerne their priuiledges and liberty. And that
therefore they should be carefull to send thither wise and powerfull men, such as should not
easily be ouercome with the clamors and outcries of the contrary part. At length he wished
them to consider of this also, how a true and sincere confederation might bee made betwixt
Hungary and Transyluania, so that a safe and quiet traffique and commerce might in both
places be vsed.

Botscay dieth at Cossouia.

These things thus done, *Botscay* his sicknesse still more and more increasing vpon him, so at H
length preuailed, that it made an end of him, to the great sorrow and griefe of all the people
in generall, who had him in great honour and regard. He died at Cossouia the 30 of Decem-
ber, in the yeare 1606. He was honourably descended, and a man of great spirit, ambitious,
wise, and politique, a great louer of his countrey, but an extreme enemy vnto the Germanes,
and their gouernment in Hungary.

A little before his death, he earnestly persuaded *Iohn Ianusie* his Chancellor to continue in
his alleagance to the Emperor, and not to raise new stirres, or so much as in him was, not to
suffer any to be raised. Neuertheless, such his wholesome counsell not regarded, there were
some who immediatly after his death were about to haue raised new forces, for to haue seised I
vpon Transyluania, and so to haue stirred vp new troubles. For preuenting whereof, *Matthias*
the Archduke forthwith sent a messenger vnto the States of the vpper Hungary; aduising
them, That the great harmes and miseries considered which that part of Hungary had of late
felt and endured, almost to the vtter ruine and destruction thereof (which proceeded not so
much from the warres with the Turks, as from their owne ciuill tumults and seditions) they
should from thenceforth giue themselues to quietnesse and peace, and not again insolently to
prescribe vnto the Emperor what to do, or how he was to dispose of the countrey of Transyl-
uania, assuring them, that the Emperour would not hereafter winke at such their rebellious
plots and deuices, but forthwith turne all his power and forces to the vtter destruction and
rooting out of such rebellious and seditious persons, the disturbers of the common peace K
and quiet. By which the Archdukes warning, some, otherwise ready enough to haue raised
new stirres and troubles, were not therein so forward as otherwise haply they would haue bin,
but kept themselues quiet.

Now many there were (and yet are) which much maruelled, that the Christian Emperour
would thus make peace with the great Sultan (as is aforesaid) he being then so much troubled
with wars, both against his owne Rebels, and the Persian King, in Asia, most part of his forces
being turned that way; so that a fitter time, or of more aduantage, could not haue been wi-
shed for the Emperor to haue done great matters against him in, and not only to haue holden
his owne (which he did not) in Hungary, but to haue recouered some good part of his los-
ses there before receiued also. And indeed true it is, that the time then well serued for both: L
but what auaileth opportunitie without power? And had the Hungarians (the greatest
strength the Emperor hath hitherto had for the defence of that little which is yet left of that
so great a kingdome) been at quiet and at his command, and he himselfe a Prince which had
rested vpon his owne strength and power, euer at his pleasure to haue been raised, and as need
should require supplied, without depending vpon his friends and allyes, then haply it might
haue bin in him accounted a great ouersight, to haue omitted and ouerslipped so faire an op-
portunitie. But the Hungarians being then not only reuolted from him, but taking part with
the Turks, and the Turks with them, and he of himselfe with his own power not able to hold
the field against them, or well to maintaine a defensiue warre; and his friends and allyes, his
wonted and greatest staies, then at his greatest need failing of him also, what should he in such M
a case do but as he did? to accept of a reasonable peace whilest he might haue it; especially
against such an enemy, as whose whole power being turned against him, might haue easily en-
dangered his whole estate. For it is not reasonably to be thought, how the Emperour should
of

A of himselfe, without the great aid of the other Christian princes, his friends and allies, be able
to withstand the huge and dreadfull power of the *Othoman* Emperour: as (without ominous
presage be it spoken) it is to be feared it will too true appeare, whensoeuer his wars and trou-
bles in the East being ended, he shall againe turne his forces this way towards the West.

Now *Botscay* was no sooner dead, but that some others of the Nobilitie both of Hungary 1607
and Transyluania (haply no lesse ambitious than was he) began by diuers means to seek af-
ter and to aspire to that principalitie. Of whom, though some other with the weaknesse of
their owne meanes or with the threats of *Matthias* the Archduke deterred, ceased further to
seeke after it: yet were there some others, who better supported, and nothing afraid of the
Archdukes great words, laboured vnder hand to haue obtained it. For the crossing of whom,
B and the auoiding of further troubles to be raised by these ambitious competitors, certain of
the Nobilitie of Transyluania gathered together at Claudianople the twelfth of February,
made choice of *Sigismund Rogotsie* for their Gouernor and their Prince of Transyluania, and
the more to assure him of their loue and affection towards him, bound themselues vnto him
by the oath of their alleagance solemnely taken in the chiefe Church there. And afterward
sent messengers to the Archduke *Matthias* at Vienna, to certifie him what they had done, and
to excuse themselues thereof: who comming to Presburg the twelfth of March, there openly
protested this election of *Rogotsie* for their Prince to haue been made, not for that they were
about to rebell, or to reuolt from the Emperour, whom they would alwaies acknowledge
for their Soueraigne Lord; but for that their necessitie so required, many of the Nobili-
C tie both of Transyluania and of Hungary gaping after this Principalitie, and going about, for
the obtaining thereof, to raise new stirres and troubles. Howbeit, the same *Ragotsie* afterward
doubting not to be able, without great trouble and danger, besides the Emperors displeasure,
to hold the same Principalitie, of his own accord about a yeare after, gaue the same vp againe,
and got himselfe out of the way to Sarentum: who was no sooner gone, but that *Gabriel Ba-
thor* was about to haue stept into his place: vnto whom the States of Transyluania sent word
by two of the Noblemen, That the free election of the Prince belonged to them, and that
therefore he should not seeke by force to intrude himselfe into the Principalitie, but quietly
to come vnto the election, and not to bring with him aboue a thousand horsemen, and fiue
hundred foot.

Neuhusse again deliuered vnto the Emperour.

D About this time the strong towne of Neuhusse (otherwise called Neuheusel) the last yeare
so hardly won by the Hungarian Rebels, was againe deliuered to *Sigefrid Collonitz* for the Em-
peror; who shortly after comming to Vienna, brought news of a great number of the Turks to
haue risen vp in rebellion at Belgrade, to haue rifled the town, and to haue burnt another town,
called Aliischria, downe to the ground, and so with a great prey to be gone ouer to the Rebels:
and also *Redkius*, *Botscay* his Lieutenant, in going to take possession of certain lands giuen him
by *Botscay*, to haue been by his owne tenants, lying in wait for him vpon a streit passage,
slaine.

Amongst the articles of the peace before concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Great
Sultan, one was for the mutuall sending of Presents one of them vnto another: With which
E Presents, when as the Embassadour, by the Emperour appointed for the carriage of the same
to Constantinople, from day to day deferred to set forward, the Turks and Tartars began to
doubt, or else seemed to doubt of the good meaning of the Christians, for the obseruing of
the aforesaid peace; and thereupon began againe not onely to roame abroad into the territo-
ries of the Christians, but also caused the pledges left at Buda for the obseruing of the peace,
to bee hardly handled and clapt fast in prison: whom when as the Bassa of Buda shortly after
suffered again a little to walke abroad, the proud Ianizaries were therewith so much offended,
that rising in a tumult, they had almost slaine the Bassa with stones, heaping vpon him many
reproachfull words, and vnto his face calling him traitor and betrayer of his Prince and coun-
trey, one of which pledges they grieuously wounded also. Which their insolencie the
F Bassa in some sort to chastise, and to deterre them from doing the like againe, caused cer-
taine of them the night following to be secretly taken, and being found, to bee so cast in-
to the riuer of Danubius. And yet shortly after, they purposing to make a road vpon
the Christians, to colour such harmes as they should therein doe, and to lay all the
blame

The Ianizaries in mutinie against the Bassa of Buda.

blame therof vpon the Christians, and to excuse themselues, they procured the Bassa to write vnto the Archduke *Matthias*, of great wrongs done vnto the Turkes by the Christians, when as there was no such thing at all. The effect of which letters were, That whereas it was in the articles of peace set down and agreed, that both parties should abstain from roads and excursions of each others countries; yet that the Christians for all that, had aboue an hundred times since the conclusion of the peace, made roads into diuers territories of the Turkes, and slaine many of them; especially them about Leoven and Setschin, who (as they said) had slain diuers Turkish merchants of Pesth, and tooke from them great sums of money; as they had also taken from them of Potsen an hundred and twenty horses, with diuers other cattell. Besides that, there were (as he said) four Turks more by the Christians slain neer vnto Canisa, and twenty eight more taken prisoners. And that in the mie way betwixt Hatwan and Buda, fiue and twenty Turks more were slaine, and their horses, with all that they had beside caried away. Which things for that they tended to the breach of the peace, he could not (as he said) but aduertise his Highnesse of, for that he thought the Christian Captains vpon the borders of their territories to be men that hated peace, and to seeke by their excursions, as heretofore they had done, so now likewise, to disturbe this good worke begun, and by all sinister meanes to increase their own priuat profit. And that therefore seeing that he and the Turkes on their part, wished not to attempt or goe about any thing contrary to the Articles of the peace, that in like maner the Christians should also containe themselues within their owne bounds, and with all speed by Letters to giue him to vnderstand, whether they purposed to keep the peace or not.

The Grand Sultans proceedings against the Rebels in Asia.

The great Sultan (as is afore said) hauing made peace with the Christian Emperour, and now purposing to turne all his forces against his Rebels in Asia, and the Persian King, (as wee haue oftentimes said) and desirous first to appease those his troubles at home, before hee had further to do with the Persian, he sent a messenger vnto the Bassa of Aleppo, to lay down arms and to deliuer vp his charge vnto another, to whom hee had appointed the same; promising, that if he would shew himselfe obedient vnto this his command, he would not onely pardon him all that was past, but receiue him into his grace and fauor also. Whereunto the Bassa answered, That he had neuer taken vp arms against his Maiestie, but to be reuenged of the Bassa's of Tripolis and Damasco his sworne enemies; who once taken out of the way, he would not only yeeld himselfe vnto his Maiestie, but deliuer also the tribute sent him from Caire and Alexandria, by him before intercepted; and if hee so pleased to imploy him, to bring great forces in his seruice against the Persian King. With which answer the Sultan not contented, shortly after sent the Visier Bassa with a great Army against the Rebels into Asia. Who by his wisedom and discretion, more than by force of arms, hauing appeased the rebels in the lesser Asia, and receiued certaine of the chiefest of them into his fauor; with an Army of an hundred and thirty thousand men marched directly toward Aleppo in Syria. Of whose comming the Bassa hauing intelligence, with an army of forty thousand men, most of them harquebusiers, went against him, and in a place of aduantage not past two miles from the city valiantly encountred him, and in three notable battels one after another withstood his whole forces. But making himselfe ready to haue incountred him the fourth time, and vnderstanding of great aid comming to the Visier from the Bassa's of Damasco and Tripolis, he with speed retyred: and returning into the City, hauing trussed vp his treasure, with such things as he made most reckoning of, fled into the mountains toward Persia, with the greatest part of his army yet left stil following him. After which vnfortunat battel, the Visier Bassa with his army comming vnto the city, at length by force tooke the same, and there to the terrour of the inhabitants, put to the sword all the garrison souldiers which the Bassa had left there.

But the Bassa purposing with new forces to haue encountred the Visier, finding himselfe together with his better fortune, vtterly forsaken by many of his former friends and Companions, thought it best at length to take his refuge vnto the mercy of the great Sultan. And so resolued, by Letters requested the Visier Bassa to write in his behalfe to the Sultan; and so if it were possible to procure his peace. Which the Visier hauing easily obtained, hee was by Letters from the great Sultan sent for to Constantinople; with assured promise, that hee should

should be employed in seruice against the Persian King. Vpon receipt of which letters, the Bassa with an hundred horse set forward; and comming to Constantinople, there in the presence of many other of the Bassaes humbled himselfe vnto the Sultan; who not onely kept his promise with him in pardoning of him; but also in regard of the antient family whereof he was discended, as also of his great valour and faire conditions, receiued him againe into his fauour, and caused all the goods taken from him in Syria, to be againe vnto him restored.

Now in the meane time the Great Sultan had by the meanes of the great Cham of Tartarie sought to make peace with the Persian King; but all in vaine: for that he demanded the City of Tauris, with all the prouinces before taken from him by the Persians, to be againe vnto him restored: which the Persian King vtterly denied, forasmuch as he had now by force of Armes recouered the same, and which in former time belonged vnto his ancestours. At which time the said Persian King, the more to entangle the Turke, writ vnto the King of Spaine, for the turning of his forces also against the Turke their common enemy; the Letters being to this effect: That though they were in Religion diuided, yet that in power and in common hatred against the *Othoman* Empire they were conjoyned: and that hee considering the greatnesse of his power and armes, whereby hee was become his neighbour in the East, he could not but most entirely loue and fauour him: and that therefore hee had commanded all his Prouinces, as well in India as in other places thereabouts, that they should shew vnto his subjects all manner of courtesie, and to demand of them no tribute. And that he hauing by force recouered the fortresse of Aden, which *Salyman* the Turkish Sultan had sometime by treason surprised, he had appointed the same vnto the seruice of the Spanish Gouernour dwelling in Goa. And that his pleasure was, That all the Christians dwelling in his Kingdome should enjoy the same liberty and priuiledges which his owne faithfull subjects had. And besides declared, that he had now for seuen yeares space made continuall warres against the Turkish Sultan, who by treason had taken from him the strong Towne of Chiamon, for the recouery whereof he had now diuers times ouerthrowne his Armies. But forasmuch as he was determined to make no end of this warre, vntill he had driuen the Sultan out of those parts of the East, and recouered the seat of *Ismael* and *Iuchel*, his ancestours in Babylon and Caire, he therefore requested him, being a King of so great power, to joyne in league with him, and to send his dreadfull fleet into the Persian gulfe; promising that by such meanes the *Othoman* power driuen out, he could easily make himselfe Lord of Syria and of Ægypt. Last of all, he reckoneth vp the Presents he sent him; to wit, the Images of *Ismael*, *Iuchel*, and of *Ionas*, together with his owne, cast in gold, and set with most rich pretious stones and pearles; a Persian writing table, garnished with faire pretious stones, foure dogs by nature wonderfully spotted with red, yellow, and blew spots, two peeces of Arras adorned with most pretious stones and pearle, wherein the worthy acts of him that great *Tamberlane* were liuely to be seene: foure hunters hornes very smooth and richly garnished: twelue most gallant plumes of feathers of diuers colours: six drinking glasses which could not be broken, and couchbeds so cunningly made, as that they were like vnto chaires, hauing wrought in them the antient wars betwixt *Ascanius* and *Ghiusa* King of the Medes.

The States of Hungary about to depart from Presburg, by the persuasion of the Archbishop there staied.

Now the Emperour, for the better appeasing of all former troubles, and the preuenting of new, and the better assurance of the State, had about the middest of August called an assembly of the States of Hungary to Presburg; whither they being come, and hauing long in vaine expected the comming of *Matthias* the Archduke, by the Emperour appointed to haue beene President in that assembly, were in the beginning of September about to haue returned home, but that requested by the Archduke to stay yet fifteen daies longer, they were contented so to do; but yet vpon condition; That if the Archduke then came not, they should not be bound to stay any longer: For why, they by Letters certified of the attempts of the Tartars (who had requested to haue a place in the borders of Hungary, appointed them to dwell in) were desirous in any wise to haue that assembly of Parliament put off to a further time, that so they might the better betime preuent and meet with such the Tartars designes, whom they were loth to haue for their bad and troublesome neighbours. And now the Turks in the meane

meane time, in hope that the peace betwixt them and the Christians would not long hold, were come to Buda in such multitude, that the houses in the towne being not able to hold them, they were glad to set vp tents for them to lie in within the city: for that the Bassa would not suffer them to set vp any tents abroad in the fields, lest the Christians should suspect them to be about the raising of an army, and so disturbe the peace. G

But the States of Hungary hauing staied full 15 daies, as the Archbishop had requested, and the Archduke not comming, made a solemne protestation before the Chapter of the Cathedrall church at Presburg, that they departed from Presburg, and so returned home, not vpon any discontentment or contumacy, but for want of things necessary, and other their vrgent occasions (hauing about seuen weekes expected the Archdukes comming, without whom nothing could be done) and yet that if it should please the Emperor by solemne summons at any time after to call another Parliament, they would be ready vpon such summons giuen, to returne againe to Presburg, and there to consult of all such things, as should be for the good and welfare of the Common weale: so that nothing were propounded contrary to the articles they the yeare before agreed vpon at Vienna, which they would haue in all points kept whole and inuiolate: so that if any man should goe about or attempt any thing in disposing and ordring of the publike affaires contrary to that agreement, they would not in any wise ratifie the same, although it were by the Emperor himselfe allowed: which their protestation they requested to haue registred, and sealed with the Chapters Seale, and so not hauing done any thing at all for which they came, againe returned. H

After whose departure from Presburg, the Haiduckes (men vsed to liue by their swords, and not by their labour) of all others most discontented with this generall peace, began now to raise new stirres and tumults, and dayly to grow stronger and stronger, craueing aid of the Turks and Tartars, and not of the other Hungarians their countrymen, now againe returned to their wonted allegiance vnto the Christian Emperour: a number of which Haiduckes flocking to Buda, the Bassa there with some other of the Turks Captaines and Commanders, entered into consultation what to doe with these so fit instruments for the troubling of the Christians, and the disturbing of the peace. To entertaine them he durst not, and to cast them off he was loth; but yet purposing to vse them and to set them a worke as occasion should serue, he to prepare an enterance thereunto, by Letters threatened them of Comara, that except they better kept the capitulations and articles of the late peace, they should shortly heare of new matters. But in the meane time Letters were sent from the great Sultan to the Bassa of Buda, with charge, that although the Christians were reported to encrease their strength, he should yet keep himself within his bounds, and to attempt nothing against them, except they should proceed to manifest force: in which case he should not faile by all lawfull meanes to reuenge himselfe. Which the Sultans mind once made know, the Turks again departed from Buda, most part of the great ordnance that they brought with them being carried backe againe to Sigeth. I K

The Bassa of Buda forbiddeth to make warres vpon the Christians.

But the States of Hungary, beeing returned home from Presburg, and againe assembled, the foureteenth day of October, by their generall consent, decreed, That Tokay should againe be joyned vnto their jurisdiction; and that the great ordnance throughout all the free cities should be remoued and carried home vnto the places whereunto they before belonged: That the Vayuod of Transyluania should be admonished not to seperate Transyluania from Hungary: that the Bassa of Buda should be warned for to keepe his Turks within their owne bounds: and that the Nobility of Hungary should betime be admonished with all their force to represse the Haiduckes, and all other their enemies. Howbeit the Haiduckes proceeding in their insolent outrages more than before, tooke certaine forts, and with fire and sword spoyled many places of the Countrey, causing the people to sweare to be friends to them and the Turks, and enemies vnto the Germanes and Wallons: and demanding of *Humanoius* the Crowne wherewith *Botscay* had sometime beene rewarded from the Grand Seignior, had a purpose to haue crowned him, or some other for their King: who for all that, by a messenger sent word vnto them, that he would not at their hands accept that dignity, but faithfully continue in his allegiance toward the Emperour. But L M when

A when the States of the vpper Hungary were about to haue gone against these seditious and rebellious people to haue surprised them; they were from so doing deterred by the Bassa of Agria, threatening with his Turks and Tartars to take their parts if they should once take vp armes against them.

About the same time six hundred Haiducks going to the castle of Saint *Andrew*, and comming thither, could not be let in by the garrison souldiers, as they had desired; and perceiuing them to make no reckoning of their seruice, could no longer hold, but openly professed themselues to become the great Sultans seruants: who from thence marching to Budaoe, tooke it by force, and ransacked it: and so still seeking after booty, ran out towards Tockay, where by the way they were in a streit by *Humanpius*, lying in wait for them, entrapped, and almost all slaine; whose afterward sent two of the Turks ensignes, taken from them, to Vienna, and to the terrour of others, empaled some of them vpon stakes, being brought prisoners to Cassouia. For which vnfortunat expedition, some other of the Haiduckes lighting vpon two of the captains, who by chance had escaped out of *Humanoius* his hands, put them both to death for the euill leading of their fellowes, hanging vp the one, and with their swords hewing the other all to peeces. Now by the report of some of the prisoners there taken, it was known this new rebellion of the Haiducks to haue bin raised by the procurement of the Bassaes of Buda and Agria, who by their messengers had promised vnto them all helpe. Which report to haue been true, the euent did shortly after confirme, for the 27 day of Nouember almost 15000 of these Haiducks hauing before receiued from the great Sultan 300000 ducats for pay, came and most stroightly besieged Filek, a strong castle, the Turks sending them great ordnance from Agria, vnto whom these Haiducks had promised to deliuer all such places as they should win. Howbeit, the euent of this siege answered not to their desire: for *Thomas Bosnius*, Captaine of Filek, with his garrison all of Germane souldiers, so valiantly repulsed them, and the extremity of the Winter weather so distressed them, that they were glad to raise their siege, and be gone. B C

Six hundred Haiducks intercepted by Humanoius.

Now much about the same time, *vis.* about the beginning of Nouember, a great fire arose at Constantinople, wherein almost fiue hundred shops of wares with many other faire buildings were burnt, so that the harme there by fire done was esteemed to amount to aboue two millions of gold.

A great fire at Constantinople.

D At the same time that the assembly of the States of Hungary should haue been holden at Presburg (as is before declared) the Emperor had appointed also another assembly of the nobility and States of Austria to be holden at Vienna; where after they were assembled, certain articles were vnto them on the Emperors behalfe propounded for them in that assembly then to consider of: as first, that for the keeping of the frontiers of Austria in quiet, the contribution by them granted amongst themselues the last yeare, should this yeare following be doubled. Then, That if it should fortune the enemy to attempt any thing of new against that Prouince, that in stead of the horses and money which they were woont to send vnto the warres, they should for the space of twelue moneths, or of the greatest part thereof, as occasion should require, of their owne costs maintaineten companies of German footmen, euery company being three hundred strong; and as many troupes of Germane horsemen, euery troupe consisting of an hundred horse. And, that if for the better defence of the borders of Austria there should happily need a greater strength, the same should be raised in no other sort than was vsed in Hungary, nor at greater charges maintained. And, that if it should continue peace, these charges should be conuerted to the payment of the souldiers wages: And that the States & other subjects of that Prouince should so much as might be, be eased from the trouble of sending either of horse or foot for the defence of the frontiers. Thirdly, That Commissioners should be maintained this yeare also to attend the army, and certaine skilfull Captaines appointed for the chusing of a fit Generall for the army. That diligent regard and care should be had for the prouision of corne and victuals for the vse of the people in generall, as well in the time of peace as of warre. And that forasmuch as it much concerned the good of the Common-weale, to haue the frontiers of the country toward Canisia diligently viewed, for feare of the Turks great garrison there still lying, that therefore certaine good and expert souldiers, which knew those places well, should be chosen, who together E F

ther with the Deputies of the Emperour, Hungarians, and Stirians, riding about these coun- G
fines should forthwith consider what were best to be done for the safety thereof: In briefe,
seeing that of the safety of Ratisbone well satisfied, Vienna and of the forts thereabouts
depended, that for the repairing of the fortifications thereof, and the better strengthening of
the same, the summe of fourtie thousand florins should be appointed, and for the defence of
the frontiers of Austria from the incursion of the Turks garrison of Canisia, five thousand;
and for the furthering of the buildings at Nustorfe, five thousand more should be paid and
that those who hitherto had been slacke in paying of their contribution among, should forth-
with be enforced to pay the same: And also that it might be considered of, how the vor
mus in haunsing of the value of monies might be restrained; that good orders might be kept
all the country cleared from the robberies of the souldiers, straglingly there and there vp and H
down the same: that the counterfeit Hungarian and Polonian money should be prohibited
as not current: this good order might be taken for the staying of the Plague, which then be-
gan in many places in Austria.

Concerning which Article, when as the States there assembled complained, all that coun-
try to be with the long wars against the Turke, the incursions of the Rebels, and the outrages
of the mutinous souldiers, already almost ruinated, and miserably barrid of money; no reso-
lution could then, according as the necessity required, be made, but was vnto a further time
deferred, and the assembly broken vp.

1608 The Emperour at the same time appointed a Diet of the Empire to be holden at Ratis-
bone: wherein he hauing appointed *Ferdinand* Archduke of Austria, to be chiefe in his place, I
he with a notable traine of seuen hundred horse, and a gallant guard of footmen, came thither
the eight and twentieth of November, and was there by the citizens honourably receiued.
Vnto which assembly, when as the Deputies of the Electors, and of the other Princes and Ci-
ties of the Empire, were in great number come, at length the twelfth of January Diuine Se-
uice being done in the Cathedrall Church, *Ferdinand* the Archduke, with his Courtiers, the
Emperours Counsellors, and other the Princes deputies being there present, taking horse be-
fore the Church, with a great company of the Nobility and Princes deputies following of
him, went to the Court, the citizens in their armes standing on both sides: where *Godfrey Ori-*
lius the Emperours Secretary hauing in a notable Oration set forth the Emperours loue and
affection towards the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire; and why, the Emperour
himselfe could not be present at this assembly, as willingly he would haue been; he propoun- K
ded in his name fiue Articles for them in this their assembly to be especially considered of:
First, how the Empire might hereafter be preserued and defended against the violence of the
Turks, and the dangerous rebellions by their procurement stirred vp in Hungary, to the ea-
dangering of the whole Empire; especially seeing that the Turks themselues (with whom
the peace was of late concluded) by their doings had heretofore more than sufficiently de-
clared what trust or credit was to be giuen vnto them: and seeing that it is most manifest,
them therein to haue sought for nothing else, than that hauing made or rather counterfeited
a peace with the Christians for a time, for the suppressing of the Rebels, and the repressing of
the inuasion of the Persians, they might after such victory against them obtained, come L
better prouided, and stronger to ouercome the Christians. Which was easie to be supposed
for that whilest they were yet intreating of peace, they had taken Strigonium, and hauing
concluded peace, they ceased not as yet with their counsell and aid to helpe the Rebels and
their rebellious tumults: which was manifestly to be perceiued by the Haiduckes themi-
selues, who were not ashamed openly to professe themselues to be the great Sultans seruants,
to require Cities and Fortresses to be yeelded vnto the Sultan, and so conspire against the
very name of the Germanes. For the speedy remedy of which mischiefe, the Emperour
had thought good, that consideration of this point should so bee had, as that the Princes
should either consent vnto a certaine standing and perpetuall contribution, whereby a suffi-
cient strength might alwaies bee ready, wherewith to withstand the enemies attempts; or M
else that for certaine yeares twenty thousand footmen and foure thousand horse might
there be still in readinesse, to be maintained at the common charges of the Empire, whilst
the Emperour (need so requiring) might vse against the common enemy. Or that if this

were

A Diet of the Empire by the Emperour appointed at Ratisbone.

A were heauy or troublesome vnto the States of the Empire, yet at least they should consent
yearely to contribute such money as might suffice for the sustayning of such a power.
Another poynt of this conclusion, was about the correcting and reforming of the admini-
stration of Iustice in the Imperiall Chamber. For seeing that in the former assemblies and
meetings this matter could not be fully decided, by reason of certaine hinderances and im-
pediments which then fell out, and that without the due administration and execution of
Iustice no Empire could long stand or flourish, no more than the World could without
the Sunne; his Imperiall Majesty therefore would not haue the deliberation of this so ne-
cessary a point to be put off or referred vnto any other assembly, but to bee done and con-
cluded in this present assembly. The third point to be considered of, was the warre which
B hath beene now so many yeares made in the Low-Countries, and the inconuenience there-
of redounding vnto the Empire. For whereas in the treaty of peace in the Low-Countries,
(at which treaty both hee and the whole Empire ought to haue beene there present) for the
better concluding and ending of the same, hee had heard the confederate Princes to be now
acknowledged for a free State, he could not now any longer (as hee said) forbeare, but that
(seeing the Low-Countries to be a member and free of the Empire, and by the antient Re-
cords of the Empire, and of the Emperours, and by many other proofes it appeareth, the
Gouernours of the Low-Countries to haue beene vassals of the Empire) he should by Let-
ters which were written vnto the King of Spaine, the Archduke *Albertus*, and the States of
the confederate Prouinces, admonish them, That they should not proceed to doe or deter-
C mine any thing in this matter, which might any way tend to the hurt or prejudice of the
Emperour, of the Empire, and of the house of Austria. And forasmuch as that warre in
the Low-Countries had hitherto done no small harme vnto the Empire, if happily it could
not be agreed vpon betweene the parties, and that it should happen the same warre to be any
longer continued, or rather againe renewed, it should then bee considered vpon, how the
Empire might be satisfied for the great harme it had vntill this present thereby receiued, and
how it might be from the like harme hereafter kept and preserued. The fourth point in this
consultation, which was to be considered of, concerned the coyne. For whereas it is mani-
fest, that the value of the mony to bee dayly more and more inhaunsed and rayfed, and
that thereby not onely the Magistrates in the publique receipt, but the subjects also in ge-
D nerall receiued great and manifest harme, forasmuch as the price of such necessary things
which wee must in this life haue ordinary vse of, must of necessity be still more and more
encreased, according to the value of the money, the Emperour thought good with mature
deliberation to remedy this mischiefe in this present assembly of the Empire. The fifth and
last point which was to be considered vpon, was the perfecting of the Matriculer of the Em-
pire, for the giuing vnto euery man what which of due belongeth vnto him: the perfecting
of which Matriculer, the Emperour would haue in this assembly to be amongst them consi-
dered of.

Which articles thus propounded, there fell a great contouersie amongst the Deputies of
the Princes concerning the manner of their proceedings in these matters: as whether they
E should consider of these articles in such order as they were propounded, or otherwise. And
when as many thought it best first to consider of the article, for the reformation of Iustice,
being the second article propounded to be considered of, and afterwards to come vnto the
rest of the articles to be afterward consulted of: when as the two and twentieth day of Ia-
nuary they came againe to Counsell, a writing was by the Emperours command read vnto
them, whereby it was signified vnto the States of the Empire; the rebellious tumults by
Botscay and some others raised in Hungary to be yet by the Haiduckes continued, the Sul-
tan himselfe sending of them rewards, and furnishing them with ordnance and other things
necessary for the warres, by the Gouernour of Agria, and the Bassa of Buda, threatening all
extremities vnto them which should go about to resist them; and then augmenting the dan-
F ger which thereby might ensue vnto the Empire, and especially vnto the Germane name, see-
ing that it was manifest those rebellious Haiducks to haue especially conspired the destru-
ction of the Germanes, and to haue confirmed that their league, by drinking of an health:
It was requested, that leauing off these contentions, for the manner of their proceeding, they

would turne their consultations vnto the first article, and resolue how remedy might in time bee giuen vnto this mischiefe, and how aid might be sent vnto the Emperour against his enemies.

The Deputies for the States of the Empire, in the assembly at Ratisbone, at variance among themselues.

But when as in their often meetings, nothing could be concluded, by reason of the diuers and different opinions betwixt the Protestants and Catholickes, *Ferdinand* the Archduke againe calling together the Deputies of the Electors, of the Princes, and of the Imperiall cities, caused it by Letters to be declared vnto them, How that the Emperour not without his great griefe and sorrow had heard, That for certaine dissention among them they could not yet come to consult of the articles propounded in that assembly, to be by them considered of, but to his great griefe to be from day to day protracted: and that therefore he requested them, That either they themselues would quietly end those dissentions amongst themselues, or else send their differences conceiued in writing vnto the Emperour to be decided, and so to come at length effectually to consult of the propounded articles. And indeed the Deputies aforesaid had in writing before exhibited their mindes concerning that point, for the manner of their proceeding, vnto the Archduke *Ferdinand*. But forasmuch as that writing was according to the manner of the Catholickes and the Protestants, of two different sorts; the former thinking it meet to consult of the aforesaid article in such order as they were propounded; and first of all, to consider of the contribution to be giuen against the Turks, and other enemies in Hungary; but the other labouring, first for the reformation of Iustice, and the confirmation of the peace of Religion: and afterward to prouide for aid against the forreine enemies, that so remedy might first be prouided for inward, then for outward griefes; especially seeing that they had no expresse commandement first to determine of the contribution. Vnto whom the Archduke by writing againe answered, That he had receiued no other instruction from the Emperour, than that he should consult of the aforesaid articles, with the Deputies there present, in such order as they were propounded: Neither that it was conuenient, that the first article concerning contribution being neglected, they should proceed vnto the second, seeing that the enemies might easily, by the delay of putting off the same in effect, take occasion in the meane time to do the Christians great harme. Besides that, that he had sufficiently protested, That consultation concerning the reformation of Iustice should in this present assembly bee had also; neither that it was the Emperours minde to haue it deferred vnto any other assembly. Whereunto he exhorted the Protestants, That they should forthwith endeauour by their Letters vnto the Electors and Princes, and other their superiours, to obtaine leaue, that they might first determine some certainty about the first article concerning contribution; that so giuing way to the opinion of the other party, they might instantly prepare themselues for the making of the contribution. Howbeit, this his persuasion preuailed nothing, by reason of their discord and dissention about the order of their consultation; the one part still labouring for the contribution to be first agreed vpon, and the other part holding as hard for the reformation of Iustice, so that *Ferdinand* the Archduke out of hope of concluding any thing that good was, not in vaine to spend his cost and time any longer, the fifth of May dismissed the assembly, and returned home, as did all the rest of the Electors and Princes Deputies, no one article that was propounded being so much as once reasoned of, but all left vndecided: so small care was there of the common good, either for the raising of money for the withstanding of the Turks and Rebels, or for the reformation of Iustice; tho necessity of both, either on the one side or the other, so hardly vrged, and yet in conclusion be neither respected or regarded.

Matthias the Archduke commeth to Presburg.

Whilest the Diet to no purpose (as is aforesaid) was by the Archduke *Ferdinand* holden at Ratisbone, *Matthias* the Archduke with a great traine following of him, came in the meane time to Presburg, where he was with much joy and triumph receiued; the garrison souldiers in order standing on both sides the way as he went vnto the Castle: *Napragius* the Bishop of Rab, with an eloquent Oration welcomming of him, in the presence of certaine of the Hungarian Nobility, who had gone out as far as Hainburg to meet him; and now also honourably welcommed him, much rejoycing at his comming. The next day the Archbishop and Cardinall of Strigonium with a notable traine of Hungarian Gentlemen came to Presburg:

Presburg: who forthwith receiued into the Castle, and hauing saluted the Archduke, conferred with him of many things in this assembly to be conferred of. In the meane time *Illishaschius* (that noble Hungarian of whom we haue so often spoken) arriued there also with twelue coaches, ninety harquebusiers, and forty Hungarian horsemen going before him, and three hundred Haiducks which had attended vpon him, being at the gate dismissed. So the chiefe of the Hungarian States being come; the consultation was begun the three and twentieth day of Ianuary: where when as the Archduke had propounded vnto the Hungarian Nobility, what things they were especially to consider of; it was by them answered, The Haiducks before their comming out, to haue determined, not one whit to depart from the articles the yeare before propounded and agreed of at Vienna; nor to admit any limitation at all of them: so that for the appeasing of the tumults of the Haiduckes, there was no need of any new consultation, but onely to confirme such things as was then and there consulted and agreed vpon. From which their resolution when as the Hungarians were not to be remoued, and being grieued with the scoffing at of certaine of the Clergy (thereupon refusing in any wise to make their appearance, as they were commanded, before the Cardinall in the castle) were about againe to depart; making a solemne protestation, themselues to be guiltlesse of such harmes as should thereof afterwards ensue; it was at length on all parts agreed vpon, That the whole matter should be committed vnto ten chosen out of the Hungarian Counsellors, and ten moe of the Counsellors of Austria, to be consulted and determined of. By whom being met all together the eight and twentieth of Ianuary in the house of *Illishaschius*, it was concluded, That seeing that peace and quietnesse in those countries of Hungary and Austria could not otherwise be made, that those articles and conditions, concerning which no agreement could the yeare before be made in the treaty at Vienna, being quite left off and neglected, the rest of the articles which were there agreed vpon, should be still entirely obserued and kept: and that it should be lawfull for euery man to haue the free exercise of his Religion. Which thing the Commissioners of Austria by a speciall writing there confirmed vnto the Hungarians. Whereby they declared themselues after long and mature deliberation, to haue perceiued not onely by the true relation and report of the Hungarians, but also by their owne experience, vnto how great inconueniences the whole Kingdome of Hungary hath of long beene exposed, as well for the warres it hath had with the common enemy of the Christians, as for diuers the ciuile tumults and seditions therein; and that therefore they not willing that such harmes should in those countries againe encrease and grow, to the infinite effusion of Christian bloud, after the articles of Pacification agreed vpon at Vienna, saw no other better remedy for these so great inconueniences, than that all parties should still hold themselues contented with the same articles of Pacification concluded and agreed vpon in the said assembly at Vienna. And that therefore they had decreed, those articles to be sincerely and inuiolately kept: and promised vnto the States of Hungary, to giue their aid for the defence of these articles, against all their enemies, being ready to giue good reason thereof before God, the Church, the Emperour *Rodolph*, the Archduke *Matthias*, and his other brethren, and all the House of Austria, as the necessity of those Countries should seeme to require: hoping also that the States of Hungary would rest themselues likewise in that Pacification of Vienna, and the assurance thereof, in all points obseruing the same; and that they would alwaies giue their ready helpe and aid vnto the Countries of Austria, against their enemies in like manner. All which things thus agreed vpon and determined, Letters of Confederation were in the name of *Matthias* the Archduke, and of all as well the Ecclesiasticall as Temporall States of Hungary and Austria, to this purpose written, That whereas for the appeasing and suppressing of the tumults and seditions which the Haiducks by the instigation of the Turks had of late not doubted to raise, for the concluding of peace with the Great Sultan; they were met together at Presburg, and therein altogether busied, to deuise how the Kingdome of Hungary, with the Countries adjoyning, might from destruction be deliuered, the Christian Religion preserued, and from wasting and spoyling, whereunto they had hitherto beene exposed, saued: Vpon mature deliberation, had as well in the name of them that were present, as of them that were absent, made such a Confederation and League; That if hereafter it should fortune any detriment of Warre to be by any

Commissioners appointed for the appeasing of the new troubles in Hungary.

Letters of Confederation betwixt the States of Austria and Hungary, for the maintaining of the Articles of Pacification agreed vpon at Vienna.

any man made or done vnto the Hungarians, or the countries thereabout, for the aforesaid article of Pacification, which they had determined religiously to keep, that they would forthwith with their vnited forces come to aid their confederat brethren, and together with them to liue or die. G

With these letters signed and sealed with the hand of the Archduke, and of the Noblemen there present, the first of February, *Illishaschius* with *George Turson*, were sent vnto the tumultuous Haiducks (who had now appointed their messages to be sent vnto the Sultan and the Tartar Cham, to craue their aid) to dissuade them from such their purpose, and to persuade them to quietnesse; threatening them withall, That if they would not hearken to such honest conditions, they should altogether, and at once, be set vpon and oppressed by the whole power of the States.

The Assembly at Presburg thus ended, *Matthias* the Archduke returning to Vienna, and forthwith calling together the States of Enseric, declared vnto them all that was done in the Assembly at Presburg. And for as much as that assembly was chiefely to that end appointed, That the Kingdome of Hungary should not altogether be pluckt away from the Empire, and that after the reuolt thereof, the greatest harme to be done by the incursions and spoyling of the enemies, would lie vpon the countries of Austria; he aduised them so to looke vnto themselues, and carefully to prouinde for the Common-weale, as that hauing mony alwaies in readinesse to maintaine an army, they might with all conuenient speed go to meet with the Haiducks, if haply they would not conforme themselues vnto the Articles of Pacification, but againe raise new broiles; that so they might defend and preserue their Country from their outrages. H I

The Prince of Valachia dieth; whose widow notably preserueth the Country for her son.

About the begining of this Spring, when as *Ierome* Prince of Valachia was dead, leauing behind him a sonne but thirteene yeares old, the Emperour admitted him, as yet not capable of the gouernment, vnder Tutors, vnto the succession of his heritage. Which thing the Valachians being by no meanes willing to endure, and bearing themselues vpon the helpe of the Turks, went about to make choice of another in stead of their Prince of late dead. For which cause, the Princesse widow by letters certified *Polloscie* her sonne in law, of this outrage and injury of her subjects: and hauing obtained of him a great summe of mony, and therewith raised an army of ten thousand good souldiers, went forth against the Valachians, and in open field ouercame them in so bloudy and terrible a battell, that hauing slaine fiue thousand of the Valachians and Turks, she had ouer them a notable victory, and by that manes preserued the principality of that country for her son. K

The Duke of Florence in vain requested by the Turks to spare their gallies.

The Great Duke of Florence had hitherto done great harme with his fleet vnto the Turks in the Mediterranean sea: for which cause a messenger about this time comming vnto him in the Great Sultans name, promised him great matters, if he would from thenceforth forbeare to hurt and pursue the Turks Gallies. Which his request serued the Turks to no other purpose, but as it were to put oyle vnto the fire. For the Duke afterward caused new Gallies to be made, and his fleet encreased, and therewith did more harme than formerly he had done.

The Haiduckes refuse to admit of the Pacification made at Vienna.

Now although that after the ending of the Assembly at Presburg, *Illishaschius* and *George Turson* had deliuered vnto the Haiduckes the Articles of the Pacification, and commanded them from thenceforth to keepe themselues quiet; yet for all that, could they not yet be persuaded to hearken vnto such their counsell: for that they being men still accustomed to the wars, and liuing by their swords, could not endure to fall to Husbandry, and such other labours. For which cause they of the country about Gymeric, writ vnto them which dwelt in the country about Nusol, letters to this effect: That forasmuch as they being diuers times certified of the miserable estate of their neighbours, had refused to come to aid them, they should yet now remember how necessary a thing it were, with their conjoyned minds and forces to helpe one another; for that the Haiduckes hauing now passed the riuer of Teise, were broken into that Prouince, and were run as far as Budnoc: neither were they minded so to stay, but to rob and spoile all the country before them, if they were not with speed encountered. And the rather, for that but a few daies before, they had receiued thirty thousand Hungarian Duckats from the Turks, whom they now acknowledged for their Lords, with L M

horses

A horses and other gifts to be diuided among their leaders and captaines; and moreouer, dayly expected aid from the Tartars, who in great number lay about Belgrade. Wherefore seeing it could not be expected, what great harme and losse was by the Haiducks done, as well vnto the Noblemen themselues, as to the common country-men; that they should therefore thereof giue their neighbours to vnderstand, and with all speed to take vp armes against the same rebellious Haiducks.

Not long after, about the latter end of March, Proclamation was made by the commandement of *Matthias* the Archduke, throughout all Austria, That euery man should prouide himself to take vp armes. The cause whereof men diuerslyl suspected: howbeit that vnto this Proclamation was this reason ioyned, That the Archduke was determined himselfe to go B about the 14. of April into Morauia, and thereto gather together all his power, as well Hungarians, as Austrians and Haiducks, for the war he was to take in hand. There were also Letters in the Archdukes name sent vnto the Vassals of Austria, to giue them to vnderstand, That whereas they were not ignorant what for the obtaining of peace, and defence of these countries, had of late beene decreed at Presburg; and that all the States of Enseric had approued the report thereof receiued from their Deputies, and so promised their helpe and aid vnto the Archduke, as if that he himselfe would take in hand any expedition, they would joyne themselues vnto him, and together with him to liue or die: yet that there were some, which being more desirous of war than peace, did not only not rest vpon the former pacification, but gathered an army also on the borders of Morauia, with a purpose to make an inroad as well into Morauia, as into Austria it selfe. For which cause the States of Morauia were also enforced, for defence of themselues to raise an army, and to craue helpe from their neighbors. And that therefore seeing the Archduke, mindefull of his promise for the common defence of the country, was resolued to bestow his life and all his fortunes, and in his owne person to vnder-C take an expedition into those places from whence the greatest danger was to be feared to fall vpon those countries; necessity then required, that the States themselues also should suffer nothing to be wanting on their behalfe, but euery one of them together with their seruants forthwith to joyne themselues vnto the Archduke, and to the vttermost of their power to endeauor themselues to deliuer them and theirs from death and destruction. That God, in whose name this expedition was by them to be taken in hand, as by the louers of peace, might D so in short time make an end of all tumults, and grant vnto those countries wished peace and quietnesse. And that therefore they were to be admonished, That according to the tenor of the Decree made at Presburg, they with such a number of horse and foot as they could vpon the sudden raise at a day to be shortly after vnto them named, should joyne themselues vnto the Archduke, and not to suffer any thing to set them in so doing. So that if haply any chance or sicknesse should happen vnto their Generall, yet notwithstanding that they should send their power vnder the leading of some other man, seeing that the Archduke himselfe spared not to aduentute his life and fortunes, and (if God should see it so good) account it a great gaine euen to lose the same, so that thereby he might do his country good.

The Archduke Matthias prepareth himselfe for his expedition into Morauia.

About the beginning of Aprill, the Cardinall returning from Prague to Vienna, brought E with him the Emperors answer and resolution, *vis.* That he did ratifie and confirme all things that were done and concluded with the Hungarians and Turks; but that his will was, That the confederation made betwixt the States of Hungary and Austria at Presburg, should be void and of none effect. Which the Archduke protesting that he could by no means like of, or suffer to be don, he the 15 of Aprill afterwards with a great number of the Peers, Nobility, and Counsellors, and a multitude of good souldiers, going out of Vienna towards the monastery of Neoburg, set forward vpon his journy, carrying with him eight and twenty pieces of ordnance, there expecting his souldiers in all places leuied: by publike Letters protesting, That no man should from his army receiue any harme; or if that by chance any harme were done vnto any man by his army, assuring his subjects it should be againe vnto them restored F and recompensed.

But the rumor of this expedition being brought into Bohemia, the Nobility of the country began to assemble themselues the sixteenth day of Aprill; whither when as many of the Deputies of the other Countries were assembled also, it being decreed, That the Nobility

of

of the faithfull States there present, should with all speed returne home, and so prouide them-
selues and their subjects of necessary armes, that need so requiring, they should therewith be G
able to defend themselues and their countrey, the assembly was dismissed. Besides that, the
Emperor himselfe carefull for all euents, caused many both horse and foot, to be brought to
Prague, and be diuersly bilited in the Citizens houses, and furthermore, the eighteenth of
Aprill, by letters directed vnto certaine Princes of the Empire, and to certaine Barles also, ci-
tizens, and other vassals of the Kingdome of Bohemia, warned them with all speed to send aid
vnto him at Prague.

The Archduke Matthias with an army commeth to Zname in Morauia.

But *Matthias* the Archduke in the meane time marching forward with an army of twenty
thousand horse and foot, the foure and twentieth day of Aprill came to Zname, a city of Mo-
rauia, and was there, by the States of Morauia (who the day before were come thither also M
with foure hundred horse) honourably received and brought into the City. From thence
sending out letters into the territories of Bohemia, and to the city of Prague, he requested,
That they would send out of euery place two deputies for them, vnto the assembly to be hol-
den at Zaslauia, the fourth day of May; promising withall, That hee himselfe there being
present, would yeeld vnto their deputies a reason of his doings, as also what he meant to do
hereafter. Besides that, he by letters sent vnto the Electors and other Princes of the Empire,
declared the cause why he was enforced to make this expedition: and withall sending vnto
them a copy of the agreement made at Vienna, the fiue and twentieth day of Aprill, in the
yeare 1606, by the common consent of the Archdukes; in most friendly manner requested
them, That they would not intermeddle in this businesse, but rather with their counsell and I
aid to further the same.

But the three and twentieth day of Aprill, the Emperor sent the Popes Embassadors, with
the Embassadors of diuers other Princes and States, then lying at Prague with sundry of the
Bohemian Ministers, in Embassage to the Archduke *Matthias*, still lying at Zname: whom the
Cardinal the next day after followed also, to make some good pacification, if it were possible,
with the Archduke. But the Emperor in the meane time calling vnto him the counsellors of
the old and new towne of Prague (contrary to his wonted manner) most courteously with
his owne hand receiued them, and giuing them thanks for the faithfull duties by them hither-
to performed; requested them, That hereafter they would continue in their like fidelity and
loyalty also: most liberally promising vnto them all kindnesse, with the restitution of the pri-
uiledges concerning the shutting of the gates of the city: which liberty they had before lost K
in the time of the Emperor *Ferdinand*. And not long after, a generall muster was taken, not on-
ly in the city of Prague, and the townes thereabouts, but also throughout all the Kingdome
of Bohemia, and three hundred musketiers appointed for the gard and keeping of the castle,
vnder the command of Count *Solmes*, who had commission for the raising of other souldiers
also.

The Tartar Cham dieth.

At the very same time it was from Constantinople certainely reported, the Tartar Cham
to haue died, and the Turkish Sultan having receiued newes thereof, to haue dismissed his
sonne, whom he hitherto had detained as a pledge, and with diuers ships and gallies, to haue
caused him to be transported ouer the Blacke Sea, vnto the borders of Tartary, there to take L
possession of his fathers kingdome. It was also then reported, certaine of the seditious Turks
making of a road, to haue surprised Smirna, a rich city of Asia, and to haue forraged all the
country about it farre and neere, and comming vnto Magnesia, a chiefe city of that Country,
to haue had ten thousand crownes by the inhabitants offered, from thenceforth to spare the
Country thereabouts. The Persian King also at the same time notably to proceed in his
warres, and to do the Turks great harme, the Turks and Tartars seeking in vaine to withstand
him.

In the meane time Embassadours comming vnto Prague from the Electors of Saxony
and Brandenburg, part of them the ninth of May, went vnto the Archduke *Matthias* to
Zaslauia, who still lay there encamped with an army of fiue and twenty thousand men: of M
whom they requested a truce for the space of eight daies, for the making of a Pacification
betwixt the Emperour and him, and for friendly ending of this businesse, easily obtained the
same, especially seeing that those Princes Electors, being joyned and bound vnto the Empe-
rour

A rour in a double confederasion, as well for their Electorship, as in respect of the Kingdome of
Bohemia, could not, as they said, otherwise do, but sent present aid vnto the Emperor his ne-
cessity so requiring; to which end they had now in readinesse certaine thousands of souldiers
in the frontiers of their countries, to be forthwith sent vnto him: The other part of these Em-
bassadors in the meane time staying with the Emperor, where after the German manner they
were all prouided of good cheere and wine.

Matthias the Archduke marcheth towards Prague.

About the seuenteenth of May *Matthias* the Archduke with eighteen thousand men rose
and marched towards Prague, *Collonits* with the rest of his army following him. And al-
though that the Archduke had seuerely commanded his souldiers to abstaine from robbing,
spoyling and burning of the Country, and had diuers times seuerely punished some offen-
B ders therein, by hanging of some, and heading of others, yet could he by no meanes so restraine
them, and keepe them in, but that some of them would sometimes be stragling abroad, and
doing harme, especially the Hungarians, who were still running out euen as far as the Empe-
rors campe, and the new city of Prague. Whom for all that, the Emperours souldiers (being
then twenty thousand strong) would not meddle withall, being so commanded by the Empe-
rour. Howbeit some of these stragless going too farre abroad into the country, were by the
country men cut off and slaine.

The three and twentieth day of May an assembly of the States of Bohemia was called at
Prague, the Emperour himselfe being there present; *Adam Waldsteine* carrying the drawne
sword before him. In which assembly the Nobility and States of the country with one con-
C sent promised to spend their goods and liues in the Emperours quarrell; yet in the meane
time requested these things following to be granted and confirmed vnto them: *viz.* That Re-
ligion according to the confession of Bohemia and Augusta should inuiolately be kept, and
that they which professed the one, should not therefore scoffe or despise the other. That Bo-
hemians only should be preferred to Archbishopricks, Abbotships, and other spirituall pre-
ferments. That the Archbishop should not meddle with ciuill and politicall affaires. That
Ecclesiasticall offices should be permitted vnto the Protestant Ministers, as in former time,
the Catholicks in the meane time holding what they had. That the Pontificall dispensation
in causes of Matrimony, according to the Decree of the assembly holden in the yeare 1602,
should be abrogated and taken away. That it should not be lawfull for Priests and other Ec-
D clesiasticall persons to buy lands or territories, without the expresse consent of all the three
States, but to hold themselues contented with their tythes and other their reuenues. That it
should be lawfull for all men in their own ground and territories to build Churches for Reli-
gion, on both sides. That Protestants and Patrons of the Vniuersity of Prague should be joy-
ned to the Consistory, as they were in the time of the Emperor *Ferdinand*. That one should be
chosen for Burgraue in this assembly. That chiefe politicall offices should not be left *void*
aboue a moneth. That vnto these politicall offices men of both religions should be admitted:
so that if the Burgraue were a Catholike, the chiefe judge should be a Protestant. That euery
man should enjoy his right, and that no Decree should be published against the same: neither
that they which were of the Order of Knights should be rashly sued, or bound to any arrest.
B That one of the Bohemians should alwaies be chosen into the secret Counsell, and made ac-
quainted with the Bohemian affaires. That euery man might haue accesse vnto the Emperor,
and not all things to be done by his Counsellors. That it should be declared to all men, what
was to be vnderstood by the crime of treason. That a difference should be made betwixt offen-
ces: and that no man should for any light offence, together with his goods, lose his life and re-
putation. That the suits of widows, orphans, and others also, should with expedition be dis-
patched, and not from day to day deferred. That from henceforth the father should not be
bound to pay the sons debt, which he was run into without his knowledge; neither yet the son
himselfe. That in politicall offices men should not be too much grieued with too heauy ex-
actions. That men sued should not be summoned but in good tearms, and that such as were in
F any reputation be bound to any arrest, without the hearing of their cause, and much lesse to be
imprisoned. That the sword vpon frowardnesse or madnesse taken out of the Church of Thine
certaine yeres before, should be againe set in the former place. That Lawyers which pleaded
mens causes, should be contented with such fees as were by common Decres appointed them.

And

And last of all to conclude, they in any wise requested the Emperour, that it would please him to ease the Nobility and States of Bohemia of these griefes, before they were compelled to answer vnto such things as were to be propounded vnto them on his behalfe. Who easily granted vnto most of these articles, those which concerned Religion only excepted; so that the Senators of the old towne of Prague obtained the desired sword to be againe forthwith set in the wonted place. But as for the businesse of Religion, it was altogether put off and deferred vnto the next assembly to be holden at the feast of Saint *Michiel*.

About the end of May the Archduke *Matthias* his Embassadors hauing received safe-conduct from the Emperor and the Nobility of the kingdome of Bohemia, came to Prague, and being admitted into the councell of the Nobility, *Charles* Count *Tserotin* to whom the charge was giuen, hauing in the Archdukes name first saluted the Nobility, opened what he and the rest had in charge, to be before them out of a long writing in the Bohemian tongue read: which done, when as, the Nobility so requiring, they were put aside, and almost an houre after were called againe, they receiued answer, That the points of the Embassage by them propounded, were greater and of more weight than that sufficient deliberation could thereof in so short a time be had; and that therefore it was by the Nobility thought meet, that Commissioners on both sides meeting together in the open field neere vnto Debritse should there consult of these articles, and by the consent of the Emperor and Archduke to do what they might to end the matter. Vnto which answer the Archdukes Embassadors consenting, the ninth of Iune returned againe vnto the campe. The Emperours Embassadors within two daies after with forty coaches and an hundred horse following them vnto the place appointed: who ostentimes going to and fro, at length so wrought the matter on both sides, that the businesse quietly and friendly ended, they were againe made friends.

The articles of which pacification and agreement betwixt the Emperor and the Archduke were the seuenteenth day of Iune in the castle of Prague openly read in the Bohemian tongue, *Lichtenstein*, *Kintskie*, and other Chiefetaines the Archdukes Embassadours, being there present, in order thus:

The Articles of pacification betwixt the Emperour and the Archduke Matthias.

That the Emperour refused not, but that the Crowne of Hungary should be deliuered into the Archduke *Matthias* his hands: and to yeeld vnto him the Kingdome of Hungary, and to remit vnto his subjects the oath of their allegiance before giuen vnto him, so that the Nobility and States of Hungary should chuse no other King but the Archduke. That in the next Dyet of the Empire, he should propound vnto the States of the Empire to be considered of, what contribution they ought to make vnto the Archduke for the defence of their frontiers, if happely longer warre were to be made with the Turke. That hee should cause the Writings which concerned that Kingdome of Hungary, within the space of two moneths to be deliuered vnto the Archduke. That he should likewise also surrender vp the Archdukedome of Austria, by himselfe hitherto possessed, vnto the Archduke: yet so, as that the Archduke should take vpon himselfe all the Emperours debt as well in Hungary as in Austria, and within a yeare should cause sufficient Recognizance or Caution sealed with his owne hand, to be deliuered vnto the Creditors. That he should cause all the Letters and Writings, as well concerning the vpper Austria, as the neather, within the same time to be deliuered vnto him, together with a Copy of the Priuiledges therein, vntill that deliberation might be had concerning them, to be transferred vnto him also. That the Nobility and States of Bohemia should in the Emperours name ratifie and confirme the Treaty held at Vienna, for the making of the peace betwixt the Emperour, the Turks, and the Hungarians. That they also should not refuse at the Emperours request, to promise vnto the Archduke a certaine succession into the Kingdome of Bohemia; but yet with condition, so that if it should happen the Emperour to die without heires male, before the death of the Archduke his brother: but if he should haue heires male lawfully begotten and vnder age: that in that case he should onely haue the rule and gouernment of the Kingdome of Bohemia; yet with certaine Bohemian Counsellors joyned vnto him. That the Archduke should by Writing confirme vnto the Nobility and States of Bohemia, That he should after the vsuall manner and fashion demand the Kingdome of Bohemia, being void of a King. That he should take the vsuall oath of a King, and alwaies haue like regard of all their priuiledges, as the other Kings his

his predecessours had. That the States of Bohemia should not gainesay, but that the Archduke might hereafter vse the title of the designed King of Hungary. That the administration of the Marquiset of Morauia should be granted vnto the Archduke *Matthias* and his heires, together with the title of a Marquesse, till that after the death of the Emperor this Prouince was againe to reuert vnto him which was to enioy the kingdome of Bohemia. But if it should happen the Archduke to die before the Emperour, the States of Bohemia should not refuse, but that this Prouince separate apart, might (as should seem good) chuse vnto it self a Patron and Defendor, vnto the death of the Emperour. That the Bishopricke of Almits, hitherto in temporalities subiect to the King of Bohemia, should from thenceforth acknowledge the Archduke *Matthias* to be the Gouernour thereof, lest there should be a confusion of suites in Morauia; the Bishop in the meane time hauing regard to his owne priuiledges. That the Emperor at the request of the Archduke should maintain the priuiledges of them of Silesia, and of the States of the cities, and augment them also with new priuiledges, being reasonable and conuenient. That for the defence of the borders against the Turks, the Nobility and States of Bohemia should not contribute more than hitherto they were wont; yet sauing to the Archduke power and abilitie in the generall meetings and assemblies of the Kingdome to intreat thereof, as the Emperor had hitherto had. That the titles of all the Prouinces which the Emperor did now surrender vnto the Archduke *Matthias*, should be still vnto him reserued. That the Archduke *Matthias* should vtterly renounce the County of Tirali, and surrender his part therof vnto the Emperor. That in the meetings and assemblies to come, the Archduke should by all means endeauour, that the Emperour should receiue a reasonable yearely contribution out of those Prouinces which he now departed with. That all offences hitherto committed, should generally be forgiuen and pardoned, all and euery the persons on both parties, onely *Verkauious* excepted, concerning whom, as also concerning his debt, the Nobility of Morauia had vndertaken in their next Assembly to take order. And that armes should on both sides be laid apart.

Which Articles thus agreed vpon, and on both parts accepted of, the Crowne of Hungarie, with the Ornaments thereto belonging, such as are King *Stephen* his Sword, the golden Apple, with the Crosse of the Kingdome vpon it, two paire of rich shooes, a very antient Robe, with a Royall Scepter, were by the Emperours chiefe Lieutenant carried into the campe, and there in a broad and open field deliuered vnto the Archduke *Matthias*: who with his army in order raunged, and sixteene thousand horse and foot diuided into three battalions, after he had receiued these Royall ornaments, commanded three great vollies of shot to be discharged, and afterwards royally feasted the Emperours Embassadour. Which pacification thus made, many out of the Archdukes camp, but especially the Hungarians, went into the City of Prague, there to buy things necessary; and many came also out of the City to see the Archdukes camp. But in the mean time certaine insolent souldiers hauing by night broken vp certaine shops of the Iewes, and carried out of them much rich wares, were the cause of great stirres and tumults in the City; insomuch, that diuers of the souldiers were therefore cast into prison.

The Crowne of Hungary deliuered vnto the Archduke Matthias.

The first of Iuly King *Matthias* rising with his army, departed from before Prague, taking his way with his chiefe Councellors towards Lintze, and diuiding his army into three parts, that so they might the more easilier passe through those countries home. After the rising of which army, a certaine noble Bohemian and a good souldier, called *Coroutis*, vnto whom the Hungarians and Haiduckes had in this expedition done great harme, with six hundred harquebusiers and a number of countreymen went forth to a place called Parrouitse; where hauing cut off the passage, and cut downe trees crosse the waies, that none might that way conueniently passe, hee with such fury in a place of aduantage charged the Hungarians, comming that way, that hauing slaine aboue nine hundred of them, some others were also carried away prisoners, with a great booty of horses, waggons, and other goods. With which deed the Hungarians grieued, trod downe the corne as they went, and began to set fire on the villages and houses in the Countrey thereabouts. But the newes thereof being brought vnto the King, hee forthwith by *Herbustein*, Generall of the horsemen, commanded the Hungarians and Haiducks not onely to desist from this their insolencie,

but themselues also, vpon a great penalty, to help to quench the fires by them raised.

King Matthias roially receiued at Vienna.

In the mean time the comming of King *Matthias* being reported at Vienna, great preparation was there made for receiuing of him, and bringing of him into the city according to his royal dignitie: who the 14 of Iuly towards night beeing come thither, with the Archduke *Maximilian* his brother, and 3000 horse, the Archbishop of Hungary, who with Count *Trautsamius* and many other of the Emperors counsellors and seruants went out of the city to meet him, and there amidst eight ensignes of German soldiers, and 1500 horsemen, as it were set in order of battel, receiued him with a long and eloquent oration; as did afterward *Trautsamius*, in the name of the States of Austria; the Emperors Counsellors also honorably welcomming him. Which done, mounting again to horse, the King with the Archduke *Maximilian* his brother, stayed vntil two troups of the horsmen of Vienna, in number about 400, were all entered into the city; and afterwards 1500 of *Bucheims* horsemen and the aforesaid eight ensignes of the Germans going before, and the Emperours Counsellors following them, the King himselfe with the Archduke his brother and all his train set forward, and passing ouer the bridge, whereon three triumphal arches were most sumptuously erected, he was by 3000 Citisens of Vienna, gallantly apparelled and armed, with much thundring of the great ordnance & vollies of small shot magnificently receiued, diuers other triumphs and sports, to manifest the joy of the people, being there made also, which for breuities sake we passe ouer. But being gon a little further, he was by the Senators of Vienna on horseback receiued vnder a rich canopy, born vp by six of the antientest of the said Senators, and so brought to Saint *Stephens* Church; whither he was no sooner come, but that lighting from his horse, he was there receiued by the whole Clergy, and vnder a canopie brought into the Church; where after Seruice don, he was with like triumph and magnificence, through diuers other triumphall arches, brought to the Castle, the great ordnance on all sides still thundring off from thence, and from the walls and bulwarks of the town.

Troubles in Austria about religion.

But these triumphs and solemnities ended, shortly after when as they began to consult about such things as concerned the good gouernment of the kingdome of Hungary, and crowning of the King, and that the Protestant States of Austria in many places began to exercise their Religion according to the manner of the Confession of Augusta, and that the Ministers began openly to preach in the Churches there, *Leopold* the Archduke and Bishop of *Passavia* comming to Vienna, with *Melinus* the Popes Nuntio (but a little before come to Prague) with Cardinal *Forgatsius* and the Bishop of Vienna, with earnest and importunate soliciting of the King, obtained from him a commandement, That that exercise of religion should bee again abrogated, the Churches shut, and publique preaching forbidden. Which thing forthwith brought forth new stirs and troubles in Austria. For the Protestant States forthwith calling a Councel among themselues, by generall consent refused by oath of loyaltie and allegiance to binde themselues vnto the new King, vntill they had of him obtained the libertie for the free exercise of their religion; and combining themselues together, resolued euen with the losse of their liues and goods to maintain the free preaching of the Word, and exercise of their Religion according to the Confession of Augusta: and to that end commanded all their subiects and tenants to be ready in armes; that need so requiring, euery thirtieth man, tenth, or fifth might be prest to come forth vnto the wars. But hauing sent a supplication to the King, whereunto 280 of the nobilitie had set their hands, and receiuing no answer, but that they should desist from their purpose, and without delay to make their appearance to take their oath of allegiance to the King, they forthwith the 1 of September going to Horne, by Letters sent vnto the rest of the Roman Catholique States, protested themselues to be cleare before God and the whole world, of all the euils and mischiefs that were afterward to insue, if those States not regarding the appeasing and ending of those troubles, or the safety of them their countrymen, should take their oath of allegiance vnto the King. And so forthwith raising an army, least vpon the sudden they should be at Hotze oppressed, they began by all meanes to prouide for their affairs. But the report thereof comming to the States of Bohemia & Moravia their neighbors, they were by them giuen to vnderstand, That they would become intercessors for them vnto the King, and yet not to be wanting vnto them as their need, as occasion should require.

In

In the mean time letters were brought from Constantinople to Vienna; declaring King *Matthias* his Embassadors hauing audience with the great Sultan, to haue in an eloquent Oration on the Kings behalfe promised, religiously to keep the peace of late made betweene them. And afterwards in the Kings name to haue offered his presents vnto the Sultan, and he in the presence of his chiefe Bassa's to haue receiued them. But when he came to request the gouernment of Transylvania, he would in no wise thereunto consent, but gaue the same to *Gabriel Bathor*, with commandment vnto the Bassa of Buda for the establishing of him in this principalitie.

About the beginning of October, the Counties of Trautsame and Furtsenburg were from King *Matthias* sent vnto the Protestant States at Horne; and shortly after them *Maximilian* the Archduke followed also. Who although they with most glorious promises fought to appease them, and by all means to draw them to take the oath of allegiance; yet could they no whit preuail with them, without granting the free exercise of their Religion. But the sixt of October, the Catholique States not expecting the consent of the Protestant States, at Vienna swore fealty vnto *Matthias* the new king of Hungary; the great ordnance in the mean time thundring off, with drums and trumpets in euery place of the City sounding, and the rest of the day being with great feasting, triumph, and solemnitie spent.

King *Matthias* hauing thus at Vienna receiued the oath of allegiance of the Catholiques, shortly after departing thence, the 22 of October comming to Presburg, was there by the nobility of Hungary receiued and brought into the city with 10000 soldiers. Whilst Estates afterward, *viz.* the 6 of Nouember, offered in writing vnto the King certaine articles, whereof they desired to be by him assured: most of which articles were drawne out of the pacification made at Vienna the 23 of August, *Anno* 1606; the chiefe effect wherof was this, That the free exercise of Religion should be permitted vnto all men in all the cities and towns of Hungary, not so much as that city to be excepted wherein the king should be resident. That no German captain should be suffered in any the strong forts of Hungary, but that the strong townes of Rab, Comora, Vivaria, and others, should be committed vnto the gouernment of naturall Hungarians born: That the crown of Hungary should stil be kept in Hungary, and committed to the keeping of Temporall men. That first and before all other things a Count Palatine should be chosen. That the king himself should alwaies reside in Hungarie; or if not, that the Palatine in his absence should haue ful power, with the Counsellors of estate of Hungary, to determine and conclude of all things, and that the King should therewith hold himselfe contented. That no publique office should be bestowed vpon any, but vpon such natural Hungarians as had of their country wel deserued; nor permitted to any for mony. That no Iesuites should be suffered in the kingdom, neither that Ecclesiastical men should be so much fauoured as formerly they had bin. That officers should not be bound to giue account of the administration of their offices, but before the Treasurers of Presburg, being natural Hungarians born. That from henceforth mony should not be carried out of the kingdom, as hitherto it had bin. That the Palatine being dead, the king should within a year keep another; the chiefe Iustice in the mean time after the old maner supplying his room.

Troubles in Austria about matters of religion.

The Protestant States of Austria had but a little before sent their Embassadors vnto the Nobilitie and States of Hungary then gathered together at Presburg; with request, That forasmuch as they could not by any intreaty obtaine of the king the free exercise of their religion, as wel within their cities as without, and that very necessitie had driuen them by force of arms to seek for the same, that they would by sending of them men, afford them such ayd as was vnto them due by the former pacification made at Vienna *An.* 1606. Which troubles of Austria the Nobilitie and States of Hungary desiring to haue appeased, sent *George Turson* and some others with letters of intercession in their behalfe vnto the Archduke *Maximilian*: which when they had deliuered vnto him, they receiued from him this answer, That K. *Matthias* neuer thought to disturb the common quiet of that country, or to attempt any thing against the priuiledges therof, granted by the Emperor *Maximilian* of happy memory; but to grant vnto the cities the liberty of Religion, he could by no meanes, partly in respect of conscience, partly for the danger that might therof insue from the Pope and the king of Spaine; and yet neuertheles he would promise to suffer and tolerate the free exercise of religion without the city, and in the bestowing of publique offices to haue no respect of Religion: yet with

this

this condition, That they should lay down armes, submit themselues vnto the King, acknowledge their fault, and craue pardon for the same; for that in so doing the States should baply G
preuail more than by force of arms.

With which answer, seeing no better could be got, the Hungarian Embassadors going to the States of Austria, began by diuers reasons earnestly to persuade them to submit themselues vnto the King. If the Hungarians should (as they said) giue aid vnto them of Austria, they should in so doing, in stead of helping them but do them more harm; for that the Hungarian power could not be brought into Austria but to the vtter destruction thereof. That the league betwixt the Hungarians and them of Austria was a general league, and concerned as well the Catholiques as the Protestants. That the Christian religion was neuer with the sword planted or defended; Christ himselfe saying, Them to be happy which therfore suffer H
persecution; and commanding *Peter* to put vp his sword into his scabberd. That it was an easie matter for euery man to raise stirs and tumults, but again to appease them was farre more difficult. That by the taking vp of arms the free exercise of Religion could not bee furthered or prouided for, it being rather dangerous, lest the contrary part preuailing it should be vtterly suppressed. That by this means Hungary it selfe should be exposed to many dangers, for that not only new stirs might vpon this occasion by the subiects thereof bee raised, but other forrein Princes also take vp arms against it also; the Emperor by force of arms seeking so his right, and the Turkish Sultan by a new inuasion going about to bring the same vnder his subiection. And telling them further, That the Archduke had promised to take good order for all things, so that they would lay downe armes; and that the clemencie and bounty of these I
Princes being known, they were not to doubt but that they would perform their promise; and that the Hungarians could not now doe or attempt any thing against the King: but that if it should happen these two Archdukes being dead without heirs male, the gouernment of these two prouinces should come vnto the Archduke *Ferdinand*, that then they should haue more cause to help them of Austria against him. Moravia they said to be a free country, and yet the King to haue giuen therunto no more assurance for the liberty of religion, more than his bare promise. Wherfore seeing that both the fortune and chance of war was doubtful, and was not without great expence to be maintained; that they were of opinion it to be best for the Protestant States of Austria to lay downe armes, and by way of request to solicit their cause with the King.

Illishascius is chosen palatine of Hungary.

In the mean time, the griefs whereof the Hungarians complained being taken away, and all K
controuersies happily ended, *Illishascius* was by a general consent chosen to be Palatine, and *Matthias* the 14 of November openly proclaimed King of Hungary, and the 19 of the same month in S. *Martins* church at Presburg in this maner crowned: first, the Royal Crowne was in a stately chariot caried out of the castle vnto the church, with a great number of the counsellors and Nobilitie of Hungary attending the same; in which Chariot were also caried ten ensignes, with the arms of the kingdom in them frisled vp; four of the Hungarian counsellors taking it out of the chariot, in a little chest couered with cloath of gold, and so carying it into the Chancel of the church. After which *Matthias*, together with the Archduke *Maximilian* his brother, followed on horseback, both arayed in Hungarian apparel; and so going into the L
Chancel, there stayed about halfe an houre, vntill that hee was by two Bishops brought forth vnto the Altar; before whom ten of the Hungarian Nobilitie caried the ensignes aforesaid Ensignes: after whom followed the Palatine with the Crowne, *Endeodius* with the royall Sceptter, *Forgatsie* with the Apple of the kingdom, *Turso* with King *Stephens* sword, *Tecchius* carying the Pax, as they call it, *Budian* the Crosse; the Cardinal *Forgatsie* saying Masse, with diuers Bishops and Prelats helping of him: by whom the King was at the beginning of Seruice anointed with oile: where, while the Epistle and Gospel were in reading, the Cardinal set the crown vpon the Kings head; all the people crying out, *Long liue* Matthias *the King of Hungarie*. But the King with the crown vpon his head, taking a drawn sword out of *Sigfrid Collonitz* the Marshals hand, thrice brandished it across ouer the Clergy mens heads, and receiued the M
Sacrament at the Cardinals hand. The Masse being ended, he by an highway couered with cloath, going in his royal robes from S. *Martins* church, vnto the bare-foot friers church, as he went, caused mony to be cast abroad among the people. In which church, after the first Chapter of the Gospel of S. *Iohn* being read, he made 28 Knights. From thence the king with the

Crowne

A crown yet on his head, and in his stately robes, went out of the city at S. *Michaels* gate, where on horseback he was brought vnto an high stage couered with cloath, wheron hee was sworne vnto the Hungarians as their King, and they vnto him as his subiects. And afterwards thrice mounting vp to horse vpon a little hil made for that purpose, and so downe againe, and thrice brandishing his sword across, he returned back again into the castle; where he and *Maximilian* the Archduke, Cardinal *Forgatsie* the Popes Nuntio, and the Palatine sate down at one table; the rest of the Hungarian Nobilitie, to the number of 70, sitting down at six other tables, and so dining with great mirth; the Haiduks and common sort of people being there bountifully feasted also. Where many of them in scrambling for the money that was cast abroad, and in taking vp of the cloath from the scaffold, hauing their hands and fingers cut off, & so lamed,
B caried from thence the woful remembrance of what was there then don.

The solemnitie of this coronation thus past, King *Matthias* thought it good for him yet for a time to stay at Presburg, vntil the new building in the castle was ended, which the nobility of Hungarie had appointed for the keeping of the Crown of Hungary, to the intent that hee himselfe might see the same, with other the royall ornaments put thereinto, and sealed vp with his own seal: he in the meanwhile labouring to appease great contentions, and to place fit men again in the great offices of the commonweale; for that the Hungarians would by no means suffer the Germans to enioy any of the same: for which cause many of the chiefe officers, men of great authoritie, were displaced; and among them *Sigifrid Collonitz*, a man who had much deserued of the kingdom of Hungary. Howbeit shortly after, he by the counsel of
C *Maximilian* the Archduke, was by the Hungarians themselues, repenting them of that they had done, not only restored vnto his former offices, but had by them (and that not without his iust desert) euen greater preferments offered him also: so mutable a thing the iudgment of the Common people is. But *Illishascius* now Palatine of Hungary, the 28 of Nouember talking with king *Matthias* at large, earnestly intreated him in the behalfe of the protestant States of Austria; especially for that the other Protestant States of Hungary seemed now in their behalfe to be much mooued also; and the Moravian Embassadors openly at the same time protesting, That their States could in no wise forsake them their friends the States of Austria, if their need so required. And albeit that both the Elector of Saxony and other Princes of the Empire, were become earnest intercessors also vnto the King for them; yet the Popes Nuntio
D so hardly withstood them, as nothing could as then be granted.

About the beginning of December the king returning again from Presburg to Vienna, the Protestant States of Austria about the 16 of December sent *Ernestus* the free Baron of Landau, *Maximilian Polheim*, *Sebastian Grabner*, *Charles Forberger*, *Pilgram Sitsendorff*, and *Christopher Buchner*, their Embassadors vnto the King, to know what they should trust to. Who the 27 of December receiued answer, That they should hold themselues contented with such answer as they had before receiued, and to submit themselues to the kings pleasure; or els to doe what they themselues thought good. With which answer they returning, the States forthwith began to leuy new forces, persuading the soldiers, that mindful of their oaths they should truly serue whithersoeuer and against whom soeuer they were sent.

The States of Austria in arms about religion.

1609.

E And now a great army of the Protestant States of Austria lay in the villages about Cremsa and Spaine, so that those two towns were thought to bee in great danger of them. For the strengthning of which places, *Bucheime* was by the King sent thither with 1500 horse, & certain pieces of great ordnance: and an edict withall published the 10 of Ianuary, charging the States to be present at Vienna the 21 day of the same moneth, to take their oath of allegiance to the king. Howbeit they most stiffly stil refused so to do, or to remit any thing of that they had before required. Insomuch that *Maximilian* the Archduke, who hitherto had not a little labored in this cause, was quite out of hope to bring them to any conformitie, or to make any good end therof. In the mean time certaine of *Bucheims* horsemen on the kings part, being about to haue taken vp a place, such as they thought conuenient for them to lodge in, had like
F to haue bin disappointed of the same by the horsemen of *Gerrane* on the States side. About which matter *Bucheim* comming forth with 7 troups of horsmen, and *Gerrane* but with three, and three companies of foot, there was betwixt them an hot skirmish for the time, fought the thirteenth day of Ianuary; in which an hundred of *Bucheims* horsemen were slaine, but of *Gerrane* his men not so many, they hauing the aduantage of the ground, and so therewith in

the skirmish holpen, both for the defence of themselues, and the annoying of their enemies. G
Wherof the King hauing knowledge, and therwith much mooued, beside the aforesaid Edict,
caused another to be proclaimed at Vienna, against such souldiers as serued the protestants;
proscribing them all, and denouncing them Rebels, except before the 21 day of Ianuarie, they
laying down armes, departed out of the protestants Campe. Howbeit the Protestant States
were so far from dismissing their forces, as that they with new supplies strengthned the same;
and hauing taken an hil not far from Hallenbynne, and from thence discharging three tyre of
20 pieces of great ordnance, strook a great feare and terror into the minds of the kings soldiers
within the town.

About this time also the States of Moravia (that nothing might on their part bee wanting
for the making of an attonement betwixt the king and the Protestant States of Austria) sent H
some of their Embassadors vnto those States at Horn, and other some vnto the King at Vien-
na; who hauing accesse vnto the King, declared vnto him, The States of Moravia, from whom
they came, to be earnestly importuned by the protestant States of Austria, to send them ayd,
according to the agreement made with them the year before. And told him moreouer, That
this maner of his proceeding tended not vnto peace and quietnes, but rather vnto the trouble
and destruction both of the kingdome and of all the prouinces to him belonging. All that
errour, the ground of those troubles, they said to depend vpon a corrupt interpretation or mis-
construing of words, rather than of the matter it selfe; so that by men desirous of peace, it
might easily be composed and ended. And that therfore their request vnto his Majesty was;
That he hauing regard not only vnto the good and welfare of his prouinces and subiects, but I
euen of himselfe and of his honour also, would of his clemencie and goodnesse vouchsafe to
giue remedy vnto the present danger, and auert the miserable calamities now hanging ouer
them, and euen ready to fall vpon their heads. The protestant States, they said to bee content
to put the controuersie to be decided and composed by certain graue & wise men, to be cho-
sen arbitrators on both parts; yet with this condition; That for 14 daies space no hostilitie
should on either side be vsed. That the inhabitants both aboue and beneath Amisum should
be comprised within this truce. That such as were kept in durance for religion should bee set
at libertie: and that all highwaies and passages should be from all ambushes and other dan-
gers cleared. Vnto which their requests the king condescending, gaue leaue vnto the States of
Moravia, vpon the most equall conditions they could deuise, to compose and end all differen- K
ces: who so laboured in this businesse betwixt the King and the protestant States of Austria,
that at length, *viz.* the twelfth of March, a pacification was made betweene them: *Leopold* the
Archduke, *Melinus* the Popes Nuntio, the Bishop of Vienna, and other great men of the con-
trary religion and faction, seeking in vain to hinder the same. The chief articles and points in
the Pacification were these: That the Nobility in their castles and towns, as also in their hou-
ses in the city, should for themselues and their people haue the free exercise of their religion;
That the free exercise of preaching might be vsed in three Churches, at Iserdore, Tabelsfoin-
cel, and Horn. That the other Churches shut vp might again be opened by three of the Ro-
mish and three of the Reformed religion, and the free exercise of Religion in them vsed. That
Counsellors and other publique officers should from thenceforth indifferently be chosen of L
men of both religions; but such Offices as were hereditarie should so still remain. That the
election of Magistrates and other publique Officers in towns and cities, should from thence-
forth be made by the Magistrates and Citisens themselues, and not to be nominated from the
Court, as hitherto they had beene. That no Church should bee hereafter shut against either
part, but their own Churches to be left vnto them both, quietly to vse. That the gouernors
and Citisens in their townes and Cities should from thenceforth haue power to make choice
of their ministers and preachers; and that for them it should be lawfull to visit the sicke, and
to administer vnto them the Lords supper. That the oath of Allegiance should be taken of
them of the Reformed religion, in like maner as it had beene before taken of them of the Ro-
mish, but yet not with the same ceremonies of the Romish church; all vnitie and confederati- M
on with them to be had, to be taken away. That all grudging hatred and quarrell should bee
on both sides forgiuen, and for euer forgotten. *Wolfgang* of Hoffkirch, *Vollsegim*, and others,
remoued and put from their offices for not taking the oth of allegiance, being again receiued
into fauor and restored to their places. That it might be lawful for the towns and cities aboue
Amisum,

The troubles in Austria pacified.

A Amisum, to haue the free exercise of the Reformed religion in their suburbs and hospitals.

It was not long after this pacification made, but that king *Mathias* the 17 of May, going to Lintze with 300 horse, was there with eight troups of horsmen & fifteen companies of foot, by the States sent forth to meet him, most honorably receiued, and by three triumphal arches brought into the city: where he receiued of the States of the religion the oath of obedience; which with much ioy, triumph, and feasting performed, he the 27 of the same moneth againe returned to Vienna. The aforesaid States of Austria in the mean time with great zeal continuing the free exercise of their Religion at Horn, a great multitude of people daily resorting vnto the sermons there made: they of the Romish religion much grieuing and fretting therat. The King himselfe also being come to Vienna, put diuers of the Romish Catholiques out of
B their offices, placing others of the Reformed religion in their rooms, to the great discontentment of many.

About this time the Bassa of Agria, notwithstanding the peace, had for the sum of twenty thousand crowns before hand payd, secretly compacted with one *Andrew Drake*, to haue the strong town of Filek in the vpper Hungary deliuered vnto him. Which the traitor had intended (as he himself confessed) to haue performed, by setting of the house wherin he himself dwelt, by night on fire: vnto the quenching wherof the garison soldiers resorting, his purpose was in the mean time to haue secretly let in the Turks, and so to haue deliuered the town into their hands. But this his so wicked a purpose in good time discouered, and by him confessed, he was therfore, as he had wel deserued, aliue cut into four pieces; a iust reward for his so
C foul intended treason. The Bassa of Buda also, contrary to the treaty of peace, about the same time went about to haue exacted the oath of allegiance of aboue 400 country villages of the Christians, being not comprised within the foresaid treaty. But as the Turks for their part were secretly plotting how to incroch vpon the Christians, and to do them harm; so the Haiducks on the other side in great numbers gathered together in the vpper Hungary, began here and there to molest and trouble the Turks, vntil they were by their superiors commanded to desist from so doing, for disturbing of the peace.

Now about this time also *Illishascius* the County Palatine of Hungary died at Vienna; A man much beloued of the Hungarians his countrymen, and now by them no lesse lamented for. Whose dead body was with great honor afterward conueyed from Vienna, vnto his owne
D territorie in Hungary, and there with all funeral pomp buried with his Ancestors. In whose stead *George Turson* was afterward by the general consent of 150 of the Hungarian Nobilitie chosen County Palatine of Hungary, and so with the vniuersal and solemn acclamations of the people saluted.

Illishascius dieth.

And now the troubles for religion were scarcely wel ended in Austria (as is aforesaid) but that the like, or rather worse, began forthwith euen for the same quarrel to arise in Bohemia; the Hussites (as they call them) most earnestly importuning the Emperor for the free exercise of their Religion, or rather for the taking away of certaine grieuances done to their religion; and the Romain Catholiques euen at the same time leauing nothing vnattempted, that might
E seruе to bring them of the Religion into hatred with the Emperour and others sitting at the helm of the gouernment of estate; and so to frustrat whatsoeuer the Emperor had in the general assembly of the States the last year granted vnto them of the Religion, for the free exercise and aduancement therof. The composing of which controuersie (tending vnto the ending in sunder of the whole kingdom) when as the Emperor had referred vnto certain of his chiefe Counsellors, and they altogether fauoring the Roman Catholiques, would giue them of the Religion no certain answer wheron to rest; they therwith much discontented, as out of hope to by them relieued, and in great feare to be by their aduersaries, as enemies vnto the state oppressed, layd their heads together, and after good deliberation taken, What were best for them to doe, both for the safety of themselues, their wiues, children, and Religion; they by a generall consent, of themselues appointed the fourth of May to hold a generall meeting of
F them of the Religion in the new Court at Prague, there to consult of all matters concerning the businesse of Religion. And yet in the mean time openly in parliament protesting, by the mouth of *Wenceslaus Bodowitsius* a Baron of Bohemia, them to haue appointed this Assembly for the Emperors good, and for the common quiet of the whole realme; as also for the better informing

New Troubles for religion in Bohemia.

informing of the Emperor of all matters, and to prouide that the Emperor and the kingdom G
might not through the means and persuasions of those his euill Counsellors be brought into
extream peril and danger. Immediatly after, the States of the Religion with all speed dispat-
ched their Embassadors vnto King *Matthias*, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Saxonie, and
the Duke of Brunswick, to request them, by their intercession to become mediators for them
vnto the Emperor, for the obtaining of the free exercise of their religion, which in all points
agreed with the Confession of Augusta, and which long before was exhibited vnto *Maximili-*
an the Emperor, and by him allowed. Now in the mean time these the States of the Religi-
on were by some for these their proceedings commended; but by other some not onely bla-
med, but also accused of rebellion against the Emperor and the State. But the matter beeing
declared vnto the Emperour, he complaining vnto himselfe of the inconsiderateneſſe of his H
Counsellors; to maintain his authoritie, caused the Parliament then in hand to be prorogued:
and to seem of himself to grant that which he could not wel withstand, commanded by a De-
cree, that same very day to be appointed for the concluding of that article of Religion, on
which the States themselues had appointed their assembly to be holden in the new Court at
Prague. Notwithstanding which Decree, many troublesome spirits publiquely set forth
other their conceits in writing, to far other purpose; grieuously therin reprehending the states
of the Religion, for that of themselues they had appointed a day for their assembly into the
new Court at Prague: which (as they said) was nothing else, but in a rebellious maner to rise
against the Lawes of the kingdome, and the authoritie of their lawfull Prince; and therefore
aduised them to forbear from making any such assembly as was by them appointed. Hereof I
arose great troubles euen vnder the Emperors nose, in Prague the chief city of Bohemia; they
of the Religion not daring to trust the Roman Catholiques, neither they them: beeing still
ready vpon euery false report or vain surmise to go together by the ears; vntill that the Em-
peror for the staying of these troubles, and for the auoiding of further danger, was glad to
cause it to be openly proclaimed in the new Court at Prague, That his Imperiall Maiestie
having receiued and vnderstood the Apologie of the States, now did abrogate that his Edict
published against them but a few daies before; and now by this his new Edict did account
all the States of the Religion for his faithfull and welbeloued Subiects, and as of them, vnto
whom the right of the kingdom and the Kings oath belonged, as wel as to all the other states
of the kingdome. And that hee also had those the same States excused, in that they for the K
good of his Majesty & of the whole kingdom had appointed their Assembly in the new court
at Prague; and that therefore he denounced them in so doing, not to haue don any thing con-
trary vnto his Majesty. And that he appointed the 25 day of May for the generall assembly
of Parliament to be holden in the Castle of Prague, for the ending of the Article concerning
Religion, and the reforming of other the publique grieuances of the Commonwealth. Yet with
this prouiso, That the said States should safely and quietly come vnto the parliament, with-
out entertaining of any forrein soldiers: as that his Majestie should also, not by himselfe nor
any other, for pay entertaine any, or suffer any forreine souldiers to come into the kingdome.
Which the Emperors Edict being proclaimed, the States of the Religion having made their
publique prayers, and sung certain hymnes and psalmes vnto the glory of God, for the good L
successe of their busines, left the new court at Prague, and returned euery man home to their
own houses, to make themselues ready to come vnto the Parliament, to be holden at the ap-
pointed day.

But the day appointed for the Parliament being come, and the Emperour still delaying
the matter, the States of the Religion weary of such long delayes, and in doubt, to be there-
with deluded, as hauing not receiued from the Emperour any such answer as whereon they
might rest; the third of Iune offered vnto the Emperour a short Writing concerning their
griefe and further purpose, to this effect. They had (as they said) expected, and well hoped,
That regard beeing had not onely of so many requests of so great and most noble Princes,
made in their behalfe, but euen of the Emperour his promise also made vnto them, both in the M
generall Assembly of the States the last yeare, and in the late precept of the Emperours also,
they should at length haue receiued such answer vnto their petition, concerning the free exer-
cise of their Religion, as wheron they might haue safely rested. Which for that it had not bin
yet

A yet don, they referred the doing therof vnto God and further time; imputing the blame ther-
of not vnto his Imperial Maiesty, but vnto the vnquiet and troublesome natures of some as
well the Ecclesiastical as Temporall magistrats and persons. But forasmuch as they meant
no longer to be deluded by their enemies, much lesse to be defrauded of his Maiesties Royal
promise, which was now vnto the world known; they had thought good to offer and present
vnto his Maiesty a writing conceiued in the Bohemian tongue, according vnto which they
desired to be secured concerning the free exercise of their Religion: most humbly requesting
his Maiesty to accept of the same, and at length to satisfie their requests. Which if it might
not be granted (the Emperours Maiesty hauing more respect vnto the troublesome Clergie
men, and some other his euill affected Counsellors, than to the faithfull States and subiects of
B his kingdome) that then they would rest themselues vpon the Decree made in the Assembly
holden in the year 1608, and vpon the last Edict of his Maiesty: yet with this solemn prote-
station, That seeing they had by certain information vnderstood, much warlike preparation,
especially in Bavaria, to be made, and diuers consultations in many places to be held against
the States of the Religion (his Imperial Maiesty and other his faithful counsellors knowing
nothing therof) which might tend vnto the ruin and destruction both of his Maiesty and of
the whole kingdom; they themselues would take vpon them the defence therof, & do their
indeauor, that furnished with men and armes, they might to the vtmost of their power defend
him their Soueraign, together with themselues and the whole kingdome, against the inuasion
of their forrein enemies.

C In the mean time while these things were thus in doing, an Embassadour came from the
Duke of Saxonie to Prague, to intreat the Emperour for the States, and for the granting of
them the free exercise of their Religion. The Embassadors of the States of Silesia forthwith
following of them also: who also requested of the Emperor, to haue the liberty for the free ex-
ercise of their Religion by him confirmed vnto them; promising their most ready help & aid
vnto the States of Bohemia, if need should so require. But the States of Bohemia hauing in
vain from day to day expected answer from the Emperour, turning themselues vnto their for-
mer resolution for the defence of themselues and of their Religion; forthwith raised a great
number both of horse and foot; who with their well known Captains and commanders they
brought euen vnto the city of Prague. Howbeit at length, *viz.* the eleuenth day of Iuly, the
D Saxon Embassadours earnestly soliciting their cause, and vrging their request, according to
their desire receiued answer from the Emperour, by letters from his Maiesty written to this
effect.

He gaue all men (as he said) to vnderstand, and by these his Letters witnessed to eternall
memory, That after that all the free States of his kingdome of Bohemia, which in the recei-
uing of the Lords Supper participate the body and bloud of our Lord Christ Iesus vnder
both kinds, his faithfull subiects, had in the Assembly holden in the Castle at Prague, in the
year 1608, in all humilitie requested, That it might be lawfull for them to hold, and freely
to exercise their Religion according to the Confession of Augusta (as some call it) exhibi-
ted vnto his father *Maximilian* the Emperour, of most happy memory, and by him to the sayd
E States allowed: and that he then and at that time, by reason of other most weighty busines,
for which that assembly was then called, and such as could suffer no procrastination or delay,
had thought it good to defer the allowing and ratifying of this their petition, vnto this pre-
sent assembly of Parliament: and that the same States now again assembled, incessantly re-
newing this their former petition, and hauing therunto ioyned also the request and interces-
sion of certain noble personages, had requested to be therein satisfied: and that hee and his
Counsellors would consult, how prouision might be made for his subiects in the kingdome
of Bohemia, as wel communicating vnder both kinds as vnder one; now at length to haue ef-
fected the same. Wherefore seeing that his will and desire was, in these and future times
peace and quietnesse might for the increasing of the Kingdome, be preserued and kept a-
F mongst his subiects of all the three Estates of the kingdom of Bohemia, communicating as
well vnder the one as vnder both kinds: That both parties might freely and without any im-
pediment or let, haue the free exercise of their Religion, whereby they were both in hope to
obtain euerlasting saluation. And to the intent that accomplishment and satisfaction might
in-

The Emperors letters for the free exercise of Religion in Bohemia.

in all points be made, as well according to the breaking vp of the Assembly of Parliament in the yeare, 1608, as to the performance of his own precept, of late published (whereby he hath acknowledged, and euen acknowledgeth, those same Estates communicating vnder both kinds, and subscribing to this confession, for his faithfull and loyall subiects, vnto whom the rights and immunities of the kingdome of Bohemia belonged) he by the common consent of the Councellors, and other Magistrates of the Kingdome, did determine, That his subiects communicating both vnder one and both kinds, should friendly and peacably liue together, without wronging or reuiling of one another; and that vpon the paine and penalty in the law set downe, to bee inflicted vpon them that should otherwise do. And moreouer, seeing that they which communicated but vnder one kinde, enioyed the free exercise of their Religion in all points throughout the kingdome of Bohemia, that he gaue leaue and commanded, that they also which communicated vnder both kindes, *viz.* all the States of the Religion, with all such as embraced the Confession of Bohemia, sometime exhibited to *Maximilian* the Emperour his father, in the Parliament holden in the yeare 1575, and now againe to himselfe presented, should euery where and in all places of the Kingdome, haue the free exercise of their Religion, without the let or interruption of any; to retaine the same, vntill a generall vnion of Religion, and an ending of all dissention and controuersies might be made. Moreouer, That he did grant vnto the States of the Religion this fauour, That they should haue the lower Consistorie at Prague, with power to conforme the same according to their owne Confession. That they might lawfully make their Priests, as well in the Bohemian as Germane Tongue, and set them ouer their Churches, without any let of the Archbishop of Prague. That hee did also restore vnto them the Vniuersitie of Prague, which for many yeares agoe belonged vnto the States of the Religion vnder both kindes: giuing them power againe to open the same, to furnish it with graue and learned men of their owne Confession, to beautifie it with good Lawes, and to appoint certaine of their owne companie and profession for Gouernours and defendors as well of the Consistorie as of the Vniuersitie: whom so by the states appointed and chosen, he without any stay or delay, or other instruction or information than they should from the States receiue, would confirme in that their office, and pronounce them for the lawfull Defendors: yet so, as that if he being letted by other great busnesse, cannot performe the same within the space of fourteen days, they shall neuertheles continue Defendors, and as well enioy the charge of the Office committed vnto them, as if they had been therein by him confirmed: and that one or other of their number being dead, it shall be lawfull for the States to chuse other in their places. And if that beside the Churches which they now hold, they would build other moe, or erect more schooles for the instructing of the youth, it shall bee lawfull for them freely and without any let so to doe, as well in the Cities as in the Countrey Townes and villages. And forasmuch as in some of the Cities of the Kingdome of Bohemia, men of both Religions did dwell together, he therefore did will and command, That for the preseruation of peace and quietnesse, either part freely exercising their Religion, and obeying their Priests, should by no means either hurt or trouble them on the other part; and much lesse to hinder them to bury their dead in their Churches or Churchyards, with the ringing or tolling of their Bels, or goe about to turne any man from his Religion, of what state or condition soeuer he be, whether hee dwell in the City or in the Countrey Towne or village; or by force to draw them to their opinion, or to take their part. For that he onely respected that peace and quietnesse might bee kept, and that mutuall loue might still grow amongst all the three States: Vnto which end and purpose, that he for himselfe and his heires, the King of Bohemia his Successors, in the faith and word of a King, did grant and promise vnto the States of the Religion, vnto whom this common peace of Religion (as they call it) belongs, as to a principall member of the Empire, all these things to be for euer inuiolably kept (the ecclesiastical and temporall persons whatsoeuer resisting) so that no contrary precept or Edict, should either by himself, or any other his heirs or successors be published against the States of the religion, or being published by any, should be accounted effectuall and strong, especially seeing that he by these letters, pronounces all the Edicts hitherto published against these the states of the religion, to be void, frustrate, and of none effect. Neither would that any thing of those which were don by the States of the Religion whilst they sought

sought for the confirmation of this article concerning Religion should for euer be laid vnto their charge, or by any man by way of reproch obiected vnto them. And that therefore hee streitly charged and commanded all Magistrats, and such as bare rule in Bohemia, that they should to the vtmost of their power protect & defend all the three States, together with them of the Religion, and neither themselues to trouble them, nor suffer them to be by any others for the exercise of their Religion molested or troubled: for that hee and other the Kings of Bohemia his successors, would most seuerely chastise all such as should offend against these his Maiesties letters (which to be for euer remembred, he would cause to be inrolled in the publique Records of Parliament) whether such offenders were ecclesiastical or lay men, to be sharply punished as troublers of the common peace.

This was the sum of his Majesties letter, which he caused to bee publiquely set vp in the castle of Prague the 13 of Iuly, that it might be to all men knowne, this article of Religion, which was the first of the articles in this parliament to be concluded and agreed vpon according to the mind of the States of the Religion; and so their requests to be in all points satisfied. Who forthwith therupon the fifteenth of Iuly caused the first publique sermon according to the confession of Augusta, to be preached in the German tongue in a church of them of the Religion, which had for a long time before bin shut vp. At which time they also sent vnto the Elector of Saxonie, to send vnto them certain learned men, for the setting vp of the Vniuersitie, and the gouerning of the Consistory at Prague. And yet for all this, the Embassadors for the States of Silesia earnestly labouring with the Emperor for the liberty of Religion to be granted to the said States and the rest of the inhabitants of the prouince; the states of Bohemia refused in any wise to dismisse their soldiers whom they had mustred neere vnto Roggenson, vntil the Silesians were of their request in that point satisfied: offring also to the Emperor a large label of the said States griefs.

Now it may be some hauing read so much as is before written concerning these late troubles about the free exercise of the Reformed Religion, but especially in Bohemia, Austria, Moravia, and Silesia, may deeme the same both tedious and beside our purpose. Vnto whom indeed it is not written; but rather vnto such as who together with my selfe (the Warres betwixt the Christians and the Turks ended, and the peace concluded as is aforesaid) desire to know in what state those frontier Countries stand; which being the greatest bulwarks of that side of Christendome, and the chiefe territories of the House of Austria, are (the peace being either expired, or otherwise broken off) most subiect vnto the fury of the puissant enemy, as neerest vnto him, and so like soonest to feel his great force and power, which presineth vnto it selfe neither bounds nor measure, whilst there is any thing farther to be had. Against whom the Christian Emperor had no forces of his owne to oppose, more than such as he could raise out of the reliques of Hungary, and the aforesaid frontier Countries; all together but weake helpes against so puissant an enemy, as neuer commeth into the field but with a world of men following him. But yet much weaker, being as now of late they were, euery one of them apart diuided in themselues about matters of Religion, the incredible maladies of the Christian Estates and Commonweales. The heauy and lamentable effect whereof too much of late appeared in the losse of Strigonium, won by the Turks with a farre lesse army than euer the Grand Seigniors Lieutenant General was wont to come into Hungary: and yet the Christian Emperor by reason of the reuolt of the Hungarians, vpon a discontentment about the exercise of their Religion, not able of himselfe to relieue the distressed city of Strigonium, or yet to take the field with an army of any strength, for defence of the rest of his cities or territories. So weak are euen the greatest princes, their subiects being amongst themselues diuided in minds.

But to stray further: The Turks Embassador in the mean time with a notable traine of an hundred and fifty Turks comming from Vienna the one and twentieth of September, and there hauing saluted and with great gifts presented the King, set forward towards Prague, where he was by the citizens and certain noblemen of the Emperors counsel, the 12 of October honourably receiued, and the nineteenth of the same month admitted vnto the Emperors presence, first presented to him from the great Sultan his master a rich Tent of diuers colors, most curiously wrought with faire Orient Pearle of great value; and then foure couragious horses,

horses, all furnished with most rich and sumptuous furniture. Hee presented vnto him also G
certain Turkish weapons set and garnished with pretious stones; and a princely Turks Robe
such as they vse at their mariages, glistring with gold and pretious stones, with diuers other
rare things of lesse value. Together with which he deliuered vnto him the great Sultans let-
ters; and withall desired the confirmation of the peace before made for twenty yeares, to bee
now again renewed.

Vnto which Embassadour letters were afterwards deliuered from the Emperour, together
with certain other rich presents to be by him presented vnto the great Sultan: *viz.* certaine
Caroches lined within with Damaske, and couered without with black veluet; six faire and
gallant horses most richly furnished; a Clocke of wonderfull workmanship; two fair Deskes
to write vpon of Ebonie: with diuers other like Presents of no small price. Who so H
charged with presents, and bountifully rewarded, and to his good liking an-
swered, was afterward in the beginning of Ianuary, with a train
of 200 horse from Prague honourably
dismissed.

HERE

HERE FOLLOWETH A CONTINVATION OF THIS PRESENT HISTORY (CONTAINING THOSE OCCVRRENTS WHICH HAVE HAPPENED TO THE TVRKISH EMPIRE SINCE THE YEARE OF OVR LORD, 1609, TO THE YEAR 1917, &c.)

By EDWARD GRIMSTON, *Sergeant at Armes.*

THe Turkish Emperour, hauing beene freed some yeares from the 1610
C
care of wars in Hungary, in regard that he had concluded a truce for twenty yeares with the Emperor *Rodulphus*, he now bent all his forces against his Rebels in Asia, and the Sophy of Persia, where he had no good successe this yeare. For the Persians hauing formerly extended their Monarchy far into the Turkish Empire, and defeated *Cicala Bassa* and others in diuers battels; now they entered into the Prouince of Babylon, with a designe to joyne it to Persia. *Achmat* to stay the course of their prosperity, sends a mighty army thither, vnder the command of *Nassut Bassa*: but his fortune was no better than those that went before him. The Persians came to meet him, gaue him battell, defeated him, and slew 20000 of his men. These mournfull newes comming to Court, did much distemper the Sultans minde; he could not endure it should be said, that the Persians had defeated his mighty armies thrice in open battell; and
D
much lesse that it should be so, and that he should seise vpon his countries: wherefore to repaire this losse, he leuies new forces to be commanded by *Comboiat Bassa* of Aleppo, who had bin the most powerfull Rebel in Asia, and was newly reconciled and brought into fauor with the grand Seignior. This man came to the Port to receiue the Sultans commandements, and and to passe his army into Asia: but whether hauing some suspition, that he had intelligence with the Persians, or that such as enuied his greatnesse, had giuen some bad impression of his loyalty to the Sultan; within some few daies after his arriuall, *Achmat* caused him to be slain by his Capigi. Whereby we may well obserue, that he that is a Rebell to his Prince, which hath so violently oppreſt his subjects, and set his countries on fire by sedition, the which he hath bin forced to quench with the bloud of innocents, cannot but end his daies violently and
E
miserably, seeing that God reuengeth the bloud of innocents vpon the guilty.

The Persians enter into the Prouince of Babylon.

The Turks defeated.

The Persian seeing what aduantage he had gotten of the Turke, laboured by the bruit of his victories, to draw the Christian Princes vnto his party, and with them wholly to ruine the *Othomans*; the which he had so happily begun. For the effecting whereof he sent his Embassadors to the Emperor being at Prague, to persuade him to breake the peace with the Turke, and to joine with him. The Embassadors arriued at Prague this yeare with rich and rare Presents: first a crosse of gold inriche with many pretious stones; amongst which there was one piece of amber, whereon was seene the figure of the Virgin *Mary*, holding her young babe in her armes; the which was so artificially grauen, as it might be thought the worke of nature: a Topas of exceeding greatnesse, giuen to the King of Persia by an Indian King; two kniues of
F
damaske, with hafts of Iasper, and their sheaths couered with diamonds: a certaine kind of Indian wood of most excellent vertue, most soueraigne to cure the paines of the brest, and to purge the stomacke: the gall of a pellican excellent to cure the pluriſie, appoplexie, and feuer: two topazes the one white, and the other violet; this last was so big, as it was capable to make a cup: an Amathist as big as a hens egge; a Persian bow inlaid with the veines of a

Presents sent to the Emperor by the Persian

camell, and a rough diamond exceeding great; a white stone of the colour of water, which was a preseruatiue against the plague, being hung about ones necke; three orientall pearles exceeding big; three rich escarbuncles, and three maruellous faire diamonds; and withall this, a serpents horne, much esteemed for the rare vertues. All these Presents were very well accepted, and the Embassadors much honoured. But what apparance was there for the Emperor, who had so great differences with his brother *Matthias* King of Hungary, who saw the greatest part of his subjects rebelled against him, his prouinces in diuision, Transyluania in combustion by the conspiracy which had bin discouered against *Battori*, and finally a generall disorder ouer all, to breake the peace with the Turke, (who was at his dore, retained only with this bar) and to allie himselfe with the Persian so far from his countries, from whom he could draw no succors, but only that he might keep the *Othoman* busie in Asia? Thus the Embassadors returned, carrying home nothing but good words.

His affairs will not suffer him to ioyne with the Persian.

The troubles which hapned in Bohemia, made him see of what importance it was to entertaine peace with the Turke: for if he had broken it by the Persians persuasion, hee had giuen his enemy an assured meanes to ruine him: for the Archduke *Leopold* intred into Bohemia with an army of 9000 foot, and 3000 horse; he surprised petty Prague, attempted the old towne, and seeking to force it, he slew many which made resistance. *Matthias* King of Hungary aduertised of this disorder, parts from Austria with a powerfull army, and aduanceth speedily towards Bohemia. It was to be feared, that if *Matthias* army and *Leopolds* had met neer vnto Prague, it had been the losse and ouerthrow of the one, and the desolation nnd ruine of the country. The Emperor foreseeing this danger, caused 300000 florens to be deliuered to *Romeo, Leopolds* Lieutenant, for the paiment of his army, and so sent him out of Bohemia. This diuision betwixt the Princes of the house of Austria, grew by the practises of some of the Emperors Counsell, who being deligated judges to compound the differences of the Bohemians of diuers religions, in stead of labouring to reconcile and vnite those people, for the good of the publike, they made themselues partisans to the one to oppresse the other, and thereby they drew the Princes into a dangerous diuision, for the support of parties. And moreouer, the Archdukes *Ferdinand* and *Leopold*, practised to depriue *Matthias* King of Hungary of the succession which he pretended of Bohemia; lest that being master, he should take reuenge vpon their partisans for the troubles wherewith they had formerly afflicted the country. Such was the estate of affaires in Germany, giuing the Turke a faire opportunity, if he should haue embraced so rich an occasion, to make his profit of their combustions. But the confirmation of the truce, and the affaires of his house kept him in Thrace.

The gallions of Malta defeated by the Turks.

Let vs see how the Turke speeds at sea; where he hath the Knightes of Malta, the Sicilians, and Neapolitanes, and the Florentines, vigilant and valiant enemies to annoy him, and crosse his designes. The last yeare, which was 1609, the Christians had no good successe, losse fell particularly vpon the Knights of Malta: for he that fights often can hardly vanquish alwaies. The gallion of the Order, commanded by *Chiualier Guidoti*, an Italian, had made two voyages to sea very fortunatly, and brought to Malta 360 Turkish slaues. The encouragement of this good successe engaged many Knights to diuers enterprises. They armed certain gallions, and made a fleet of ten good ships of war, as vnfortunat in their courses as the gallion of the Order had before beene successefull; for meeting with the Turks fleet in the seas of Cyprus, they were set vpon, and most of them slaine or made slaues. The Knight *Fresinet* was slaine, and the red gallion wherein he commanded, taken by the Turks; but it was after a whole daies fight. *Ambuson* otherwise called *Fusillade* another Knight, was made a slaue; and his gallion taken: the Knight *Ouges* run the same fortune, with the losse of a gallion. *Fresinet* hauing brought a pinnace with him to attend his ship, after some sighs neere vnto the gallion, it escaped by night. In this voiage vnfortunat for them of Malta, the gallion of the Order would needs seeke some better aduenture: the Knights of *Bullon* and Rhodes did accompany him either of them with a small gallion. He set vpon the carauan of the Turks fleet neere the Island of the Rhodes, his successefull beginning of this combat made him hope for victory, and the number of the enemies vessels for a rich booty: for there were among the rest two great gallions of the Sultans; these are ships which belong to the Great Seignior women, loden commodly with great riches: but 20 gallies of Rhodes seeing this sighs came out of their port to succor them, and by the fauour of a faire wind, drew them into safety.

At

At Malta the bruit was, That the Turks army consisting of fourscore gallies, should go and besiege the Isle of Goza, whereas a Knight called *Saint-Liger* commanded. Whereupon the Great Master had resolued to fortifie the Castle of the Island, with a good counterscarfe, which he caused to be made, sending thither two hundred souldiers, and thirty Knights for supply, all braue souldiers, who might haue made a great resistance, if the Turks had attempted it: but the enemies fleet passed on and gaue them time to rest.

But this yeare 1610, *Vignaucourt* the Great Master of Malta, sent the fiue gallies of the Order into Barbary, towards the Port Farino, memorable, for that it was the hauen where S. *Lewis* the French King ended the nauigation of his daies, and at his returne from Ierusalem and Palestine, went to receiue in Heauen the glorious palmes of his holy actions. The gallies of Biserta had accustomed to fetch palmes there in that season (which was in the Spring time) whom the gallies of Malta had a designe to surprise. But the contrary winds, and the tempestuous seas ouerthrew that enterprise; yet their voiage was not altogether vnprofitable; for returning towards Malta, being within the channell, which diuides the Island from that of Sicily, they encountered with a great gallion of Tunes, armed by a Turke called *Carousinan*, being in view of the gallies of Malta: The Rayse (who commanded) assured his company, and smiling, promised to free them from their enemies. Being so transported with vanity, as he spake confidently, that he would not feare twenty of the gallies of Malta: but this his pride was soone abated with his ruine; for the fiue gallies came close vnder him, and plied him so furiously with their cannon, as they sunke him. The gally wherein *Verdella* an Italian Knight commanded, had like to haue beene lost, for being grapled with the gallion, if the diligence of *Verdille* had not speedily retired it. The Turks after the losse of their vessell, began to swim away, but they were all made slaues to serue in the gallies of Malta, who this yeare had no other fruits of their generous enterprises.

The course of the Duke of Tuscany his Gallies.

The gallies of *Cosmo de Medicis* great Duke of Tuskany, parted from Ligorne, vnder the conduct of the Commander and Admirall *Inghiraim*, and running alongst the coast of Barbary, they tooke a Turkish ship in the sight of Algier, loaden with merchandise, armes, and munition of war, freeing many Christian slaues which were in it. This happy beginning promised them better fortune. They passe on, and some twenty fiue leagues beyond Algiers they goe to surprise the towne of Bisquirre, a small towne in circuit, but strong and well walled. *Inghirami* drawing neere vnto the coast, tooke downe his masts, lest they should discouer his comming. In the meane time he sent two long boats to find some place fit for their landing; the which being carefully obserued, Colonell *Bindy* landed his men, and about eleuen a clocke at night marched in good order towards the towne, and forced it. The darkenesse of the night kept them from spoiling it; being content only to set their guards and sentinels in the most important places of the wall: but day being come, the souldiers made themselues masters of the towne, which they sacked and spoiled. Certaine Moores and Turks, during the obscurity of the night, had retired themselues into a Mosque which they fortified: They were summoned to yeeld; but the feare of being slaues, (which they could not auoid) made them resolue to die in their owne defence; so as the Florentines hauing forced the place, put them all to sword; and then embarqued their troups, hauing filled Bisquirre with fire and bloud. The night following, being in the gulph called the Bad woman, they met with a pinnace loaden with corne, the which they tooke, and sent to Ligorne, and then they put on to encrease their conquest. Being vpon the coast of Sardinia, two Galliots of Biserta did furnish them with a faire occasion. *Inghirami* sendeth his gallies to pursue them, who hauing had them in chase threescore leagues, tooke the one, wherin they had one hundred and twenty slaues, and freed many poore Christians from the chaine, who suffered the tyranny of the Turkish seruitude. They also tooke a Turkish gally within halfe a league of Algier, and spoiled it. And thus triumphing ouer their enemies, they tooke their course towards Ligorne, hauing taken foure Turkish vessels, spoiled the towne of Bisquerre, and twice braued that of Algier.

The Morisques or new Christians chased out of Spaine.

This yeare was fatall for the Morisques or new Christians in Spaine, who being in number nine hundred thousand persons, as the originall writes, and had continued there from father to son, for the space of almost nine hundred yeares, were now in an instant banished, and made vagabonds with the blast of the Kings mouth. Men discourse diuersly hereof: Some said, that the King had reason to do it, for that they had secret practises and intelligences with the

Turks

Turke his capitall enemy. Others affirmed, that hee did wisely to preuent their attempts against his Estate, which were to be feared considering their numbers were also great. And some said plainely, that it was to haue their lands and inheritances, which had continued so long in their races. But the King declared his owne intent by his Edict, the which he published in these termes.

The King of Spaines Edict.

The King: For that reason doth in conscience binde a good and Christian gouernment, to expell out of all Realmes and Common weales those things which breed scandall, and bring hurt to our good subjects, and danger to the Estate, but especially which are offensiue to God, and prejudiciall to his seruice: for this cause experience hauing taught vs, That the residence of the new Christian Morisques, and their abode in the Realmes of Granado, Murcia, and Andelosia, hath beene the cause of all these inconueniences: for that besides the manner of their proceedings, which joyned in the rebellion of Granado, the which began by cruell murthers of all the Priests and old Christians which liued amongst them, calling the Turks in to their aid; yet hauing drawne them out of the said country, and suffered them to liue in other Prouinces, so as they would repent them of their faults, and liue faithfully and Christian like, according to the precepts and just ordinances which were giuen them: They haue not obserued and kept them according to the strict and direct rules of our Holy Faith: but haue alwaies made shew to contemne it, and to haue no feare to offend God; as hath beene seene by the great numbers which haue beene punished by the Inquisition: and besides, they haue committed many thefts and murthers against the old Christians. And not content herewith, they haue conspired against my Royall Crowne and Realmes, seeking aid and succors from the Turke, certaine interposed persons being sent to that effect, and doing the like with other Princes, promising vnto themselues aid and assistance, offering vnto them their persons and meanes. And seeing that during so many yeares, in which they haue practised these treasons and conspiracies, not any one hath come to reueale them, but they haue alwaies couered, concealed, and denied them; it is a most apparant signe, that they haue all beene of one minde and will against the seruice of God and of me, and against the good of this Realme; yet they might haue imitated many Knights of theirs, of generous extraction, who haue don seruice to God, to the Kings our progenitors, and to vs, like good Christians, and most loyall vassals.

Wherefore considering all this, and how much I am bound to set downe some good order, and to procure the preseruation and increase of my Realmes and subjects, and desiring to prouide for all; I haue decreed, with the aduice and counsell of many judicious learned men, and others, that are very religious, wise, and jealous of Gods seruice and mine, to chase out of the Realmes of Granado, Murcia, and Andelosia, and out of the towne of Hernache (although it be not within the limits of the said Realmes) all the new Christians Morisques, both men, women, and children. For when as a great or detestable crime is committed in any Colledge or Communalty, it is fit that Colledge or Communalty should be ruined, and that the lesse with the greater, and one with another, should be punished: And that such as peruert the good and sincere life of Common-weales, and of their townes and cities, should be banished from other inhabitants, lest their contagion infect them.

For this cause, by vertue of these presents, we ordaine and command, That all the new Christians Morisques, without any exception of age or sex, of those that liue and reside in the said Realmes, and in the towne of Harnache, except such as be slaues, shall within the space of thirty daies after the publication hereof, depart out of all our Realmes and Dominions of Spaine, with their wiues, children, seruants, and others of their Nation: and that they shall not presume to returne or to make any residence in them, in any sort whatsoeuer. And we forbid them to depart by the Realmes of Valentia, or Aragon, nor to enter into them, nor to stay in any of our Realmes or Countries after the time prefixed, vpon paine of death, and confiscation of all their goods. And we command, that no person within our Realmes or Seigniories, of what estate, qualities, or condition soeuer, shall presume to receiue, conceale, or defend publikely nor secretly any Morisque man or woman, after the said tearme, vpon paine to lose all their goods, vassals, fores, and lands; and moreouer to lose all the graces, and benefits which they haue from me, to be applied to my Exchequer.

And though I may justly confiscate all the goods moueable and vnmoueable of the said Morisques, as belonging to traitours, and guilty of high treason; yet vsing clemency, I am content

content, that during the said terme of thirty daies, they may dispose of their moueable goods, and carry them away, not in gold, siluer, jewels, nor letter of exchange, but in merchandise which is not prohibited, bought of the naturall subjects of this Realme, and not of others: or in the commodities of the said country. And to the end they may during the time of thirty daies dispose thereof, and of their moueable goods, and employ it in merchandise, or in the commodities of the country, and transport what they shall buy (for as for their lands, that must be annexed to my reuenues, to be employed in the seruice of God and the common-weale, as I shall thinke most fit) I declare by these Presents, that I take them into my royall protection, and assure them and their goods, That during the said time they may go and come, to sell, exchange, and alienate all their moueable goods, and to employ their mony, gold, siluer, and jewels, in merchandise not prohibited, or in the commodities of the country, and to transport the same freely, without any let or interruption, by land or by sea, paying vsuall customes; so as they carry no gold or siluer coyned, or to coyne, nor any other thing prohibited by the lawes of my Realme. Yet we are content, they shall carry so much money as shall be needfull for their passage by land, and embarking by sea: commanding all our officers and louing subjects to see this present Edict duely obserued. &c. Signed, *I the King*.

After this publication of the Edict, the tearme of thirty daies was restrained to twenty, so as the Morisques were hastened to depart: and the ships and vessels of what country soeuer, were staied in all the Ports of Spaine, to transport them whither they would go. Many passed from Spaine into Barbary: but during this yeare there came aboue 150000 of these Morisques into France; the King sending Commissaries, to see them well vsed, and orderly transported away.

Warre in Barbary.

There was a warre fallen out in Barbary betwixt *Muley Xequy*, King of Fez, and *Muley Sidan* his younger brother, both Mahometanes; in which warre the younger forced the elder to fly his Country, and to come and craue aid from *Philip* King of Spaine: But the vnfortunat losse of *Don Sebastian* King of Portugall, was a good president for the Spaniard not to trust in barbarous Kings, without good assurance: He treated with the Barbarian, and promised him succours, with an hundred thousand Duckats to returne to Alarache, (a place which held for him) where by money or other practises, hee should draw vnto him as many souldiers as hee could: And that for the safety of the succours that he should giue him, hee should put Alarache or Arrache into his hands. This Arrache is a strong towne in the Realme of Fez, in the Prouince of Algar, seated vpon the Ocean, at the mouth of the Riuer of Lucus, whereon part of it is built, and the other part vpon the Ocean: It hath a goodly Port, and hard to take, for that it is defended by a Fort, in the which the Kings of Fez do vsually entertaine a garrison of three hundred light horse, and three hundred harquebusiers: for that the Portugals and Castilians hold in a manner all the Sea townes of the Prouinces of Habat, and Erif, where they haue great garrisons. This Prouince is from the Riuer of Nocor along the Mediterranean Sea, vnto the streight of Gibralter, the other is vpon the Ocean from the said streight vnto the riuer Lucus, in the which the King of Spaine holdeth at this day the strong townes of Tanger, Arzilla, and others. According to the former accord, the Barbarian returned to Arrache, with his mony in one of the King of Spaine his ships; to whom in a short time repaired many of his friends and seruants. The Spaniard in the meane time hauing prepared a fleet of a great number of gallies and ships, and embarqued ten thousand souldiers therein, he gaue the command thereof vnto the Marquesse of S. *Germaine*, who arriued on the twentieth of Nouember in the euening at the Port of Arrache, and there rode at anchor all the night. The next day in the morning, the Marquesse called all the Captaines to a Councell, imparting vnto them his designe for to force Arrache, in case that the Moorish King did not keepe his promise; they gaue him assurance, that they would carry themselues like vnto braue and valiant souldiers. But see what hapned: The King of Fez hauing no meanes to goe from his word, seeing the Spaniard so strong as he might well force it, many of his followers and people, fearing to fall vnder the power of Spaine, they would haue abandoned him: but hauing the Gouernour of the castle at his deuotion, he thrust out the garrison, and deliuered the keies himselfe vnto the Marquesse of S. *Germaine*. Vpon the first bruit that the Spaniards were entred into the castle, all the inhabitants ran to armes, and thinking to resist them, after that many of them had

Description of the towne of Arrache or Allarache.

ended

Arrache, Mar-ba-y taken by the Spaniards.

ended their daies valiantly, during three houres combat, they were forced to yeeld vnto the Marquesse, who presently planted the crosse and armes of Castile vpon all the Towers and Steeples. Thus this strong towne which the Castilians and Portugals had so long desired, and wheras the inhabitants receiued a great ruine, is in the end falne vnder the domination of their King. The newes of this exploit being brought into Spaine, pleased the King much, and the people made bone-fires for joy: these are the alterations of times. The Moores in old time were wont to ouerrun Spaine, and now the Spaniards take their pleasure in Mauritania.

About the end of this yeare newes came to Constantinople, of the great warres which had been between the Vncle and the Nephew, by the death of the great Cham of the Tartars: the son, who during his fathers life time, had continued at Constantinople as an hostage, and was now sent backe into his country by the Sultan *Achmat*, thinking to enjoy his fathers estate, his vncle, brother to the deceased Cham, practised to seize vpon the crowne: but either of them hauing drawne an army of 60000 men together, in the end, they joyned battell, whereas after the slaughter of 40000 men vpon the place, the sonne had the victory, and by that meanes obtained the Crowne of Tartaria.

A great battell in Tartary.

I will conclude this yeare 1610, with the relation of a particular businesse, to shew the greedy desire of the Turks to get by any vnjust meanes whatsoeuer, and their infidelity and falshod to say and sweare any thing for bribes. Some yeares before, one Master *Willoughbie* an English Gentleman, hauing rigged vp a ship for war into the Leuant, he came into Algier in Barbary to sell his prize, where at that time one *Solyman Catania* was Bassa. This ship was suddenly seised on, and rifled by the command of this Bassa, vpon noother subject, but that the Bassa pretended this ship had burnt a Caramousall of his, which in truth the Bassa himselfe had caused to be set on fire, that vnder colour thereof he might seise vpon the ship and goods. Master *Willoughby* went to Constantinople, and there made his complaint to Sir *Henry Lilloe*, then Embassadour for the English; but yet could get no satisfaction: whereupon he returned into England, and obtained letters from his Majesty, to the Grand Seignior, and to Sir *Thomas Glouer*, then Embassador, residing at Constantinople: which hauing receiued, he went presently to the Chimacham (who was Lieutenant to *Murath Bassa* the grand Visier, hee being then imploied in the wars against the Persian.) The Chimacham hauing read these letters, would not suffer them to be deliuered to the Grand Seignior; promising to doe justice vpon *Solyman Catania*, whom he discharged from his place, and sent for him to Constantinople; who being come, and called in question, he denied the fact; Master *Willoughby* (hauing no certaine proofe of his losse) suborned one *Osish Bassa* a Turke, who had beene at Mecha, and was therefore held a very holy man, who set a brother of his to procure false witnesses, vpon promise to haue the tenth part of what should be recouered: the witnesses being ready to sweare to his assertion, *Solyman Catania* hearing their Oath, compounded with Master *Willoughby*, and gaue him foure or fiue thousand Dollars; so the businesse ended. Which shews the corruption of the Turks, and that the holiest of them for mony will not stinke to beare false witnesse, and take false Oathes.

A great Plague in Constantinople.

This yeare 1611 the city of Constantinople was wonderfully afflicted with the Plague, the which dispersed in selfe ouer all, and crept into the Grand Seigniours Seraglio, whereas one of his sonnes died of that infection: whereupon the Grand Seignior was forced to retire for his safety, and to passe the remainder of the Summer in his palace or Seraglio of *Marut Bassa*, about a league and a halfe distant from the city: this violent contagion did ragge in Constantinople for the space of fiue moneths, as there were numbred two hundred thousand persons dead within the time, and they did commonly carry euery day twelue or sixteene hundred bodies to be buried. The greatnesse of this mortality is not to be imputed so much to the corruption of the aire, as to the wilfull negligence of the Turks, who would not vouchsafe to turne away from a body dead of this disease, whent it went to buriall, not to forbeare to visite their friends being infected. The obstinate beleefe they haue of Predestination maketh them brutishly contemne all sorts of dangers: For, say they, as soone as man comes out of his mothers wombe to injoy the light of the world, God writes in his forehead all the good or euill shall happen vnto him, and particularly of what death he shall die, the necessity whereof no humane power can auoid. All is gouerned (say they) by Destiny, and therefore they regard

200000 persons died of the Plague.

The Turks obstinate beleefe touching predestination.

regard not any infection, but contrariwise when any one is dead, another takes his cloathes and weares them: which is the cause that Constantinople and the grand Caire are seldome free; and when as the aire is any thing disposed to contagion, there dies such multitudes of people, as they do not number them but by hundred thousands.

Before the beginning of this plague, the Baron of Salignac Embassadour for the French King at Constantinople, ended his Embassage with his life. His most Christian Majesty sent the Baron of Mole, eldest sonne to the Baron of Sansie, to supply his place. He arriued at Pera this yeare in the beginning of September, and about the end of October the Sultan being returned to Constantinople; after that he had visited the Muphti, (who is the chiefe of their Law) the Grand Visier, the Defterda, (who is the Sultans high Treasurer) the Bostangi Bassa his chiefe Gardiner, with other Great men of the Port which were highly in fauour; in the end he was admitted to audience, and to kisse the Sultans hand. A ceremony which in mine opinion I owe vnto the History, to shew that the Majesty of the Turkish Emperours is so great, as to approch neere vnto them, the Embassadours of forreine Princes are forced to disguise themselues, and leauing the habits of their nation, to attire themselues and their Traine after the Turkish manner. Thus the Embassador of France parted from his Lodging at Pera, wearing vpon his French apparel a long Turkish Robe of cloath of gold curled, furred with Sables: his Gentlemen and Secretaries to the number of sixteene had the like Robes, but of meaner stuffe, wearing caps of blacke Veluet: he had twenty seruants in long cassocks of Skarlet, called in Turkish, Ferrages, and vpon them long Robes of the same stuffe, with caps of Taffata; the foure Dragomans or the Kings Interpreters, the Captaines, Masters of Ships, and other Frenchmen attyred all in long Robes, accompanied the Traine. He past the channell which doth separate Pera from Constantinople: being come to the other side, he found many goodly horses for him and his Traine, which some Turkes that were friends to France, had sent him to conduct him to the City; at the gate whereof many Chiaus and Ianizaries attended him to conduct him to the Seraglio: two Chiaus Bassaes went of either side him, accompanying him thither, the rest of the Turks going before. His arriuall was no lesse honourable at the Palace Royall, than his comming to the Towne: Two Capigi Bassaes, or chiefe of the Porters, receiued him at the entry of a great Court, and conducted him to the Grand Visier, who attended him at dinner in the hal, where he was feasted, being accompanied only with one Dragoman or Interpreter: the rest of his Traine were conducted into a low gallery, whereas dinner was prepared for them after the Turkish manner: That is to say, a great Tapestry vpon the ground without cloath or napkins, and some dishes thinne set. The meat was water gruell with sugar, and some pottage with pullets: there were two men either of them holding a certain instrument of sodden leather, in which there was a beuerage which they call Cerbet, made of the juyce of Lymmons, water, and sugar, and withall they held a cup of blancht copper, giuing to euery one drinke, and going among the dishes to serue them more commodiously. From this feast, distastefull to them that had liued after the French fashion, they past into another gallery, whereas the Embassadour and sixteene of his company receiued each of them a Robe of Tinsell, the which hauing put on vpon their other, they were conducted through a little court paued with marble, towards the Grand Seigniours chamber, which was enricht on the one side with many pillars of marble, and square stones of the same stuffe, and beautified with two little fountaines on either side: The Chamber within was about ten paces square, the planchard was gilt, the wals enameled with floures after the Turkish manner, and the floore couered with Tapestry of gold and silke. At the entry of this Imperiall chamber stood six Capigi or Porters, whereof two of them tooke the Embassador vnder the armes, and led him to kisse the Sultans hand, or rather his Robe; for hauing saluted him from the greatest of Christian Kings, hee kist but his Robe, and then was led on the one side, going backewards, to the end he should not turne his backe to the Emperour. The French Gentlemen were conducted after the like manner to kisse his Robe. But they could hardly see the Sultan, for his face was turned towards a window that was grated, before the which, during the ceremony there past thirty Capigi, euery one carrying a piece of the Presents which the Embassador had brought: during the which, the Frenchmen could not see him but on the other side. This salutation being ended, the Embassador made a short speech

Death of the French Embassador at Constantinople.

The Sultans Chamber.

speech, and presented vnto the Sultan the principall letter of his Embassage, written in the Turkish tongue. G

Troubles in Transyluania.

This past at Constantinople, wheras the Sultan did willingly see an Embassador his Ally, whom he honoured aboue all others. But in Transyluania the affaires went after another straine; the combustions which seemed inseparable to this miserable Prouince, made it still the Theater of all disorders. *Gabriel Battori*, who gouerned it since the succession of *Ragotzi*, had put himselfe into the Turks protection, against King *Matthias*, who pretended a title, by reason of the Session made by Prince *Sigismund* vnto the Emperour, as King of Hungary, and had recouered Hermstad, and chased *Radulle* Vayuod of Valachia out of his countrey; where hauing settled a new Gouernour, and filled the garrisons with Haiduckes, he returned toward Transyluania, to oppose himselfe against *Fortgatsie* King *Matthias* his Lieutenant, who came H with troups out of high Hungary, and past the riuer of Tibisce. The Vayuod *Raduille* had retyred himselfe into Moldauia to Prince *Constantine*, whom he gaue to vnderstand, That *Battory* had an intent to seise vpon his country, and to make but one Monarchy of their three Prouinces: whereupon they joyned their forces together, and in the end of Iune entered into Valachia, from whence they expelled *Battori* his Lieutenant with all the garrisons. This exploit made them to hope of a continuance in the prosperity of their armes; they entered into Transyluania, whereas they pursued *Battori* with such dilligence, as they forced him to come to a battell neere vnto Cromstat, the which he lost with part of his troups, being constrained to saue himselfe with his horsemen in Hermstad, whereas some of the chiefe inhabitants seeing him receiue this disgrace, attempted to submit themselues vnder the obedience of King *Mat-* I *thias*: but the practise being discouered by him, hee did such execution, as hee purchased to himselfe the name of Cruell.

In the meane time *Fortgatsie* Lieutenant to King *Matthias*, maketh vse of this defeat to seise vpon Transyluania; hee made an Accord with *Andrew Nage* (who had drawne high Hungary into rebellion, and caused the Haiduckes to reuolt) so as being freed from that feare, hee entered into Transyluania; where hauing taken some Townes and Castles, hee layed siege to Clausenburg, the which he battered so furiously, as the garrisons and inhabitants seeing themselues ready to bee forced, yeelded, and tooke the Oath of Allegiance to King *Matthias* the fiue and twentieth of Iuly. But as these prosperities of *Fortgatsie* were humane, so did they not long continue. *Battori* being shut vp in Hermstad, conjures all his friends to K come vnto him, and entreated the Bassaes of Buda and Temesware to succour him, according to the commandement which they had receiued from the Grand Seigniour: hee practised with *Nage* (a man which did swimme continually in the floats of inconstancy) and makes him to reuolt againe in high Hungary, vpon a surmise, That *Fortgatsie* had not kept promise with him; so as *Nage* tooke armes againe, seised vpon the fort of Bayens, and filled all high Hungary with combustions; so as *Fortgatsie* could expect no succours at his need from thence: then hauing receiued some forces from the Turks and Tartarians, he went to field, pursuing *Fortgatsie* with such heat and fury, as he forced him to abandon all that he had taken in Transyluania, and to retyre into Valachia. What desolation did this warre bring vnto these Prouinces by so many prises and reprises? *Battori* going with a thousand horse to surprise Tocai, L vpon the frontiers of Valachia, whereas they then held a great faire, he found the garrison so watchfull vpon their guard, as hauing lost part of his horsemen, he was forced to returne into Transyluania.

Fortgatsie his miserable retreat.

On the other side, *Fortgatsie* with his Hungarians, thinking from Valachia to recouer high Hungary by the Countrey of the Zeclerians, could not effect his designe: for *Battori* being aduertised thereof, stopped his passage; and in like manner the Earles of Bucheime and Dampier had passed the riuer of Tibisce to meet him: so as *Battori* set such guards in all the passages and streights, that *Fortgatsie* was forced to retyre towards Polonia by the steep mountains, and desart places, wheras his army was so oppreſt with famine and all other necessities, as they M perished miserably, there remaining few aliue; with the which he ended his passage into Polonia, and from thence soone after hee returned into Hungary, but with a very poore Equipage.

Thus the storme ceasing in Transyluania by the restraint of *Fortgatsie*, a more violent tempest

Troubles in Moldauia.

A tempest riseth in Moldauia, to the end that these vnfortunate Regions should neuer be without some touch of misery: for the Turke hauing vnderstood, That *Constantine* Prince of that country had relieued the Valachian against *Battori* his allye, or rather his Tributary, he sends a new Prince into Moldauia, the supposed sonne of one *Thomas*, or *Aaron* as some write, who had in former time commanded there, and with him fifteene hundred souldiers, with Letters of command to the Turks and Tartarians thereabouts, to assist him with their forces. This new Prince was sometime in France, and afterwards detained prisoner in the Fort of *Iaques* in Spaine, within the Pyrenean mountaines. Thus two Princes contend for Moldauia, the one supported by the Polonian, and the other by the Turke. But behold, a third Prince commeth in and pretends a title, being sonne to one *Ianicolo* who had commanded there. This B man had beene a prisoner in the blacke tower at Constantinople, to which he was committed by the Sultan *Amurath*, for that he had lost a battell in the yeare 1601, against *Michael*, who then possest Moldauia; who escaping from thence, wandred through diuers countries, and at last comming into England, his Majesty of Great Brittaine pittying his miserable estate, recommended him by his Letters to Sir *Thomas Glouer* his Majesties Embassador, then residing at Constantinople, with commandement to assist him, and to solicite his restitution with the Grand Seigniour. Vpon the receipt of which Letters, he retyred this wandering Prince into his house at Pera, where he entertained him, with many of his friends and followers which repaired vnto him, for a long time; and in the meane time he solicited the Grand Seigniour for his restitution, hauing good accesse vnto him, by reason that he spake the Tur- C kish tongue perfectly, and needed no Dragoman, or Interpreter. To whom the Sultan still gaue good answers, but with delaies, that it was not yet time; but he should haue satisfaction. His Competitor (who was in possession of Moldauia) hearing of this practise, made friends at the Great Turks Court, and corrupted some of the Bassaes by bribes, (they being all by nature very couetous) to the end they might crosse his designe, and make him away if it were possible: and among the rest he had won *Murath Bassa* the grand Visier, a man of great power and authority, who practised many means to get the Moldauian into his hands. First, he sent word vnto the Embassadour, That the Sultan hauing a meaning to restore him, desired to see the man, if he were capable of the place or no: but being aduertised of their intent, and well acquainted with their practises, he refused to send him. After which, he wrote vnto him, That D it was the Grand Seigniors pleasure he should send the Moldauian vnto him, that he might conser with him. To whom the Embassador made answer, That vnlesse he might see a Warrant vnder the Grand Seigniors own hand, he would not deliuer him. *Murath Bassa* seeing that none of these practises could preuaile, resolued to fetch him out by force. For the effecting whereof he drew together two thousand Ianizaries. The Embassadour hearing of his intent, fortified his house, and armed his people with the Moldauians which were with their Prince, meaning to stand vpon his defence. *Murath Bassa* desirous to know what the Embassador did in his Lodging, disguised a Ianizary like vnto a Greekish Sheepheard; who entering into the Embassadors house, found them all in armes: then returning vnto the Bassa, he told him that he had to do with a mad man, and if he proceeded in his enterprise, he would hazard the E losse of many Ianizaries: whereupon he gaue it ouer. After which, the Embassador being called home into England, the Moldauian despairing of restitution from the Turkish Sultan, he turned Turke; and being presented to the Grand Seignior, was made Bey of Bursia in Asia: the which he enjoyed not long; for *Nassuf* comming from the Persian wars, discharged him. Thus Moldauia hauing many pretented Soueraignes, suffered many miseries, and was a prey to Turke, Tartarians, and Polonians, all partisans to these Soueraignes.

The voiage of the Gallions of Florence against the Turks.

These were the troubles which the Turks caused at land for the ruine of the Christians. But behold what he suffered at sea by the gallies of Florence, Malta, and Naples; the Florentines made their enterprise apart. The Great Duke of Tuscany being aduertised, That the Caraman which transported the tribute of Ægypt to Constantinople, prepared to put to sea, he re- F solued to diuert this tribute, and by the valour of his armes to bring it to Ligorne: and for the effecting hereof, he speedily armed foure gallions, vnder the command of *Beauregard* a Frenchman, who was Admirall. The first was called the new gallion, in which the said Admirall went: the second, the great Ligorne, commanded by *Brandequedor*, Generall at land, and allied

to

to the Duke; and the other two were commanded by two French Captaines. *Beauregard* ha- G
uing receiued commandement, to passe with this fleet into the Leuant, to meet with the Ca-
rauan, he bent his course towards Candy, a fertile Island inhabited by the Græcians: Being
arriued in the Port of Calismene to water, he continued there six daies. Leauing this Island,
he sailed towards Cyprus, which is held by the Turks, and so coasting Siria, they learned of a
ship of Marseilles, that the Carauan was yet in the Port of Alexandria, where they prepared
for their voyage to Constantinople. To attend them the Admirall *Beauregard* went and cast
anchor at the fort of Sidon, called Sarepta, gouerned by *Emir*, or *Armil Facardin*, a Rebell to
the Turke, and a great friend to the Florentines, where he staied twelue daies, to take in Bisket,
flesh, and other necessary refreshings. And hauing made a more stricke league of friendship
with *Facardin*, he honoured him with a coffer full of arms, wherby the Florentines ships came H
as freely into those parts, as into their owne country.

Beauregard hauing well victualled and munitioned his gallions, hee returned towards the
Isle of Cyprus, wheras he found a Christians ship called the flying Dragon, which came from
Damietta, by whom he was assured that the Turks army, consisting of a great number of gal-
lies, was gone out of the Port of Rhodes, and had taken a Flemish ship. These newes made
him thinke that he should meet the fleet, and that he must of force defend himselfe. Where-
fore he made all things ready, and prescribed the order which his Captaines should hold du-
ring the fight; causing his ordnance to be mounted as if they were to joyne. He had foure as
good gallions, and as well furnished, as any were in the Leuant seas, either of them being ar-
med with 40 pieces of ordnance, and 400 good souldiers. Betwixt the Island of Cyprus and I
Caramania they encountered this Turkish fleet, consisting of forty gallies and two galliasses,
vnder the command of Bassa *Mustapha Grego*, who was Generall of this fleet, which was in
sight of the Florentines ships: the galliasses aduance to take view of them, and to find how far
their cannon would reach; and in the meane time the gallies put themselues into the forme
of a Croisant, ready for the combat. *Beauregard* an old sea Captaine, and well practised in sea
fights, would not make a shot against the gallies, but attended vntill the whole fleet came
close vp to him; which being neere, he saluted them so furiously with his cannon, giuing them
the broad sides, as the Turks (who expected no such reception) were all amazed, and making a
stand, would proceed no further. Their Generall hauing well obserued the resolute counte-
nance of the Florentines, diuided his gallies into two squadrons; giuing charge to the one to K
giue an assault to the Florentines gallions; and in the mean time the rest should prepare them-
selues to fight.

The Florentines meet with the Turks fleet.

Being thus diuided, they came one after another to the assault, the which continued for the
space of six houres, and yet could not boord them; *Mustapha* seeing fiue of his gallies sunke by
the enemies cannon, with the losse of all the men that were within them. But suddenly the
wind changed, and proued fauorable to the Florentines, who embraced this aduantage, giuing
chase to the Turks gallies, forcing them to seeke their safety in the hauen of Famagusta, the
chiefe fort of Cyprus; so of assailants (being beaten) they became run-awaies: so inconstant
are the accidents of war; and especially at sea, whereas the good or bad successe many times
dependeth of a little winde. L

Five Turkish gallies sunke.

The Turks put to flight.

This Turkish fleet, hauing lost fiue gallies, and recouered a Port in Cyprus, the Admirall
Beauregard seeing his designe against the Carauan disappointed, he resolued to return towards
Ligorne with his gallions: being at sea, he encountred a Turkish vessell called a Caramousall,
which came from Rhodes, to goe vnto Cyprus: they chased it, and in the end ouertooke it;
which they prest so with their ordnance, as they slew 130 Turks, and tooke 300 slaues. The
booty was very rich, being valued at 140000 crownes. After this prize, their victuals begin-
ning to faile, hauing beene so long at sea, they bent their course for Ligorne: but the winde
falling contrary, they were forced to stay eight daies in the Island of Scarpante, past the bar
of Messina, and hauing giuen chase to certaine gallies of Tunes, they arriued at Ligorne the
fifteenth of Iune, where there was great joy for their returne, and the prize which they had M
brought, the which according to the custome was to be diuided; one third to the souldiers and
mariners, and the other two parts imploied for the entertainment of the ships, and the pai-
ment of the Captaines.

The Florentines take a rich ship of the Turks.

This

A This Carauan which goes from Ægypt to Constantinople, is euery yeare attended for, not
only by the gallions and gallies of Florence, but by those of Malta and Naples, and by all the
Pyrats of the Mediterranean sea: like vnto the English and Hollanders, who yearely lay in
wait for the Indian fleet before the conclusion of the peace and truce with the Spaniards. And
although their principall designe was to take some part of the Carauan, yet they had other
enterprises vpon the Turks Countrey, besides the spoile of merchants which they met by
chance, which many times payed the charge of their voiage; and somtimes, they that thought
to take, were taken, and lost both their ships and liues.

The gallies of Malta, commanded by the Bailife of Venouge, and those of Naples by the
Marquis of Saint *Croix*, joyned together soone after, with a designe to set vpon the Carauan
B which carried the reuenue and tribute of Ægypt to Constantinople, or els to put in execution
the enterprise which they had long before projected, vpon certaine places of Albania, or to
surprise or spoile some Island in the Archipelague which might pay their charges. But the
first failing, they met with a Venetian ship laden with merchandise, to the value of 100000
crownes. The Spaniards who commanded in the gallies of Naples seised vpon this ship, but
the Generall of Malta would by no meanes consent vnto it, nor suffer any of the merchandise
to be put into his gallies, for that he would not vnjustly violate the friendship which was be-
twixt his Order and the State of Venice. This example did touch the Spaniards consciences,
so as within few daies they sent away the Venetian ship, but in courtesie they had vnloden all
the merchandise.

C After this prey of a Christian ship, the fleet discouered two sailes at sea, sending presently
after them, they were two barks, the one comming from Candy loaden with wood, and the
other from Scarpante charged with wine, the which being brought vnto the Generals, gaue
them to vnderstand, that the Carauan of Ægypt was not yet past, being aduertised that fifty
Christians gallies attended them in their passage. Vpon this aduice, the Christian Generals
being out of hope to surprise the Carauan, presently resolued to vndertake a more great and
glorious enterprise, and to surprise the Island and castle of Lango in the Archipelague, vpon
the coast of Natolia; and about seuen of the clocke at night they set saile with a good winde,
but being changed in the morning, they were forced to return to the Island of Porcherne: from
whence they parted againe at eight or the clocke at night, and continuing their course, in the
D morning they discouered three Florentine ships, who told them, that they had entred into the
Isle of Nigropont with seuen gallies; but hauing beene discouered, they could not effect any
thing; and that their gallies were separated from them in the chase of foure galliots. The
Christian fleet continuing their course, they arriued about eleuen of the clock in the morning
at S. *Iean de Seruaë*, where hauing cast anchor, there was a Councell called in the Admirall:
where they resolued to petard the castle of Lango, toward the sea: for the execution where-
of they should land 200 men; *viz.* thirty Knights and fifty souldiers out of the gallies of
Malta, and 120 Spaniards out of the gallies of Naples; and that they should carry two petards
with them, the one giuen in charge to Captain *Beaulaigue* in the troupe of them of Malta, and
the other was conducted by the Spaniards; the rest of their men which they should land,
E should go and assault the towne of Lango. With this resolution they parted from S. *Iean de
Seruaë*, with a good winde, and arriued at the Island of Lango on the sixt of Iune, an houre af-
ter midnight, whereas they landed three miles from the towne: they that were appointed for
the enterprise, marcht on with their petards, according to direction; but the night being very
darke, the troupe of Malta straied from their guide, but their valour brought them directly
to the walls of the Towne; where after many turnings and windings to finde a fit place to
plant the petard, (notwithstanding they were discouered and much shot at) *Beaulaigue* set
it to a Port next the sea, well flancke with the Castle, the which he forced, and his men ente-
ring with fury, went from street to street, and put all to the sword that made resistance.
The Spaniards on the other side made another breach with their petard, and entered the
F Towne; notwithstanding that at their first approch, the Turks (hauing discouered them)
played vpon them with their great ordnance and small shot. The troups being joyned toge-
ther, hauing cut all the Turks in pieces they met with, they came to the place before the Ca-
stle, which they thought to surprise: but the bridge was drawne, and they lay open at the mer-
cy of their shot; so as there were fifteene Knights of Malta hurt, one slaine, with a Spanish
Captaine,

The Christians gallies go to the Island of Lango.

Lango forced by the Christians.

Captaine, and some six and thirty souldiers of the gallies of Naples, and as many wounded. G
Day being come, the Bailife of Venouge Generall of the gallies of Malta, came vnto the town with the foreward, wherein were 150 Knights, and 450 souldiers: the Marquis of S. *Croix* followed him with the two sonnes of the Viceroy of Naples, and 1500 Spaniards, who spoiled the towne and suburbs, and tooke all that were liuing captiue: but the Castle being well fortified they found it impossible to force; whereupon embarking their men and spoile, they resolued in their return to Malta and Naples, to make an enterprise vpon some towns of Albania: but vpon the way they were aduertised, That the Turks had discouered the intelligence which the Spaniards and Knights of Malta had with the Grecians of the country; whereupon they tooke reuenge vpon them, putting many of them to death, and amongst others a Patriarch, who being accused to haue practised the Christians reuolt against the Turks, was cruel- H
ly fleied aliue, and his skin sent to Constantinople. So dangerous a thing it is to seeke for liberty with this Mahometane nation.

The Carauan of Ægypt was still in the port of Alexandria attending a passage, and to be freed from so many Christian gallies which lay in wait for it; and it staied the longer by reason of the great plague wherewith Constantinople was afflicted. But in the end of October, *Mechmet* Bassa of Caire (who would conduct it in person) hauing a conuoy of fifty gallies well armed, put to sea, and arriued at Constantinople without any encounter. At his landing, this Bassa caused to march before him 60 mules, euery one laden with 20000 sequins in kind, being a whole yeares tribute of the Kingdome of Ægypt, the which he caused to be carried to the Sultans Serail. This mony was welcome to the Port: for the former wars both in Hungary, Transyluania, in Asia against the Rebels, and in Persia, had so wasted the Emperours treasure, as it would hardly entertaine one of his armies. The Bassa who had gathered this tribute together faithfully and with great diligence, was at his comming to the Sultans Port honored with the charge of Bassa of the sea, (he who had it before, being aduanced to the dignity of Visier) and moreouer the Sultan promised him his daughter in marriage, being but three yeres old.

The Carauan of Ægypt arriues at Constantinople.

Newes came to the Port, that certaine ships, gallies, and galliasses of the Christians, to the number of fifty, came neere vnto the Hellespont; which put the Turks in great feare: and complaints being brought vnto the grand Seignior, That certain Caramousals had bin taken by the Christian gallies; he sent presently for the captain Bassa or Admirall of the sea, demanding of him, Whether the report of these losses were true or no? To whom he answered, Yes. Why are not you then at sea, saith he? He answered, For that I can get neither men nor money. Whereupon the Defterdar or Treasurer was sent for, who had lost his head, had not the Aga of the Grand Seigniors women entreated for him. K

This Summer Constantinople and the Countries thereabouts was so plagued with such clouds of grasshoppers, as they did shadow the very Sunne beames, and fell vpon the City and country round about. The Turks consulted with their Wise men, what it might portend: Who answered, That they did foreshew great plenty to follow. But indeed they left not a greene hearbe nor a leafe in all the Countrey adjoyning, nor in the city, where they entered into their very chambers, and annoyed them much, beeing almost as big as dormice, L
with red wings. And soone after there fell such extraordinary great haile in Constantinople and Gallata, with such abundance of raine, as the violence of the water did suddenly shut vp one of the gates of the city, and so rebounding filled their shops and houses, that very many were in great danger of drowning. Some houses fell downe, and some people were slaine; the pauements of the streets were torne vp, and the stones carried together into great heapes.

Grasshoppers at Constantinople spoile the Country.

Violent raine in the city.

We haue formerly made relation of the Persians victories, and of the defeat and death of *Cicala* Generall of the Turks army, in the yeare 1605. And that the yeare following, the Sophy hauing recouered what soeuer the Turks had taken from his Predecessors, had extended the bounds of the Empire vnto the blacke sea, from whence he sent an Embassadour vn- M
to the Grand Seignior, to let him vnderstand, that hauing recouered what had beene vnjustly vsurped from him, he would proceed no further, but desired to liue in peace; the which might now be the better assured, the one holding nothing from the other. Moreouer, this Persian Embassadour hauing remained seuen moneths at the Sultans Port, was in the end forced to retyre

A retire into Persia without audience. And lastly, That *Amurath Serder* the grand Visier was afterwards forced to conuert his arms against *Gambolat* and the rebels of Asia, and to neglect the war in Persia.

Notwithstanding the Persian war, there arriued this yeare at Constantinople an Embassa- 1611.
dor from Persia, who according to the Turks maner was attended on by a great troup of Chaoux on horsebacke, Capigies, Ianizaries, and other Captaines, sent by the Sultan to conduct him to his lodging. Within few daies after his arriual, there was a great shew made in Constantinople by the feuerall trades of the city, euery one marching by themselues before the grand Seigniors Serail, and representing vnto him their maner of marching in the warres, and the order of their prouision, some carying on their shoulders sheep, others lambs, calues, beef, B &c. All which was don in policie, to daunt and dis-hearten the Persian Embassadour, and to encourage their own people; and withall to let him know, that there should be as great plenty in their campes, as he saw at that present. And to abuse him still with the imagination of their great preparation, the Chimacham or Visiers Lieutenant sent the next day for this Persian Embassador, and during their conference had taken order, that the Emperor of Tartaries brother (who was then in the Sultans Court) should come in: at whose entrance the Chimacham arose from his place, saying, *O, I know for what you are come, it is for mony for your soldiers; you shall receiue it at such a place.* Which words were heard by a Dragoman to the English Embassador, then present: which was don to terrifie the Persian Embassador; and the same time and to the like end they sent ouer diuers troups of soldiers to Scudaret, as if they had been ready C to march with an army.

A Persian Embassador comes to Constantinople.

The Turks great armies are not raised in hast, neither do they march in post; when as the Spahi, which make the greatest part of his army, and haue no other pay or entertainment than the reuenues of certain land, are discharged, they must haue a whole year to recouer their reuenue, and to put themselues in equipage; and moreouer, it is threescore daies march for an army, from Constantinople into Persia.

Also in the years 1609 and 1610, the Turks had not attempted any thing against the Persian, who stil solicited him for peace. The greatnes of the *Othoman* empire could not resolue to make a peace, hauing receiued so great defeats; they would giue it but as victors, not as vanquished. But this year *Achmat* resolued to send a puissant Army of aboue 150000 men, D against this antient enemy of his House, vnder the command of *Amurath Serder* his grand Visier: but before the army entered into Persia, it was without a commander, by the death of *Serder*, in the end of Iuly; so as they were forced to stay and attend the Sultans pleasure from Constantinople.

It was suspected he was poisoned by *Nassuf Bassa*, one that stood out in rebellion against the grand Seignior, and yet he had many friends in the Turks army. Wherfore to preuent all mutinies, and consequently the ouerthrow of the whole army, *Amurath Bassa* in his sicknesse aduised the grand Seignior (by letters which he sent vnto him) to make *Nassuf* Generall of the whole army, and so by faire meanes to draw him home, and then to dispose of him at his pleasure. The Sultan with the great Bassa's at Court approued wel of this aduice, and chose E him grand Visier, and General of the Army. Who hauing receiued the Seal and authority, did forthwith put many of *Amuraths* friends to death, and with their mony paid all the souldiers, which wanted pay, whereof some had beene without fiue yeares before. Hee also sent vnto the Grand Seignior threescore and ten mules loden with money of *Amurath* his Treasure, and threescore with goods; all which the Sultan gaue to *Amurath* his Wife and children.

It is strange to reade, how the Grand Seignior doth tyrannise ouer his subiects, and how seuerely he doth punish the least omission in any of his officers: for I find it obserued, that the seuenth of Ianuary in the end of this year 1611, the grand Seignior being abroad in the snow, and not wel prouided for of fuel, he caused *Stambol Aga* who had that charge, to be stript na- *Seuerity of the Sultans.*
F ked, and set in the snow four or fiue hours. Indeed this winter was very rigorous, and there fel aboundance of snow throughout all Turky, with great stormes: many houses were beaten downe; and amongst others, the French Consull of Aleppo was slain with the fall of his own house.

Nassuf marching with his army to the frontiers of Persia, committed such spoils, as the Sophy was constrained to draw all his forces together to preuent the ruine of his country, being then about the midst of August. But when they were come to a battell, the Persian finding himselfe too weak for him, offred conditions of peace, and promised to giue the Turk a quantitie of silk which should make the charge of 200 camels, for a yearly tribute, in acknowledgment of some Countries which he had conquered from the *Othomans*. These offers were accepted at Constantinople: but there was added, That the Persians son should be called Bassa of Tauris; and that the Magistrat or Iudge of that city, called the Cady, should be sent from Constantinople. We shall see in the following year the effects of these propositions, by the Embassador of Persia, whom *Nassuf* shall bring to Constantinople: in the meane time let vs return to the Mediterranian sea, take a suruey of the valiant exploits of the Knights of Malta against the Turks.

On the 26 of April, a Turk hauing lent a good sum of mony to a Christian, to be paid at a certain day, he came before the appointed day with another Turk, and willed the Christian to pay the mony to that other Turk when the day came. Which the Christian promised to doe, and performed it accordingly; but the Turk denied the receit therof: wherupon he to whom the mony was properly due came and demanded it. To whom the Christian answered, That he had paid it to that party to whom he had assigned it. Wherunto the Turk replied, That if it were so he were satisfied; but yet the other Turk denied it. Wherupon the matter was examined before the Iudge, and the Turk who had receiued the mony, taking an oath to the contrary, the Christian according to the Turkish justice was inforced to pay the mony again: the which he did; but withal prayd God to shew some publique signe which of them had don the wrong. And therupon the Turk going forth to repair home to his own house, fel downe dead in the street.

The Great Master *Vignancourt* continuing his generous designes against the Turke, had an enterprise against Navarrin, a place importing this common enemy of Christians: for execution wherof he sent the fiue gallies of his Order vnder the charge of *Vaqueras*, great commander of the Order, and chief of the nation of Prouence. They came within some miles of the shore, but found their landing very difficult, for that they had bin discouered by one of the castles of Navarrin, which had giuen the alarm vnto the whole country, so as they were forced to passe on to some more easie conquest, to the end their voyage might not proue vnprofitable: wherfore they sailed into the Archipelague, and came neere to the coast of Morea, tenne legues from Corinth, where in the night they landed 800 men vnder the conduct of the commander *Cremeaux* General at land. This troup marched towards Corinth, and an houre before day were at the town gates to force them. Some of the Turks took armes, but their weake resistance could not stay the Knights from entring with their troups: they sackt the town, and hauing taken what spoile was portable, they caried away with them 500 slaues. After this triumph, the Christians made a happy retreit, & in good order, notwithstanding al the attempts of the Turks horse and foot, who were drawn together in great numbers, making 10000 souldiers, for the country is very populous; in view of whom they imbarqued their spoil & slaues. Herby it appears, that this was one of the most desperat enterprises that hath bin of long time seen. For to attempt a place so far from their retreit, in so populous a country, which vpon the least alarm may draw together so strong a power; and to make their retreit with so small a number, against such great troups as pursued them: doubtlesse wee must confesse, that as they shewed great valor, & had good fortune, so they vndertook a very dangerous enterprise. Thus the Knights of Malta vanquished; whom we might tearm the masters of the Mediterranean sea, if the reuenues of their Order would suffer them to set forth shipping and forces equal to their valor.

Corinth sacked by the Knights of Malta.

But to follow the variable course of the history, let vs obserue the different occupations of Christians. At Prague the Germanes entertained themselues with the consideration of a Crowne, which appeared in the firmament ouer that City about the middest of the moneth October, giuing a very great light; and about it Armies of men fighting, as if it were who should haue it. At that time the Emperour *Rodulphus* was vpon the West, or declining of his dayes; and *Matthias* who succeeded him in the Empire, then King of Hungary, was vpon

of the sun rising of his triumphs. Many expounded this heauenly apparition as a presage of happinesse and good fortune to *Matthias*; he enioyed the crowne of Hungary already, and by designation that of Bohemia; and now they did prognosticate vnto him that of the Romans. Doubtlesse men which aspire after great fortunes do rather adore the Sunne rising than setting; and mans life when it declines tastes of the lees. The flourishing glory of *Matthias*, his age, and his actions in the Warres, did adde nothing to the authoritie of other men in the country, but did mightily settle his owne. Three Sunnes which were seene in the firmament ouer Vienna the chiefe city in Austria, confirmed the Germans more in this their hope, that he should haue the third Crowne of the Romans. This last apparition hapned the yeare following.

About the end of the yeare, some of the English Embassadours men entring into quarrell with certain Iamoglans of the next Serail, from words they fell to blowes. During which tumult one of the embassadors men threw a stone, and smote a Iamoglan on the forehead, wherof he died within few hours after. The Aga of the Serail complained herof vnto the Visier, who presently sent the Subbassa of Galata to make inquiry of the fact. The Embassador went himselfe to the Serail, and sent for his men which had bin in the quarrell, willing the Turks to designe the party which had thrown the stone. Who all with a shout ran vpon one *Simon Dibbins*, a man that was newly come from Candy, where he had serued in the Venetian garrisons, and was now entertained into the Embassadors seruice. This *Simon* was not he that threw the stone; notwithstanding the Turks would none but him, on him they laid hands and dragged him away. The Embassador interposing himselfe, and offering to pledge for him, was thrust away by them, his men beaten, and one of his pages wounded. Wherupon he complained to the grand Visier, but preuailed little; for to prison they dragged this *Simon*, and there kept him a whole month; neither could he be released, albeit the English nation offered great sums to ransom his life; for the Turkes would needs haue bloud for bloud. The day of execution being appointed, the Embassador sent his Chapleine to the prison where this *Simon* was, to prepare him for death: vnto whom (examining him how he had formerly liued) he confessed, that in England some few years before he had killed a man; for which fact he fled thence into Candy; from whence he came to Constantinople, where he was to suffer for that which hee did not: the iust iudgement of God pursuing him to the shedding of his bloud in Constantinople among the Turks vndeseruedly, for the bloud which he shed in England wilfully. He was hanged at the Embassadors gates: his head and heels the next night were stoln away by the Turks, as it was thought, to vse in some kind of Sorcery; the other parts of his body they had leaue to take down and bury.

This year 1612, they did celebrate at Constantinople a double nuptial feast; for the mariages of the Bassa *Mehemet*, sonne to the deceased *Cicala*, with the Sultans sister; and the Bassa *Mechmet* Admirall at sea, he whom we haue seen lately return from Egypt, and bring to Constantinople the reuenues of that rich kingdom, with the eldest daughter of his Emperor. For the feasts of yong *Cicala* the Spahi made courses on horseback with battle-axes and barres, in the open place neer vnto the Serail; where they made diuers fire-works of very great charge, but of small inuention; and they gaue presents to aboue 20000 persons, besides the charge of the banqueting stuffe, which amounted to aboue 20000 crowns. The pomp was double; for the Sultans women celebrated that day with the greatest ladies of the Port; & the men apart in other places did celebrate it in like manner. But the magnificence of the marriage of the Bassa Admiral at sea with *Achmats* eldest daughter had far more lustre at the port. The ceremonie was performed the 30 of Iune, twenty daies after the other; and the order of this great pomp, as wel as some other which we haue described in this history, requireth a particular relation. 1612.

The day before the consummation of the marriage, they sent the brides moueables and jewels, from the Serail to the bridegroomes lodging, in this order and state following. First, there marched fiue hundred Ianizaries on foot, beeing followed with the grand Prouost of Constantinople, and the general Surueyor, both on horseback, and attyred in cloth of gold; the Aga or Colonel of the Ianizaries very proudly adorned, and inuironed with some Ianizaries, marched alone on horseback: after these, two hundred men of qualitie well mounted, and richly attyred, followed with a slow pace. The last which marcht in this pompe or ceremonie,

monie, were the Talismans, Centons, Emirs, and other ministers of *Mahomet*, Clergy. And presently after followed the Bassa *Achmat*, Defterda or Treasurer, who conducted the moueables, as chosen by the Sultan to be Godfather or Sagois to the Bride, beeing inuironed with twelue footmen attyred in long robes of gold. After him followed the moueables, apparell, and jewels, which made the brides trusse, hauing in the head excellent musicke after the Turkish maner, of hoboies and kettle drums on horseback.

These moueables consisted of 27 presents; the first was a little hanaf of gold, couered with pretious stones, and pantofles or womens shooes after the Turkish fashion of pure gold, inuiched with Turquoises and Rubies; a booke of *Mahomets* Law, the couer whereof was of massie gold all set with diamonds; many bracelets and other rare deuices for women of pure gold, with many pretious stones; a little coffer a cubit long and halfe as broad, all of rock chrystal, hauing the corners of gold, in which were to be seen great diamonds and huge pearles, to the value of 80000 pounds sterling. After this pretious coffer were caried many smocks imbroidred with gold and pearle, and head bands for the forhead, with many robes of cloth of gold. All this was distributed into 27 presents, as we said, and caried with great pompe by 27 men on foot.

After these presents followed 11 Caroches full of yong maidens, slaues to serue the bride: these Caroches were couered and shut, and either of them attended by two eunuchs Moores. After these followed 28 virgins slaues, attyred in cloth of gold, and accompanied by 28 black Eunuchs, al on horseback and richly clad. After which were seen 240 mules loden with tents of tapestry, cloath of gold, sattin, veluet, with the ground of gold, with many cushions which are the chairs the Ladies of Turky vse; with many other rich and sumptuous mouables. Such was the trusse which this yong princesse brought to her spouses house. Doubtlesse this equipage was stately, and did wel become the pompe and greatnes of the *Othoman* house, from the which she descended, the mightiest and richest of all the royal houses of Europe, yea of the whole world.

Achmat his daughter royally maried.

The mariage day being come, the bride was conducted to her husbands lodging with no lesse pomp and state than her moueables. The Ianizaries marched first, as they had formerly don, being followed by the grand Prouost, the Surueyor their Aga, and many other Officers of the Port. The Emirs (who are descended from *Mahomet*, and alone carry greene turbants) marched after to the number of 80. This name of Emir is as much to say as Lord: they which wear them answer not, and obey none but their Chiefe, called Mirabachi; and their voyce in judgment stands for two. They were followed by the Talismans or Priests of *Mahomets* Law, and by a great number which study it, and aspire vnto the office of Cadies or Iudges, of Cadilesquiers or Mufti. The Visiers or supream Iudges of the Turks estate, who iudge of all affairs in councel, came after with the grand Visier, who is Lieutenant Generall to the Turkish Sultan thorowout his whole empire, and keeps the seals of the empire: he had on his left hand (which is the most honourable rank in Turky) the grand Mufti or supreame Bishop of their Law. The musick followed after on horseback, consisting of thirty men with drums and hoboies, being followed by eight Egyptians which caried Biscan tabors, and did a thousand Apish tricks. These were followed by forty musitians marching two and two, some playing on citerns, others on harps, and some on lutes after the Turkish maner. A foole, held for a Saint among them, being mufled with a cap and a cloak couered with mutton bones, danced & sung with these instruments: 50 of the chief officers of the Arsenall marcht after him, and 30 men with hammers and other iron instruments, to break down whatsoeuer aduanced too far in the streets, & might hinder the free passage of two trees of an immense height, laden with diuers sorts of fruits all of wax, carried by many men, and supported from the top and the midst with ropes. After these trees came 20 officers belonging to *Achmat Bassa* the high treasurer, godfather to the bride; and he himself alone richly attyred and proudly mounted. After whom came two great torches light, carried by many slaues, and then a third torch of a wonderfull bignes, all couered with plats of gold, and shining more with pretious stones than the flame that burnt. The *Raisser Aga* with fifty of the Princesses officers followed these lights, and after them was caried a great canopie of crimson Veluet, and after it another greater, couered with plates of gold, whose curtaines being shut on all sides hung down to the ground. Vnder this canopy was the princesse on horseback, with some of her blacke eunuchs, her caroch followed

lowed couered with cloth of gold, and drawn by foure great white horses, wonderfull beautifull. Then followed eight other caroches, in which were a great number of the brides maids, with many Negroes gelt; and finally, 25 virgins slaues, chosen amongst the fairest, all on horsbacke, hauing their haire confusedly hanging vpon their shoulders. Such was the pompe of this marriage: but many times the nuptiall feast is intermixt with funerall mourning. For not many daies after, the Sultans second daughter, promised to *Nassuf Bassa*, was carried to her graue without any pompe or honour: for the Turks make no great esteeme of women.

The death of the Sultans daughter.

The day after the marriage, the Grand Seignior did cruelly beat his Sultana, the mother of this daughter, whom he had married to the Captain Bassa; he stabbed her with his handjarre or dagger through the cheeke, and trod her vnder his feet. The reason was, because shee had strangled a fauorit of his, which was one of his sisters slaues, whom the Grand Seigniour hauing seene, and being enamored with her, sent for her. The Sultana hearing thereof, caused her to be brought to her lodging, where shee stript her of her apparrell, strangled her, and put her clothes vpon one of her owne slaues, whom she sent to the Sultan in stead of the other, and at her returne strangled her also; as shee had done many others when they once appeared to bee with childe by the Grand Seignior.

The plague beginning furiously to spoile the City of Constantinople, the Sultan was forced to return to his country palace, called the Serail of *Darut Bassa*, to auoid the danger of this violent contagion: the which makes mee thinke, that the Turkish Emperours for their owne profit dispense with some articles of their faith; for as we haue said before, The Turks are so obstinatly tied to the beleefe of Predestination, as they will not vouchsafe to turne from a pestiferous body, when it is carried to the graue, and much lesse forbeare to visit his friends, being sick of the plague, for that (say they) if we must needs die of this contagion, it is in vain to flie it, for it will find vs wheresoeuer; if not, our health shall neuer be impaired, although we conuerse with those that are sicke of this disease. But their Sultans know well how to flie the danger; yea and to cause them to be led vnder the arms that come to kisse his hand, lest they should offer him some violence. Thus we see the defect of false religions, when as we see this marke of vniuersalitie in the faith taken away; for there euery man beleeues according to his priuat interest, as well as among many others which haue separated themselues from the truth, to canton themselues in their errors, where we doe often trie the diuersitie of their beleefe.

A great plague at Constantinople.

Sultan *Achmat* being in his palace of *Darut Bassa*, and going to visit a stately Mosque which he caused to be built there, a Deruis or religious Turke thrust on by some deuillish fury, cast a great stone at him to beat him downe; but the blow of this detestable traitor, fell vpon his shoulder, and hurt him but lightly. *Achmat* commanded they should draw from this wretch the confession of his confederates: but the officers of the port caused him to be executed the next day, somewhat too suddenly, and by a death too honourable, for a crime so ful of abomination, for they caused his head to be cut off. A Deruis of the same order had in former times sought to murther the Emperour *Mahomet* the second.

On the 14 of Aprill, the Lady *Anne Glouer*, wife to Sir *Thomas Glouer*, Embassador residing at Constantinople for the English, was buried with very great solemnity, the like had not bin seen in that countrey, since the Turks conquered Constantinople. There were present at this funerall of most nations in the world; the sermon was preached in a large garden vnder a Cypresse tree: and although but few of those present did vnderstand it, yet it wrought this effect, that whereas the Iesuits and Friers had formerly possest both Iewes, Turks, and other people, that the English nation since the change of their religion, had neither churches, nor any form of diuine seruice; hereby they perceiued, that they had both, and serued God far more decently and deuoutly than they themselues; insomuch that the Iesuits being ashamed of their impostures, and slanderous vntruth, durst not for a while after walke the streets, for feare of the Turks, who threatned them for so much belying the English. The Sermon being ended, the body was caried from Pera vnto the English graues, which were almost a mile from the place; it was closed in lead, and laid in a Caroch couered ouer with blacke veluet, and the horses with blacke cloth. The Dutch Embassador, the Hungarian Agent, the French Colonell with a great number of all nations both men and women followed her to her graue. The tomb was of faire marble, built foure square almost the height of a man, hauing an Epitaph engrauen thereon,

The funerall of the lady Glouer the Embassadors wife.

The Castle of Lango taken by the Florentines.

We haue seene the yeare before, the Island and towne of Lango spoiled by the gallies of Malta and Naples, but the Castle was saued from ruine, by the resistance it made against the Christians attempts: but this yeare in Iune the great Duke of Tuscans gallies running ouer the Archipelague, assailed it so furiously, as they forced and spoyled it, carrying away twelue hundred prisoners. *Mechmet Bassa* Admirall at sea, whom we saw euen now busied at his nuptiall pompe, with the Emperours eldest daughter, being aduertised of these spoyles of the Florentines, by the dayly complaints of the Turks which lost their shipping, and of many other enterprises attempted vpon his Masters countries lying neere the sea shore; he departed from Constantinople in August with three and thirty great gallies, hauing commanded al the Beyes of the Islands and townes in the Archipelague, to ioyne with him, with as many gallies as they could make, to stop the Christians courses in the West. But whilst that he is busied in those seas, the Pirats of Rascia descending into the Euxine sea, by the mouthes of those riuers which discharge their waters into the sea, ouerran and spoiled the Turks coasts of those parts.

At the firme land *Constantine* one of the pretending Princes in Moldauia, annoyed all that had any dependance vpon the Turke. A part of that great army of the King of Polands, which had mutined for their pay, spoiled Podolia; and a Prince of the Tartarians discontent for that *Achmat* had preferred a cousin of his before him in the inuestiture of the realm of the Tartars Precopians, with 5000 souldiers spoiled the riuers of Moldauia vnder the Turks dominion, and he did the like in the gulph of Nicopolis.

Troubles in Moldauia.

This was at such time when as miserable Moldauia was the theatre, wheras the Turks, Tartars, and Moldauians acted a bloudy tragedy, at the costs and charges of the poore countreymen. For *Tomsho* hauing been chosen Vayuod or Prince of that Prouince by the Turke, *Constantine* who could not endure that he should reigne, armed the country, ouerran it, spoiled it, and made hauocke of all, detaining two Capigi prisoners, whom the Sultan had sent to him, with commandement to obey his will, and a prohibition not to trouble *Tomsho* in the possession of his Prouince. But this was a message of hard disgestion to *Constantine*; hee could not with patience yeeld to this cession of Moldauia: and in stead of sending these messengers back to the Turke with an answer, hee carried them with him into Polonia, whither he went to demand succors, and caused them to be guarded as prisoners. In the meane time by the support and aid of *Potosky* Gouernor of Velin his brother in law, he obtained from the King of Poland, that he should be supported against Prince *Tomsho* his competitor, whom the Turke had aduanced; and to make his entry into Moldauia more easie, they resolued to send an Embassador vnto Constantinople, to intreat *Achmat* to call backe *Tomsho* to his Port, that *Constantine* might quietly enioy Moldauia; and to acquaint him with the right and interest the Polonians had by their capitulations with the Turks, to name a Vayuod or Prince of that Prouince, to the end no wrong might be done vnto them.

This Polonian Embassador being arriued at Constantinople (thinking to be presently dispatched, either by a grant or denial of his demand, & not to stay aboue fifteen or twenty days) being visited at his arriuall by all the Embassadors of Christian Kings and Princes which remained there: in stead of audience, after six weekes attendance, hee was arrested and detained prisoner, vnderstanding from the Turks, that he should haue no liberty vntill that the two Capigi, whom Prince *Constantine* carried into Poland were released.

The troubles and diuisions among Christians, neighbours to the Turke, haue alwaies serued as a bridge for this Infidell to inuade them, and by this aduantage to vsurpe such townes and countries as lie fit for him. Now that Valachia, Moldauia, yea and Transyluania, are tost and turmoiled with continuall disorders and combustions; the Sultan seemes to embrace this occasion, to make himselfe Souereigne of those Prouinces, and to get possession of al that lies betwixt the riuer of Danow, the mountains of Sarmatia, the riuer of Tibiscus, and the Euxine sea. Hee emploies all his thoughts and inuentions vpon this subiect, to bring his designes to effect. He armes and drawes forces about Belgrade, vnder the conduct of Bassa *Mahomet Belzergi*: He commands the Tartarians to enter into Moldauia, and he sent a nauall army towards the mouth of the riuer of Danow, which made the frigots of Rassia to dislodge, the which had continually made inroades and spoyles vpon his lands. *Battori* Prince of Transyluania was at that time before the towne of Cromstad, which he had besieged, but the tediousnesse of this siege

siege made him resolue to send an Embassador to Constantinople, to demand succours from the Grand Seignior, to the end he might be able to continue this siege, and to take the towne: he gaue this charge to *Andrew Giezy*, and sent him to the Sultans Port: but in stead of seruing his Master faithfully, hee practised a detestable treason against him, to put the Turke in full possession of Transyluania, and to make him absolute Souereign. The practise was concluded after this manner, That the Bassa *Mahomet Belzergi* should enter the Prouince with his army, and that *Giezi* should ioyne with him certaine troupes, and should deliuer vnto him Veradin, Lippa, and some other strong and important places; and for recompence hee should inuest him in the Principalitie of Transyluania, in the place of *Battori*, and vnder the authoritie of *Achmat*.

This treason might haue drawne this miserable Prouince into ruine, and it may be the rest neere adjacent, if it had taken the effect which the trecherie of *Giezy* had promised vnto himselfe. But the Bassa of Buda vnderstanding that *Battori* had some vent of the practise at the Port, and that being now in great feare and perturbation, hee had raised the siege from before Cromstad, and was ready to cast himselfe into the armes of the Palatine of Hungary, and to craue reliefe from him; the crafty Bassa knowing that this course would be prejudiciall for the Sultan, and finding that the deposing of *Battori* would be more difficult than they expected, hee diuerted *Mahomet Bassa* from attempting any thing against *Battori* or Transyluania. This act shewes sufficiently, that Christian Princes which thinke to shelter themselues vnder the shadow of the Turkish crescent, are very ill assured: for he neuer failes to stir vp enemies against them, to make them sue for succors, and himselfe necessarie: Then in the end hee expels them, and becomes absolute master of their countries. It was also said, That the Bassa *Mahomet* would not attempt any thing in Transyluania, by reason of the election of the Emperour *Matthias*, whereof the Bassa of Buda was assured by the Embassador which the said Emperor sent to Constantinople, to carry the Presents vnto the Sultan, which Embassadour was honorably entertained at Buda by the said Bassa, and from thence conducted safely to Constantinople.

But not to keep these Turkish troups idle, *Mahomet Bassa* being aduertised that *Constantine* the pretending Prince in Moldauia, had been in Poland to craue some assistance from thence, he resolued to imploy his forces that way, to dispossesse him and to settle another.

But the better to vnderstand the beginning and successe of these Moldauian warres, wee must make a repetition of that which past some yeares before. In the yeare 1608, *Ieremie Mohyla* Prince or Vayuod of Valachia, died: committing the gouernment to his brother *Simeon*, during the minoritie of his three sonnes, *Constantine*, *Alexander*, and *Bougdan*, the eldest being but eight yeares old. He left three daughters married to three generous Princes of Polonia, *Potosky*, *Sinousky*, and *Corresky*. Prince *Simeon* continued in the gouernment vntill the yeare 1611; after whose decease the young Prince *Constantine* by the persuasion of his mother, that he might safely take vpon him the gouernment of Moldauia, and not attend any confirmation from the Sultan, for that Prince *Simeon* who had been confirmed by the Turke which then reigned, was but Tutor to his Nephew; entred the gouernment. At this time there remained at Constantinople, one *Stephano* or *Tomsho*, who had of long time practised the fauour of one of the Visiers called *Mehemet*, an Eunuch of Georgia (who was then Chimacham, or Lieutenant to the Grand Visier) and of some other Bassaes, as well by money as by other practises, suggesting falsly that he was sonne to Prince *Aaron*, who had been Vayuod of Moldauia before the deceased *Ieremy*: and he preuailed so by his practises and corruption (whereunto the Turks are more subiect than any Nation in the World) as he was admitted to the Principalitie by the Grand Seignior, and hauing giuen him to vnderstand by the Visier, that *Constantine* had thrust himselfe rashly into the gouernment, and that hee would not acknowledge him for his Lord and Souereigne, nor pay the yerely tribute, which was 40000 chequines, hee sent *Fousseyen Aga* with 20000 Turks and Tartarians to settle *Stephen* or *Tomsho* in Moldauia, and to expell Prince *Constantine*. Which army marched so secretly, as they had in a manner surprised him; yet drawing together a head of 10000 men, hee resolued to attend the euent. The Aga sent to acquaint him with his commission, and among other things threatned him, that if he would not suffer him to proclaime *Stephen* Vayuod of Moldauia, and yeeld him the City of *Iasi* free, he would cut him in pieces.

Where

Whereunto *Constantine* made answer, by the aduice of the Prince *Potosky* his brother in law, That the Grand Seigniour had beenabused: for if hee had vnderstood, that his predecessor had granted vnto the deceased Prince *Ieremy* his father, and to Prince *Simeon* his vncle, That he should succeed his said father in the gouernment: it was not credible that he would seeke to dispossesse him by force, without hearing, and install in his place an vnknowne person, who had falsely supposed himselfe to be the sonne of a Prince of Moldauia: neither should they finde, that he had refused to acknowledge the Sultan for his Souereigne Prince, or denied to continue the same tribute which his father and vncle had paid; but if the Aga would proceed without any respect of his offers, he did hope that the true God of battel would maintain him in his iust defence, and would not suffer an vsurper to preuaile ouer a lawfull Prince. *Fousseyen Aga*, who had no will to capitulate with Prince *Constantine*, being corrupted by *Stephen* with Presents and promises, aduanced with his army, so as the next day they ioyned battel, but the Moldauians oppreſt with multitudes of Turks, Tartarians, and Valachians, could not make it good. Wherefore *Potosky* entreated Prince *Constantine* to saue himselfe, and to suffer him to finish the battell: but he could by no meanes persuade him, still resoluing to attend the euent. Whereupon they went both again to the charge with such troups as they had left, and defeated many of the Turks forces; but being oppressed with a new supply of 2000 horse which the *Aga* sent by *Stephen*, they were constrained to yeeld themselues to the mercy of their enemies. Prince *Constantine* fell to the Tartarian share, either for that he had been taken prisoner by some of them, or else was giuen them by *Fousseyen Aga*, to draw a ransome from him, and be in stead of their pay. But they made no great vse of him; for as they led him away, passing the riuer of Niestre, hee leapt into it, thinking either to saue himselfe by swimming, or vnwilling to suruiue his disgrace. And as for Prince *Potosky*, he was carried to Constantinople, and was put into the blacke tower, which is a prison appointed for men of quality, where he continued vntill the yeare 1616. The losse of this battell by *Constantine*, gaue an easie entrance to *Stephen* into Moldauia, no man daring oppose himselfe against the Turks forces, so as *Fousseyen Aga* caused *Stephen* to be proclaimed Prince of Moldauia in the city of Yas, and then dismissed his army, and returned to Constantinople. Such was the fortune of the Prince of Moldauia, ruined by the Turks, and such was the disorder and confusion of his miserable countrey.

This Summer Constantinople and the countrey round about, was annoyed with abundance of Grashoppers, as it had been in the former yeare: but to free themselues from this deuouring vermine, about the middest of Iuly, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and Alexandria, with diuers other Bishops, and Calloires attyred in their copes and other ornaments, went forth in solemne manner at the gates of Andrianople, being the North gate of the City. Whereupon (said the Greeks) they all perished: and indeed at this time infinit heapes of them were found dead; but not by reason of their curse, for most were dead before they cursed them, and were to be seene dead vpon euery bush and twigge of a tree before their curse, and many liued after their curse, and contiuued vntill the next Summer. The cold deawes which fell this Summer (being extraordinarie) were thought to bee the naturall cause thereof, God causing those dewes to fall, to free the countrey from these deuouring creatures.

The troubles of Transyluania.

Let vs now describe the miseries of the Transyluanian, and of his Prouince, a table so often represented in this Historie. *Gabriel Battori* who gouerned Transyluania, as lawfully descended from the Souereigne Princes thereof, hauing made himselfe a tributarie vnto the Turke, and by his impious actions mingled *Mahomets* impietie with the Christian Religion; and moreouer, exceeding in his crueltie, became a memorable example to all posteritie, that Princes which carry the glorious name of Christians, when they haue once laid aside all feare of the Souereigne of Princes, cannot attend, but a miserable end in their reigne, conformable to the course of their enormities. So *Gabriel Battori* holding it a law of State, to settle his affaires with the ruine of religion, allyes himselfe with the Turke, and with him afflicts the Christian Prouinces. But seeing many factions made against him, as wel by the descendents of *Botscay*, as by *Giezi*, *Bethlem Gabor*, and some other, hee supports himselfe with the forces of *Andrew Nage*, the head of the Rebels in high Hungarie, who came vnto him to the siege before Cromstad to assist him in his affaires. *Battori* entertained him with all shewes

shewes of courtesie inuited him to dinner in his Tent; and for a greater demonstration of friendship, after dinner they two went to take the air on horseback. *Nage* had drunk after the Hungarian maner; *Battori* intreated him to run his horse a career, and he refused it: the which *Battori* taking for an offence, spake many words of contempt vnto him, and hee answered him in the same manner, being more inflamed with wine, than gouerned by reason. *Battori* wonderfully offended, that a man of no sort, being but a poore souldier of fortune, crept vp to some authoritie amongst the souldiers but by degrees of rebellion, should giue him such words of indignitie, gaue him three blows on the head with a battle-axe which he held in his hand, and slew him. Thus *Nage* swimmes iustly in his own bloud, hauing wickedly, and to the ruine of his countrey, floted in the waies of vnconstancie and popular tumults, and so he died as he had liued.

Battori kills Nage.

But *Battori* found himselfe daily oppreſt with many affairs, which draue him insencibly to his ruine. *Peter Decaci* kinsman vnto the deceased *Botscay*, annoied him on the one side with troups of soldiers. *Andrew Giezi* (who had betrayed him in his embassie to Constantinople) leuied forces to prosecute him: and *Bethlem Gabor* a nobleman of Transyluania, assisted by the Turk, took many places from him, after that *Giezi* had forced him to raise his siege at Cromstad, and generally all Transyluania reuolted against this Prince. To see more plainely in the obscuritie of these confused disorders, you must vnderstand that this prouince is peopled by three seueral nations, the Sicules, Saxons, and Hungarians. The Sicules, descended from the Scythians, came with *Attila* King of the Hunnes, in Pannonia, now called Hungary; and taking their way toward their country, they inhabited that part of Transilvania which lies next to Moldavia, and diuiding themselues into seuen colonies, they built the towns of Kisdi, Orbai, Scipsi, Cykuduarheh, Aranios, and Marós. The Saxons mutinying against the gouernement of *Charlemaign* King of France, for certain impositions wherwith he had charged them, retyred into Transyluania, and by force seised vpon that part of the country which confineth vpon Valachia; where they built the towne of Hermenstad (otherwise called Cibin) Cromstad, Nezen (or Bistric) Meduvisch, Sciespourg, Clausenbourg, and Alba Iulia. The Hungarians inhabited this prouince from the time of S. *Stephen* King of Hungary; and hauing mastred the other nations, they obtained such prehemінence amongst them, that since their successors haue caused themselues to be called Nobles of Transyluania, and the Vayuods or Princes of the Countrey haue bin taken from among them. The Towns of Varradin, Deuer, Zilahi, Gela, and some others, owe their beginnings vnto them. The greatest part of these three nations which inhabit Transyluania, were reuolted against *Battori*; but particularly the Saxons had taken vp arms against him, his great crueltie hauing forced them to this extreame remedie.

Parties against Battori.

Battori being thus abandoned by his subiects, prosecuted by his Nobility, and forsaken of all the world, knowing not whither to fly for succour, and not dating to trust vnto the Turke, who openly fauored *Gabor*; he resolued to try if he could by presents draw the Emperor *Matthias* to his aid. Wherfore he sent Embassadours vnto him to promise all subiection and obedience: his presents were, a long robe or sacerdotal cloak of gold, set with pearle and pretious stones, certain plumes of blacke Herons adorned with pretious stones, a Turkish sword, the scabberd being of siluer richly set with jewels, ten black horses with rich furniture embroidered with gold and siluer, and a Turkish horse, hauing halfe the body and legs of the color of gold, with his furniture of crimson richly embroidered. He laboured to haue the Emperour giue notice to the Bassa of Buda, That this attempt of the Turks against Transyluania was a breach of the peace. But the Bassa made answer, That his Emperor was not to be blamed if he seised vpon that prouince, and kept it quiet from the practises of others, as belonging to himself. But *Battori* relying not wholly vpon this support, but desiring to haue more strings to his bow, sent Embassadours to the Sultan with rare and rich presents; who had secret treaties and councels with the Bassa's. The which *Negronius* the Emperors Embassador residing at Constantinople discouering, he sent word vnto the Emperor, that he entertained a monster among men.

About the same time there came Embassadours from the Saxon townes of Transyluania, complaining much of the crueltie and tyrannie of *Battori*. The Saxons (said they) liuing many

Cruelty of Battori.

many years in Transylvania, and beautified the prouinces with townes, villages, and markets, and had by their vertue obtained many priuiledges from former Emperours: but *Battori*, against his promised faith, and the oath which he had taken, had depriued them of their priuiledges, and afflicted them in such sort, as they were in a maner ruined. That from his first entrance, he had sought to root out the antient family of the Saxons: That he had afflicted them with imprisonments and miserable seruitude, and had detained *Iohn Benner* three years in prison, for no other cause, but for that he knew hee had brought a great estate out of Germanie. He had depriued honest widowes of their estates, and had oppressed others with vniust exactions: he had surprised Hermstad the chiefe City of the Saxons, and suffered the Haiducks to spoil it, and to commit all sorts of insolencies. That he had expelled the Magistrates, banished honest citizens, rauished women, slain the parents, to depriue the children of their inheritance, and commited all the barbarous cruelties that could be deuised. That hee had sent three hundred Captiues to the Sultan for a present: many he cut into small pieces, some hee had thrown down from the tops of high mountains and towers, some he had hung vp by the feet, others he had drawn in pieces with wild horses & trees; and to conclude, he had practised all kindes of barbarous cruelties. That hauing expelled religious Princes out of Moldauia and Valachia, hee had made them subiect to the Turke: for no other end, but that getting an occasion to circumuent the Christians, he might wast all with fire and sword, hauing multitudes of Barbarians to second him. And for a conclusion of his notable crueltie, hauing fired the town of Gaudin, he had made choice of twenty of the principall inhabitants, and giuing euery one of them a pike, he forced them in his presence to kil one another in the middest of the market place.

But God reuengeth his excesse in his ruine, wherein into we shall presently see him run headlong miserably: for *Bethlem Gabor* his capital enemy, hauing joined his forces with those of Bassa *Serder*, they both entred together into Transylvania, forced Lugasti, tooke Deue, and strooke a great terror into the whole Country. *Ogli Bassa* on the other side surmounteth the difficultie of the waies, and lodgeth with his troups in the suburbs of Cromstad, and from thence went and camped ouer all the tract of Barry or Barsac. Thus *Battori* sees himself oppreſt by an enemy, from whom he can expect nothing but his miserie and ruine. He attended succors from the Emperor, vnder the conduct of the Palatine of Hungary and *Fortgatsie*; they came, but not such as were able to resist the Turks. This made him write to *Trinau* for the leuying of soldiers, but the hatred they bare him generally, deceiued his hopes, no man would march vnder his ensignes. This refusall makes him distrustfull, he dares not confer with any man touching the affairs of the war. A treaty of peace seemes most fit for his affaires: hee makes an ouerture to his most familiar friends, & tels them he holds it necessary to purchase his peace with *Serder Bassa*, at what price soeuer, yea were it in deliuering into his hands the places of greatest importance. But hee receiues no other answers from them, but that they had rather die than aduise him to it. Thus he sees himselfe void of all hopes of safety in his affairs: he wanted mony, his subiects, yea euen his soldiers hated him, as a prince abandoned to all crueltie; and for his last remedy, and the most ordinary in base and cowardly mindes, he fel into dispair, intreating one of his seruants to kill him: but the other refused him that honor, suffering him to draw on his miserable life, vntil that within some few daies after, going forth to view where his troups were lodged, being in an open chariot, accompanied only with two gentlemen, fifty of his soldiers which attended him in an ambush, shot at him, slew him, and hurt those that did accompanie him. This accident happened in the yeare 1613. when as this vnfortunat *Battori* went to giue an account vnto God of the bad gouernment of his estate.

Bethlem Gabor made prince of Transylvania

Some few dayes after, *Bethlem Gabor* was openly declared Prince of Transylvania by the Bassa *Serder*; who gaue him this aduertisement at his introduction; *Battori shall serue for an example to bad Princes; I doe not thinke that you will follow his steps. Beware that you attempt not any thing without the priuitie of my Master. Maintaine peace with your neighbours, and make men of experience and honesty of your Councell.* Transylvania did yet feare the continuance of a storme of a fatall Warre; when as in lesse than forty daies it saw it selfe setled in the calme of sweet peace, by the general acknowledgement which all the Townes made vnto *Bethlem Gabor*, and the

the oath of fidelitie which they tooke vnto him as to their elected Prince; notwithstanding that the Emperor had imploted all his credit to hinder it. But the desire of peace, and feare of the Turks armies, drew all the Gouernors of towns to acknowledge *Gabor*. Such were the affairs of Transylvania, disordred by the Turk. Now let vs make an end of the remainder of the year 1612, the which we haue deferred, for that we would not interrupt the relation of the affairs of this prouince.

We haue said elswhere, That the King of Persia had offered conditions of peace to Sultan *Achmat*, much to his aduantage, seeing that he yeelded himselfe the Turks tributary, in regard of certain lands which he had conquered from him. Now the Visier *Nassuf*, General of the army against the Persian, brings his Embassadour to Constantinople to conclude this peace. *Nassuf* ariued with his army and the Persian Embassador at Scudaret, right ouer against Constantinople, whither most of the Bassa's of the Port went to salute him, and then returned. But the grand Visier staid there two days; on the third he past ouer to Constantinople, where hee was entertained at the water side by all the Bassa's that accompanied him; an infinit number of Ianizaries going before with their pieces, and some of them in armor; after whom followed their Aga on horseback: then came a great number of Iamoglans, and the Emirs or kindred of *Mahomet* with their green turbants, with many blind men shouting aloud: These holy men caried the banner (as they say) of *Mahomet*, and the people standing by kissed it with great deuotion as they past. After them came the Chaoux on horseback, the Bassa's, & then the chief Mufti, and last of all *Nassuf Bassa* himself: after whom followed the treasure he brought with him for the Emperor, being 234 Mules loden with gold and siluer. The Visier as he past by the Sultans window bowed himselfe very low vnto him, from whom hee had a nod with his head, and so set spurres to his horse and rode away fast, as the manner of the Turkes is when they salute a greater man than themselues, presently to run or ride away apace. The Visier being come to the Serail, went in to the Sultan to kisse his hand; where hee continued a whole houre, the rest of the Bassa's attending without. There were present at this daies pompe the Emperors Embassador, the French, the English, Polonian, Low-Countries, and Venetian; the Persian remaining stil at Scudaret. The grand Visier as he past by the Emperors Embassador, put off his hat and saluted him, but not the rest. The same day *Tomsho*, who had bin lately made Prince of Moldauia by the grand Seigniour, sent many Polonians to Constantinople, whom hee had taken in the Warres. All which (notwithstanding they threw downe their Caps and offered to turne Turkes) were put to death. And within few daies after, the Visier *Nassuf* sitting in the publique Divano, had three robes sent him from the grand Seignior to grace him.

A Persian Embassador comes to Constantinople.

Achmat hauing a will to let the Persian see the magnificence of his Court, went out of Constantinople; and vnder pretence to go take the aire at his Country palace called *Darut Bassa*, he takes occasion at his return to make a stately entry into his Imperial city. The generall Surueyour being aduertised of his will, caused all the waies from his palace of *Darut* vnto the City to be couered with sand, the which containeth two French leagues, or four English miles. This done, the Emperour parted for his retinue, and entred in pomp into Constantinople. The order of his entry was in this manner. A great number of men at Armes marched first on horsebacke, and after them some troups of foot, the Cadies of Constantinople or men of justice; and all the Talismans, or those of *Mahomets* Law, in very great numbers followed after: and after these followed the Visiers and Bassa's in very great pomp. After whom followed the Sultans houshold, that is to say, ten men leading in their hands tenne goodly horses richly caparisoned, the last of which had the bridle and saddle all couered with pretious stones: the Sultans Target was made fast vnto the saddle, and vpon it did hang euen almost to the ground a great tassel of pearls; and ouer all this, a long horse cloath or couering for an horse, the which was embroidered so thicke with pearle, as the ground could not be discerned. After which followed the rest of the Emperours houshold in diuers troupes: first, fifty Ianizaries on foot, euery one of them leading dogs in leashes, Mastifs, or Irish greyhounds: the goodliest of all were those which the French Embassadour had presented vnto the Sultan. Secondly, the grand Seigniors footmen, called Pelks, who were Persians by Nation, all wel attired, wearing on their heads bonnets of siluer and gilt, in form of pots. Thirdly, threescore

Achmats stately entry into Constantinople.

threescore archers on foot, in the middest of which the Sultan came, attired in a rich robe of G
cloath of gold imbroidered with pearles and diamonds: his slaues were inricht after the same
maner: his turbant couered with fiue plumes of black herons feathers, inricht with great Dia-
monds, and a chain of the same stones about the lower part of his turbant: vpon his little fin-
ger he had a diamond of a large bignes and inestimable price, which gaue a maruellous great
light. He was proudly mounted vpon a goodly horse richly caparisoned, the saddle was em-
broidred with gold, pearle, and Diamonds, the stirrops of pure gold set with many diamonds,
and from the horses neck did hang great tassels of pearle, which were so great, that they were
exceeding pretious. After the grand Seignior followed three men on horsebacke, carrying in
their hands, the one his arms, the other his cloak, and the third his Imperial turbant; & these
were attended on by certain Esquires and gentlemen all on horsebacke. Then came the mu- H
sick after the Turkish maner, consisting of threescore men on horsebacke, which played vpon
Fifes, Clerons, and trumpets. Next followed an hundred pages of the Sultans brauely moun-
ted, and followed by many Eunuchs; fifty of which pages caried euery one a falcon vpon his
fist, hauing their heads inricht with diamonds; and these were followed by thirty gards of the
Port. Then came fifty falconers and huntsmen richly attyred and wel mounted; four whereof
had either of them before him vpon his saddle bow a Leopard couered with cloath of gold:
with a great number of other Pages who were very beautifull, chosen amongst the infants of
the tribute, and vnfortunatly appointed for the filthy and vnnatural pleasures of their master;
whose garments after the Turkish maner were pretious, and made of rich cloth of gold curled.
They were followed by a great troup of yong men plainly attired in cloath, hauing vpon their I
heads yellow caps pointed in form of a sugar loafe, and these were ordained to serue the Sul-
tans pages.

There were moreouer diuers Beglerbegs attending the Sultan in this pomp; as of Bosna,
Buda, Romania, Natolia, and others; euery company going distinct, both of horse and foot,
with the Bassa's seruants all gallantly attyred & wel mounted. And after them followed *Nas-*
sus's attendants, being fiue hundred in number richly armed. There were also the Kings Fire-
men, Calkers, Azappes, the Rices or officers of gallies with spears in their hands: all that be-
longed to the Arsenal, the Carters which gouerned the carts going to war, and their captains;
then the shot-men with their banner, and the Armorers all in armor with their banner. There
were also the banners of the grand seignior *Mahomet*, and of the grand Visier, euery one in his K
order before the grand Seignior: and after all followed the Capigies and officers of his Kit-
chen. The number of all sorts of attendants in this pomp was so great, as they were reckoned
to be forty thousand persons.

The Persian Embassador, for whose sake *Achmat* had made this stately shew, to the end he
might carry back into his country a pattern of the *Othoman* state and greatnesse, caused to bee
cast out before his lodging, when as the Sultan passed by, 100 pieces of silke, the which were
gathered vp by the archers of his gard, wherof they made good purchase. All these magnifi-
cences, added to those we haue formerly related at the mariages of the Sultans daughter and
sister; with other pomp celebrated in France, Spain, Naples, and Germany, for the mariages of
Lewis 13, King of France, with *Anne* of Austria Infant of Spain; and of the Prince of Spaine L
with the Lady *Elizabeth* of Bourbon the Kings eldest sister; and for the coronation of the em-
presse, and the Emperors entry into Noremberg, may giue vnto this yeare 1612 the title of
magnique or stately.

The Persian presents to the Sultan.

Foure daies after Sultan *Achmats* entry into the Imperal city, the Persian Embassador had
audience, and was admitted to kisse his hand. He presented vnto his Maiestie in the behalfe
of the King of Persia his master, foure hundred Balls of silke, a Besonard stone as bigge as a
mans fist, with some others that were lesse; nine bags of leather ful of Turquoises, the which
were a foot and a halfe long, and aboue foure fingers broad; a great number of Tapestries of
Wooll, Silke, cloath of gold and siluer, with many other things of great price, and very rare.
Their complements being ended, they began to treat seriously of a peace betwixt two great M
and antient enemies, the Turk and the Persian; the which after some difficulties was conclu-
ded vpon these conditions: That the Persian King should pay yearly vnto the Turkish Empe-
ror by way of tribute, a quantitie of silk to the burden of two hundred camels: that the King
of

A of Persia his sonne should be called Bassa of Tauris, and that the Cadi or Souereigne Iudge of
that towne should be sent from Constantinople. This peace thus concluded to the Turks ad-
uantage, the Persian Embassador returned vnto his Master, hauing left most of his traine dead
of the Plague at Constantinople. Being arriued at Tauris, the King of Persia seeing this peace
to be so dishonourable, and burthensome for him, he caused his Embassadours head to be cut
off; and sent backe the Chiaux, who was come from Constantinople to see him sweare the
peace. Some write that he did him some indignities, which made these two great Monarchs
returne againe to armes.

The Grand Visier *Nassuf*, after his returne to Constantinople, to shew his great power and
authority, procured meanes to haue the Chimacham (who had formerly supplied the place
B of the Grand Visier in the absence of *Amurath Bassa*, and vntill the returne of *Nassuf*) to
be deprived of his Bassaes place, and sent presently ouer vnto Scudaret, vnder pretence of pre-
ferring him to a gouernment neere vnto Trebizond in the confines of Turky, but with an in-
tent to deprive him of his head. The friends of this Chimacham, (who were many and great
in Court) seeing him so disgracefully sent away, and doubting *Nassuf* his purpose, procu-
red leaue of the Grand Seigniour to haue him sent for backe againe, for that hee was an old
man, and might from thenceforth liue at home in quiet; and for his former seruices done,
a thousand Aspers a day allowed him for his entertainement: which *Nassuf* tooke very dis-
contentedly.

During the Persian Embassadours abode at Constantinople, the Emperour *Matthias* (suc-
C cessour to *Rodulphus* his brother) sent an Embassadour to the Sultan, to complaine of the
enterprises which were made dayly vpon Transyluania, a Prouince which he said belonged
vnto him, as a dependance of his Realme of Hungary. This Embassadour called *Negroni*
was receiued at the Court, and admitted to kisse the Sultans hand: but his Presents were lit-
tle esteemed, for that they were of lesse value than those which they had lately receiued from
the Persian. His demands to haue the Prouince of Transyluania, were grounded vpon an Ar-
ticle inserted among those of the peace betwixt the Emperour and *Botskay*, at that time cho-
sen Prince of Transyluania; that is to say, *That* Botskay *dying without issue male, Transyluania*
should remaine at the disposition of his Imperiall Majesty. This Article being read by *Negroni*
in the Turks Councell, whither he had beene admitted; the Muphti or Souereigne Priest of
D *Mahomets* Law, answered, That it was contrary to his Law: so the demands of this Embassa-
dour touching Transyluania were rejected, seeing that *Botskay* had no power from the Sul-
tan (said the Grand Visier) to treat with the Emperour, and to giue him Transyluania after
his death. *Negroni* grounded this gift of *Botskay* (mentioned in the said Article) vpon the
eighth Article of the peace betwixt the Turke and the Emperour, concluded in the Isle of
Dannow, by *Amurath* Visier, and the Deputies of his Imperiall Majesty, in these words; *That*
all which had beene granted in the treaty of peace made at Vienna, to Botskay, *should be duely and faith-*
fully obserued. *Nassuf* the Grand Visier replied, That the Bassa *Amurath* being then Visier,
might erre in signing these Articles of the peace vpon the Dannow: and at the same instant
he shewed forth some other Articles, whereas that was not inserted; saying, That the Sultan
E would faithfully performe those and no others, pressing the Embassadour *Negroni* to signe
them; the which he refused to do: so as *Nassuf* vsed some threats to terrifie him; but *Negroni*
replied, That he was in their power, and that in this case he had rather lose his life, and die glo-
riously for the good of his masters affaires, than to haue it taken from him at his returne to
Vienna, with shame and infamy, hauing signed those Articles. Finally, he promised to aduer-
tise his Imperiall Majesty, and to certifie them of his pleasure: which promise for this time
ended the contention.

The Emperour Matthias sends an Embassador to Constantinople.

The malice and falsehood of the Turks.

In the beginning of this yeare, Sultan *Achmat*, after the reception of the Persian Em-
bassadour, and the stately entry hee made into Constantinople, went to lie at Adrianople,
where his Ianizaries and Spahies began to mutiny, spurning at their Bread and Rice which
F was giuen them for their dayly entertainement: and being demanded the reason of their in-
solency; they answered, That no Emperor before him had so carried out his men in the depth
of Winter: which answer did much insence *Nassuf Bassa*. This Visier was in such credit with

the Grand Seigniour, as during his abode at Adrianople, hee came three times in person priuately to visit him, who grew so powerfull ouer his masters affections, as he obtained a priuiledge, That it might not be lawfull for any man to speake with the Grand Seigniour priuatly, but himselfe. Being returned to Constantinople, there hapned a great fire, in which there were fiue hundred houses burnt. The Visier *Nassuf* comming to see it quenched, and finding some Ianizaries more carefull to breake open lockes, and rifle shoppes, than to doe any good seruice, he strucke out the braines of one of them with his mace, and brake the arme of another.

It had beene an antient custome in Constantinople, that the owner of the house with all his family where the fire began, should be put to death for their negligence: but it happening that the Emperors owne Seraill, in the time of *Mahomet* father to *Achmat*, being set on fire, *Cicala Bassa* presented a petition vnto him, that this custome might be abolished, holding it vnjust that other men should be put to death, and the same let passe in the Emperors owne house: whereunto he yeelded, holding it reasonable. And soone after there hapned another great fire, at which the Visier caused many of the Ianizaries to be hanged; finding them too busie in rifling houses; and he went vp and downe the streets with his scimiter in one hand, and a Ianizaries head in the other, which he had cut off. The Grand Seignior sent Holy Water vnto the Visier, wherein he had dipt a piece of *Mahometis* garment, the which being poured into the fire, the Turks said, it ceased presently; yet by the report of visible witnesses, it burned foure houres after. The Grand Visier *Nassuf* was a cruell enemy to the Ianizaries, of whom he sent sixteene thousand away into Asia, and would not suffer any moe to be made, but onely Spahies: and ouer such Ianizaries as remained he made his owne seruants to be Chiubagies, and Agaes or Captaines ouer fifties and hundreds; fortifying himselfe by all meanes he could deuise, against the future time, to preuent his sudden ruine; but all this could not preserue him from a shamefull fall, as you shall hereafter heare.

Troubles in the Realme of Fez and Moroco.

In the meane time let vs passe vnto Affricke, to obserue the troubles which fell in the Realmes of Fez and Moroco; the quarrels betwixt Prince *Xerif Muley Cidan*, and the *Xerif Muley Achmet, Ben-Abdalla* his nephew, and the victories of *Cidan* against *Abdalla*. The Family of the *Xerifs* Princes of Fez and Moroco, tooke its beginning some hundred and foure yeares since, from *Mahomet Xerif*, borne at Tigumedet in Dara, at this present one of the Prouinces of Moroco: he was Alfaqui or preacher of *Mahomets* Law, who seeing the diuisions betwixt the Souereigne Princes of those Realmes, and that the Portugalls had seised of the chiefe Forts of Moroco, he began with three of his sonnes, *Abdalla*, *Hamet*, and *Mahomet*, to lay the foundation of a new Monarchy, supported by three pillars. That is to say, by a counterfeit piety and disguised Religion; vpon a godly pretext to make warre against the Portugals Christians which were in Affricke; and vpon a passionate desire to retire the Mahometane Moores which were in their pay, to the end they might by that meanes weaken them, and chase them with more ease out of the territories of Moroco. The King who at that time held the scepter of Fez (seeing nothing but the outside of the *Xerifs* designes) suffered his three sonnes to display their standard against the Christian Portugals in the Realme of Moroco: Innouations and nouelties are commonly pleasing to the common people. At this beginning, these three leaders were followed by a great number of souldiers; they vanquished in many encounters, and the bruit of their new victories flying into the Realme of Moroco, retired the Moores from the Portugals seruice, whom they defeated soone after, with their Commander *Lopes Bariga*. True it is, that it was to their losse; for *Abdalla* the eldest of these three brethren lost his life in this combat. But they seised vpon the great towne of Taradente in the Prouince of Sus, and of the Prouinces of Herra, Ideuaca, Vbideuaca, Cuz, Guzule, and in a manner of the whole country betwixt Moroco and mount Atlas, setling their principality in Taradente, whereas the *Xerif* their father carried the name of the Gouernour of the Prouince of Sus.

The King of Moroco fearing the greatnesse of these new Conquerours, dissembled the desire hee had to bring them vnder, assuring himselfe that time would present him some good occasion: so suffering them to enter into Moroco: but they preuented him, they tooke away

away his life by poyson, and seised vpon his Realme. The King of Fez, who had by an indiscreet simplicity suffered them to take arms, and by that means to open the way to a great fortune, hee saw afar off the tempest of these vnjust spoilers to fall vpon Moroco and other places. The feare of the like calamity did much afflict his minde: but the *Xerifs* entertained this idle Prince with faire shewes; they abused his bounty, and with the fourth part of the rich spoiles which they had taken in so many townes and Prouinces, they lull his distrust asleepe: moreouer, they send him the tribute due for the Realme of Moroco. *Hamet* takes vpon him the name of King of Moroco; *Mahomet* that King of Sus, in the towne of Taradente; and by a good intelligence betwixt them, they make themselues fearefull to all those countries; so as they haue nothing more to feare, than the threats and vengeance of heauen. They then began to contemne the King of Fez, and plainly to deny the tribute of Moroco; pretending for their reason, that they were issued from the line of *Mahomet*. This contempt made the King of Fez to open his eies; he finds the faults past, by the interest of the present: he sees the *Xerifs* had abused the liberty which hee had giuen them: whereupon hee went to field with an army of 18000 men, and planted his siege before Moroco; but as his enemies party was stronger than his, so he was chased away, and his army defeated at the passage of a riuer. Thus the *Xerifs* became peaceable possessours of Moroco. The peace of the country made these men idle, and idlenesse drew the two brethren into quarrell; they mustred vp their forces and came to fight, where after two bloudy battels, *Mahomet* being victor, he tooke his eldest brother *Hamet*, depriued him of his Realme and liberty, and made him end his daies miserably in prison. Thus God doth punish the vnjust spoiler of another mans good: we shall see in their posterity the continuance of the same quarrell.

The King of Fez hasteth to Moroco, and is defeated.

Mahomet settled souereigne in Moroco by bloud and fratricide, as monstrous in ambition as in cruelty, he turned the same armes wherewith hee had beaten and vanquished his eldest brother, against the King of Fez (whose improuidence had suffered *Mahomet* and his brethren to take armes, vnder the deceitfull title and pretence of making warre against the Christian Portugals) he assaulted him with great forces, vanquished him, tooke him prisoner, and depriued him both of Realme and life. Thus the *Xerifs* in the person of this *Mahomet* became Souereigne Princes of Fez ond Moroco. The victory so happily gotten of so many nations, made him fearefull; but by his cruelty hee drew vpon his descendents the just judgement of him who punisheth the excesse and enormity of crimes vnto the fourth generation. His posterity was miserable, the vnjust desire of reigne (one ruining another) entertained the brethren in perpetuall discord. For *Cidan* now King of Fez and Moroco, was lately expelled by his brother *Kequi*; but afterwards Fortune changing her inconstant fauour, *Kequi* was pursued by *Cidan*, defeated, and forced in the yeare 1610 to saue his life in Algarbe in Portugall. *Abdalla* the sonne of *Kequi* seeing his fathers affaires thus desolate, retires himselfe towards the mountaines in the Prouince of Sus: where finding opportunity to annoy his vncle *Cidan*, he made daily incursions vpon his territories, with some troups of Arabians who had joyned with him being 200 horse and 200 foot. But finding this to be a long course to attain vnto the conquest of the Realme from whence he had been expelled, he bethought himselfe that some certaine counterfeit fiction in Religion, had in former times brought in his grandfather, and made him absolute Lord of a great country; wherefore he made vse of a prophesie forged in his ambitious spirit: and to worke an impression in the peoples minds (easie to be moued with a passion of Religion) he sent certaine religious Mahometans through the country, with a shew of holy simplicity, who went preaching from place to place, That one *Falquere* a man of holy life, had giuen vnto a sonne of his a Drumme of an admirable power and vertue, commanding him expressely, to keepe it carefully, vntill that a Prince called *Abdalla* should come into Moroco, being expelled by the injustice of his owne bloud: and that then he should beat this Drumme, and that the people at the sound thereof might go to the war with all safety; that it should be helpefull to them, giue peace vnto the Realme, and settle all the customes and antient lawes to their common content. Thus they preached this prophesie, the which they said was now accomplished, seeing that this prophetical Drum had beene found, that *Abdalla* the eldest Prince of the house of the *Xerifs* had caused it to be beaten, exhorting all men to follow the war for the common good of the country.

A prophesie inuented by Kequi, and preached by religious Turks.

These

These vanities being preached by these ignorant and malicious Religious Turks, increased the number of *Abdallaes* party: whereof *Cidan* being aduertised, he sent a great army against him into the Prouince of Sus, vnder the command of *Alcaa Elmye*, to hinder the progresse of his designes: But *Abdalla* finding these forces to approch, retired himselfe towards the mountaines, from whence he might charge the enemies army; the which he did so happily, as within few daies he cut off fiue thousand of his men. This successe did so aduance his affaires, as his troups encreased daily, so as *Cydan* was forced to go with new forces to fight with him, the which was the cause of his ruine: for at this time he was inuested, and notwithstanding the good successe of his false prophesies, lightly grounded vpon the sound of a Drum, he was defeated and slaine in this yeare 1612.

Abdalla defeated and slaine.

Gotardus, discoursing of this miraculous King of Mauritania, whom he cals *Muley Hamet*, writeth that he was charmed with diuelish incantations, and freed from all outward force, carying himselfe for a Diuine Prophet: That with one hundred and eighty horse, and two hundred foot, he went to make head against *Cydan* King of Moroco, hauing forty thousand men: That his souldiers (who were so few in number) being ready to fly, he persuaded them with a cunning speech to prepare to fight: That comming neere to *Cydans* campe, they might see a great Army of enemies fighting against them, in which there were fiue thousand of *Cydans* Army ouerthrowne, and the rest put to flight, and yet *Hamet* had not aduanced with his troupes: That within few daies after, comming with his troupes tyred to a riuer side, hee commanded them not to drinke nor wash in that riuer, which if they did they would die: but some neglecting his command, thinking to quench their thirst died suddenly. He tooke many places in those mountainous Regions, which no man had formerly subdued; his forces encreasing dayly, hauing fiue and twenty thousand men, and vowing to goe against the Christians, more came vnto him: so as he went against *Cydan* with a good Army, who likewise attended him. *Hamet* persuaded his souldiers that no shot could hurt them; so as they assaulted *Cydans* campe with such fury, as within lesse than an houres space they had slaine aboue six thousand men, and put the rest to flight. They write that *Hamet* lost not aboue foure or fiue, and that such as were strucke with any bullet, shewed markes but no wounds; and that the great ordnance either shot ouer them, or the pouder vented out at the touch hole, and wrought no effect. *Cydan* hauing lost his brother in the fight, fled with all his treasure, to recouer new forces, and in the meane time *Hamet* made himselfe master of the whold Countrey. There were certaine Hollanders admitted vnto him, whom they found sitting vpon a carpet made of the barke of trees, hauing a white shirt, and a long garment vpon it, a red cap on his head, bare thighes, and red shooes, a bag about his necke, and in it he had his Alcaron, a short crooked sword and a dagger hanging by him. Being saluted by the Hollanders, hee willed them to sit downe by him, telling them that hee was sent from Heauen, to purge the World from euill, and to prepare the Law of God; to expell *Cidan* out of his Kingdome, and to restore peace vnto the World: wherefore hee aduised them not to haue any commerce with *Cydan*, nor to assist him in any sort. They obserued many markes vpon his body, he had one blew tooth, all the rest beeing white, haire vpon either shoulder, a red circle in the palme of his right hand, and the proportion of a spurre vpon his right foot. Hauing gotten some victories against *Cydan*, and taken the towne of Moroco, in the end his diuellish art failing him, he was slaine as you haue heard. Such were the affaires of Affricke, in the Realme of Fez and Moroco.

The miracl[illegible] King of Mauritania.

Cydan King of Fez ouerthrowne.

But in Algier a wonderfull drought had caused cruell combustions; it had so deuoured the fruits of the earth before their maturity, as there followed a wonderfull famine throughout the whole land. The Turks attributed the cause of their misery sometimes to their sins; then to the comming of the Moores, who had beene expelled out of Spaine, as a pernicious vermine; and sometimes to the licentiousnesse of Christians, which liued in those places. Wherefore in the beginning of May this yeare, the Iudge of the towne ordained, That all the Turks should make their deuout praiers to *Mahomet* their Prophet to obtaine raine, so necessary in that country; that the Moores should depart the towne within three daies vpon paine of death; and that all the Christians, as well free as bond slaues, should cause their heads and their beards to be shauen, this was speedily executed; for the Turks decrees require a prompt

A great drought & sterility at Algier.

prompt obedience. But the miserable Moores which could not get out of Algier within their three daies prefixed, detained either by sickenesse, or some other impediment, were all cut in pieces. For thirteene daies, there was nothing seene within the towne but processions of Turks without Turbants, crying and howling after their manner to obtaine raine from their false Prophet: but he which commands Souereignty ouer times, from whose hand proceed faire weather and raine, and which makes the earth fruitfull, held the pipes of Heauen yet stopped, to open them at more religious and holy vowes than the superstitious clamours of these Infidels. For *Bernard Murroy*, of the Order of the redemption of captiues, hearing that the Turkes meant to reuenge their miseries vpon them, and to ruine a little Chappell which the Christian slaues had in the prison, for the pious exercises of their Religion, obtained (by the means of *Bius* Consull of the French in Algier) permission for the Douan, or Turkish Iudge, to make processions, and to pray vnto God to send them the dew of Heauen, which was so necessary for them. All the Christian slaues which were prisoners, continued their deuotions for the space of fiue daies: but on the fourth day being the eighth of May, there fell such abundance of raine vpon Algier, as these poore Christians seeing their praiers heard in the middest of the enemies of their faith, gaue infinite thankes vnto God for his great mercy and grace.

The deuout praiers of the Christians obtaine raine.

These miserable Christian slaues were still detained in yrons and cruell seruitude, by this accident. This *Murroy* of the Order of the Redemption of captiues, accompanied with two others of the same Order, had redeemed to the number of one hundred thirty and six: but when he was ready to embarke them, their euill fortune would haue it, that the gallies of Genoa running alongst that coast, landed some men neere vnto Algier, where they tooke the Bassaes sonne of that towne, with many other Turks, and amongst this number a Virgine of Algier, of a very noble Family, and of as rare a beauty, for the misery of these slaues: for that when as the Bassaes son and the others were redeemed by a Frigot which the father had sent, the faire Algerian Virgine was still detained by a Captaine of the Genowaies, who had retyred to Caluy an Island adjoyning, there to satisfie his desires with more ease, vpon the fraile and fading perfection of this faire slaue, which had depriued him of his liberty. In the meane time the Bassa of Algier seeing his son returned with the other Turks, and not the Algerian Virgine, commanded that the hundred thirty and six slaues should be put againe into yrons, with the three Religious men which had redeemed them. Thus this feminine beauty, or rather the passion of the Genowaies, who holds the possession so deare, makes a great number of Christian soules to suffer by insupportable seruitude, howsoeuer they of his Nation (flattering his disordered lust) say that his desire was, to win her to God, and to make her a Christian, caused him to keepe her so carefully.

These suffered in Algier the losse of their liberty: But a Capuchen Frier, a Florentine by Nation, endured at Tunes the losse of his life, by the cruelty of the Moores chased out of Spaine, and retired into those countries. This religious man being a slaue among the Turks, attended dayly from Florence, or from some other place, mony to redeeme his liberty: but it hapned one day disputing in a Barbars house with a Morisque, concerning Christian Religion; the zeale of his faith transported him so far, as to say among diuers Turks, That his Religion was better than that of *Mahomets*. These words tooke criminously in that place, were reported by the Motisques to the Cadi or Iudge of the towne, whom they prest with such horrible clamors and cries, as he pronounced sentence of death against this Capuchen. He was deliuered vnto them, and they stripped him naked, leading him with infamy through Tunes, some spitting in his face, others casting durt at him, and so they led him out of the towne, where they tyed him vnto a post, and they being cruelly insenced by a speech which a Morrabour or religious Turke said vnto them, *That he among them that gaue him not one blow with a stone, should be no good Turke*; they stoned him to death, where afterwards they burnt his body, and threw the ashes into the winde.

A Capuchen of Florence in captiuity at Tunes.

He dies gloriously for the faith.

The martyrdome of this Capuchen, was followed by the constant confession (amidst the violence of torments) of a penitent Renegado, a Florentine by Nation, and Captaine of the chiefe gallie of Chio; foure Frenchmen being slaues in the Island of Chio, in the patron

An enterprise of foure slaues.

or chiefe gally, belonging to the Bey or Gouernour of the Island, they resolued to recouer their liberty with the hazard of their liues, to returne into France, and carry into some Port of Christendome that gally, being the best appointed in the whole hauen. They drew vnto their party the Captaine which commanded, being a Florentine Renegado. Their enterprise should haue beene executed when as they should goe to land to cut wood. But whether that the scribe were trecherous to his companions, or transported with some rash indiscretion; being on land, hee spake these words aloud, the which ouerthrew both the designe, and them that projected it; *Hoe, we will returne into Christendome.* A Turke which was neere, taking hold of these words, reported them vnto the Patron; who presently layed hold vpon the Scribe, and drew from him the confession of all the enterprise. He presently sends an hundred men towards the gally, to seise vpon the foure French slaues and the Captaine. But these fiue made such a generous resistance, as if the other slaues, who were for the most part Moldauians, or of the Prouinces which border vpon the blacke sea, had had the courage to fight for their liberty, without doubt the French mens enterprise had succeeded happily. But what could fiue men do against an hundred? yet they slew fifteene, and wounded many: the foure Frenchmen were all slaine, and the Florentine Captaine was taken aliue, and reserued to the rigour of a cruell death. For they continued him six houres together in most violent torments, hee still calling vpon the holy and sacred name of *Iesus Christ*, euen to the last gaspe, and detesting the errours and falshood of the law of *Mahomet*. This hapned in October this yeare.

The Vnited Estates send an Embassador to Constantinople.

A little before, the Estates of the vnited Prouinces, and Count *Maurice* seeing the losses which the ships of Holland suffered in the Mediterranean Sea, many of them being taken by the Turkish gallies, and a great number of their men made slaues: to the end they might bee freed from that danger, and haue a safe passage for their ships, and procure liberty for their captiues, they resolued to make a league with the Turke. Wherefore they sent *Cornelius Hage* to Constantinople: who not onely willingly accepted of that Embassie, but performed it with such discretion, as hee purchased great credit and commendation to himselfe, and much profit to the Prouinces. He had resolued at first to passe through Hungary; but he found so many crosses and obstacles, by some that were Creatures to the Pope and Spaniard, as he was forced to turne out of the way, and fetch a great circuit. First of all, he fell into the hands of the Archduke *Ferdinand*, who caused him to be examined, and admonished to desist from his purpose: After which he was tost at Sea, and in the end hauing surmounted all dangers, he recouered Constantinople, the first of May. Hee had expresse charge from the Vnited Estates to labour for three things. The first was, to treat of the deliuerance of the Hollanders that were slaues. The second, to make a league with the Turke. And the third, to obtaine from him a free nauigation for the Hollanders, throughout all the seas and ports of his Empire.

Presents sent from the Vnited Estates to the Turke.

This Embassadour was brought to kisse the Sultans hands, and was fauorably receiued: he presented vnto his Majesty in the name of the Estates of the vnited Prouinces, his Letters of Embassie, with the Presents which follow: Three birds of Paradise of rare & precious plumes, wonderfull goodly to behold, and valued at eight hundred pound sterling: two vessels of Christall wonderfull rich and beautifull: foure other vessels made of fishes bones, whereas the Art seemed miraculous in the grauing: forty pieces of cloath of gold of diuers colours: fiue pieces of silke, fiue of Damaske, fiue of silke watered, and fiue plaine: A staffe of an Elephants tooth grauen with admirable industry. A Parret shut in a cage of Christall, so artificially done, as no man could discerne the entry: and many faire and rich table-clothes of Holland cloth, most part powdred with floures to the life, and wrought in their liuely colours. The which the Sultan did accept with admiration. All these things shew sufficiently, That the Estates from the beginning or soone after haue raised handy-workes as well as traffique and nauigation to the highest point of perfection.

A league betwixt the Turke and the Hollanders.

The sixth of Iuly following, the league was sworne betwixt the *Othoman* Emperour, and the Vnited Prouinces of the Low-Countries, by the which *Achmat* promised to cause to be set at liberty, all the Hollanders that were detained slaues within his Empire: That the traffique

traffique should be free for the Hollanders shippes throughout all his seas and hauens: and moreouer hee granted, That the Estates should haue an Embassadour residing at his Port. This alliance with the Turke, for the which they haue so often, and with little reason blamed the French, hath beene affected and sought by the English and Spaniards, as we haue said elsewhere; and now by the Hollanders, whose Estates proceed in all their affaires with such weight and measure, as it seemes they doe nothing but with great reason, and to good purpose.

The Morisques chase the Iewes out of Pera.

About the end of this yeare, the Iewes whose long slauery thoughout the Word, teproceth their wretched and miserable obstinacy, receiued at Pera neere Constantinople the weight of a furious tempest which fell among them, stirred vp against them by the malice of the Morisques Granadines chased out of Spaine, and retired into the Leuant. These haueing by Presents wonne the fauour of the Cadi, or Iudge of the place, who was a Negro newly setled in that charge by the Grand Visier *Nassuf*; they obtained power from him to thrust all the Iewes out of Pera, and to ruine their Synagogues. This power they executed with all violence: And yet these miserable Iewes durst not make their complaints vnto the Magistrate, except one of their sect which dwelt in the Isle of Chio, who being then at Constantinople, and supposing hee had more credit than the rest, went to complaine to this Cadi Negro, who presently caused to bee giuen vnto him fiue hundred blowes with a cudgell, in stead of doing him justice; so dangerous a thing it is to haue to doe with such vnjust Magistrates.

The insolencies of the Morisques transported them further: for after they had expelled the Iewes out of their dwellings, they threatned to doe vnto the Christians at Pera, as much as had beene done vnto them in Spaine: and they bragged, That they would seise vpon their Churches, and especially of that of the Franciscan Friers, the which was reasonable faire for the place. But the French Embassadour, hauing made his complaint to the chiefe Visier, he prohibited them to make any attempt against the Christians, vpon paine of rigorous punishment. This prohibition staied their fury: but they did not forbeare in all other occasions to shew the cruell hatred they owe vnto Christians: so as through all the Leuant, in all encounters where they come, they do a thousand times more mischiefe than the Turks themselues.

The Turks army for Transylvania.

At the same time the Sultan *Achmat* had drawne together a mighty army to go into Transylvania; he caused it to campe in tents neere vnto Constantinople, about his palace called Darut Bassa, whither the people of Constantinople went to walke, and to see his forces: within few daies after, he went to Hadrianople; meaning from thence to proceed in his voyage, carrying with him all the chiefe men of his Port, except the Bassa of the sea, or Admirall, who remained at Constantinople, to haue a care of the city. And for the greater safety thereof, this Bassa caused an edict to be published, That no man should go out of his house, nor keep any light in it after the ordinary cry, which is made an houre within night, when as the Talismans crying from the tops of their Mosques, inuite the people to make the Sala, or prayer. After the publication of this ordinance, he sent certaine Chiaux to entreat all the Embassadours residing at the Port, not to suffer their people to goe out by night, to the end that their liberty might not serue as a dangerous example to others. But notwithstanding all the Bassaes entreaties and prohibitions, three Englishmen of the Embassadours traine, went out by night into the street, where they were met by the Prouost of Pera, who tooke them, and presently (without respect of the quality) caused either of them to haue an hundred and fifty blows with a cudgell, and then committed them to prison, the dores whereof are neuer opened but with a siluer key: so strictly do they obserue in Turky the orders of the Princes Lieutenants, without exception of Persons.

About the end of the yeare, the Patriarch of Constantinople (by reason of diuers complaints made against him) was depriuen by the Grand Visier, and one *Cyrillus*, Patriarch of Alexandria, (a learned and religious Bishop) was (much against his will) preferred to the place. The former Patriarch hereupon excommunicated all such as had wrought his ouerthrow; but he himselfe was banished into the Isle of Rhodes. In his passage, the barke wherin he

he went was cast vpon Mytilene, in which place he renounced all right and claime to the Pa- G
triarchship before the Bishop of that place, and resigned it to the Bishop of Patras: where-
upon the Bishop came from Patras, to Constantinople, and laboured with the Visier *Nassuf*
for the place: who vpon promise to pay him fifteene thousand Chequines (which is ten thou-
sand more than they were wont to pay) made him a Grant thereof: which *Cyrillus* the late
elected Patriarch vnderstanding, he came with all the Grecians to expostulate the businesse
with the Grand Visier: Who answered, That he was to do what he could for the Emperours
profit, and nothing against it; wherefore if they would giue so much as the other had promi-
sed, *Cyrillus* should continue in the place. Which the people were very willing to performe;
but *Cyrillus* refused it, and so the other was made Patriarch: who presently sent for the old
Patriarch to come from Rhodes to make peace with him, for that they held not his excom- H
munication just, being not depriued by a Councell, but only by the King. About the same
time, *Nassuf* the Grand Visier sent for the foure Embassadors, of England, France, Venice, and
the States of the Low-Countries; and the reason why he sent for them was, to raise their cu-
stome on the hundred more than the Merchants had formerly payd.

The enterprise of the Great Duke of Tuscany vpon Agliman.

Whilest that the Sultan *Achmats* Army drew neere to Transyluania, and fortified the pla-
ces which hee held in those Countries, *Cosmo de Medicis* Great Duke of Tuscany bent his
generous designes against the Fort of Agliman in Caramania, in old time called Cilicia, a
Prouince which in the writings of Antients hath beene honoured with two famous Cities,
that is to say, Tharsis the Countrey of Saint *Paul*, and Seleucia, the Fort and Port whereof is
called Agliman, a hauen which in old time hath continued within it's bosome the fearefull I
forces of the Pyrats of those daies: from thence in former times hath come forth a powerfull
army of pyrats with a thousand sayle, so proudly rigged as many of them had their sayles of
purple, the tackling of gold thred, and the oares garnished with siluer, markes of the spoiles of
aboue foure hundred cities ruined by those pyrats, who stroke a terrour euen to the Romans,
and forced them, to auoid their fury, to set to sea that great fleet whereof *Pompey* the Great
was Generall.

The number of the Duke's galleys, and the commanders.

1613 The trophy erected vpon the walls of Agliman, of the heads of forty Florentines, lost in
a Ship called the Prosper, by the ignorance of the Captaine which commanded in it, made
the Great Duke to study to haue his reuenge for this afront; and his desire to abate the pride
of the common Enemy, eleuated his minde to generous enterprises. In the end of March K
this present yeare 1613, he armed six Gallies vnder the command of the Admirall *Inghirami*,
the which hee manned with six companies of foot commanded by *Iulio de Conty*, called
Montano, Generall at land, besides forty Knights of the Order of S. *Stephen*, and a good num-
ber of Gentlemen aduenturers, among the which was *Don Petro de Medicis*. This fleet parted
from Ligorne, and came to Ciuita Vecchia: in the beginning of Aprill they tooke in many
Noblemen and Gentlemen of France, which attended them, and would be partakers in the
enterprise; the which were, the Earle of Candale, eldest sonne to the Duke of Espernon, *Ci-
pierre*, *Thepines*, *De Vic*, *Monterrault*, *De la Tour*, and his brother *Boissiere*, *Villandre*, *Vernegue*, *Du
Plessis*, *De la Motte magnus*, *Auenes*, *Del Tour*, *Saint Cyre*, *Monplaisir*, and *Loyres*. About the
middest of Aprill the gallies landed in the night neere vnto a little towne in Asia the lesse, L
called Ieronda, held for that Geronda of the Antients: but their discent was fruitlesse, they
found it desart by the flight of the Inhabitants, who had preuented all surprises. They retur-
ned againe to their gallies, and sailing towards the East, they encountred three vessels like vn-
to their Caramoussals, the which they set vpon and tooke: and about the fifteenth of May,
hauing scoured the Leuant seas, they resolued to attempt Agliman. Vpon the way they tooke
a Vessell called Grippe, which instructed them of the estate of the Fortresse: they vnder-
stood there were two Gallies of Cyprus in the Port, that the place was well furnished with
all things necessary, and guarded without by a good number of horsemen, and that within
few daies after, one of the said gallies should come out of the Port of Agliman, and go to the
Island of Papadula, to fetch a new mast. *Inghirami* thought to preuent it, carrying his M
whole fleet thither, the which he layd close in the Island to surprise the Turkish Galley; but
it hauing discouered his fleet, put out to sea, and with speed returned to the Port of Agliman;
to

A to giue the alarme vnto the country. Notwithstanding the Christians resolued to assault it,
they went with their fleet to the port Caualier, twelue miles from Agliman, from whence
they sent a long boat to discouer: the which brings them word that the whole country was
in armes. These newes might well haue danted the courages of some that had been lesse ge-
nerous; yet they passe on and about three of the clocke in the morning they came neere the
shore, being couered with the silence of the night, so as before six of the clocke they had made
their landing about a mile and a halfe from the port. The Seignior of *Montano* and the Earle
Candale with some few choice men landed first, to discouer: a mile from the shore they en-
countered the Turkish horsemen, yet notwithstanding *Montano* commanded they should fi-
nish their landing, leauing twenty men for the guard of euery gally.

The Christians land at Agliman.

B This sort of Agliman is seated vpon a little pleasant hill, which looks towards the South:
It extends from the hill vnto the sea shore: the forme is ouall; that part which is next to the
Sea is altogether Meridionall, and the other which riseth vp to the top of the hill, lookes to-
wards the North. The wals are built of good stone and lime, the which are fiue saddome
high, and one broad. Within there was a wall drawne from the East to the West, which di-
uides it into two vnequall parts, the which they enter by a port set in the midst. The circuite
of the wall is fortified with eight towers, whereof fiue be whole, and three are but halfe tow-
ers: those which be whole are of a square forme, and haue fiue saddome in breadth on either
side: the halfe towers haue the same greatnesse on the one side, and halfe as much on the other;
their height exceeds not the wall, vnlesse it be that which is built on the top of the hill,
C which is raised aboue eight foot aboue the wall. Within the place were aboue three hun-
dred fighting men; with store of victuals, munition for war, and many pieces of ordnance:
without, there were an hundred horse scouring vp and downe for the safegard of the place: and
within the port there were two gallies, a Caramoussall, and a Greeke Brigandine, with some
hundred and fifty fighting men. The order of the combat was diuided after this manner, by
the Seignior *Montano* Generall at land: for the principall port, and that of the retreat, he sent
two companies of foot, which were those of the Admirals gally, of the captains gally, and of
Saint *Stephen*, with the petards, all vnder the charge of the Earle of Candale, who leading this
forward, discouered a *Corps de gard* of Turks, horse and foot together: whereof he presently
aduertised the Generall, sending him word that he would march on towards the fort, and if the
D Turks came to charge him, he would cut them all in pieces. Many aduised him to returne
to the gallies: but *Montano* allowed the resolution of the Earle of Candale, who past on with-
out charge vntil he came within an hundred and twenty paces of the wall, where he was char-
ged before by the musket shot of the fort, behinde by the gallies, and in flanke by them of the
mountaine, with such horrible howling and crying out, as the mariners which carried the Pe-
tards being wonderfully amazed and terrified, let them fall to the ground and fled away. The
Baron of *Mont-terault*, and *Tiel*, a souldier of *Languezza* tooke them vp. They continued their
way vntill they came within fifteene paces of the walls, when as twenty Turks sallyed forth
with a shew to make head against the earle of Candales troups: but seeing themselues too
weake, they fled presently backe againe into the towne. The Earle aduanced to enter with
E them, but the port was so soone shut as they were in: wherefore they must of force set the
Petard to worke. But whilest they were making it fast vnto the gate, there fell a showre of
great stones vpon the troupe, wherewith *Don Pedro de Medicis* (who would needs bee pre-
sent) was ouerthrowne and halfe slaine; *Callonge*, *Mont-terault*, *La Tour*, *Dauanes*, and *Deltour*
had taken vpon them the charge of the Petard, euery one carrying a part, to put it speedily in
execution.

The Turks sound from their gallies to charge the Christians.

Whilest they were thus busied to force the Port, the Sergeant Major came vnto the Earle
of Candale and told him, that there was a troupe of three hundred musketiers come to charge
him: these were two Beyes which came out of the gallies with their troups, by reason of the
bad guard which the two companies that *Montano* had left to hinder their landing, had
F kept. The Earle of Candale had left part of his troupe with the Petard, and turned head with
the rest against these Beyes to charge them: but they had no meaning to fight, but onely to
make a shew, and seeing they should be forced if they staied longer, they tooke their way
towards the mountaine, and in their retreat made many shot. The Christians pursued them
not,

not, holding it fitter to returne to the Petard, the which plaied so happily, as it made a breach capable for three men to enter in front. G

The squadron of the Knights of S. *Stephen*, commanded by the Commissary *Lenzoni*, and the company of the gallie of S. *Mary Magdalen*, with two ladders were to assault the high tower. The company of the Admirall gally with one ladder, had charge to force the Port of the retreat; and the company of the Gally S. *Iean* was to fight with the gallies and vessels in the hauen: all these troups (being led by the Generall *Montano*, and by Captaine *Alexander* of Tarentum, Sargeant Major) marched in order towards the fort. But the petard hauing effected as we haue said, the Earle of Candale entered first with all his troup, and suddenly ran vnto the port of the retreat, there to apply a petard, the which also very fortunately made a breach. The Turks amazed at the noise and forcing of their gates, fled vnto their walls; some retiring into their towers, and others into the barricadoes which they had made in the street. At the same instant they planted two ladders on the lower part of the towne somewhat neere adjoyning to the sea, whereof one was broken with the losse of them that were vpon it: by the other (notwithstanding that the Turks horsemen charged them behind) a good number of Christians got vp to the wals, making their way by their arms, whilest that the rest put the Turks to routs hauing taken their Cornet, they forced the rest for to flee vnto the mountaines. The squadron of Knights with the company of the gallie of Saint *Mary*, hauing had a longer way to march, came not to the tower vpon the hill, vntill that after the petards had wrought their effects: so as the Turks being retired thither, they found very great resistance, besides the attempts of the enemies horse which charged them behinde; thrice they planted their ladders against the wall, and could not make them hold. Wherefore the Commissary *Lanzoni*, hauing performed as much as a braue and resolute man could doe in that extremity, resolued to leaue that place, and go to some other where he might be more necessary: but being the last to make the retreat, hee was shot through with two musket bullets, and suddenly slaine. The company of the gally S. *Iohn*, vanquished the two gallies in the port, whereof *Inghirami* the Admirall at Sea went to take possession as soone as they had giuen him a signe, hauing the other two vessels at liberty. H I

A bloudy combat within the fort.

Within the fort in the towers, and at the barricadoes, the combat was hot and dangerous, the Turks had despaire and the aduantage of the place on their sides. The Christians thrust on by their valour and constant resolution, prest them on all sides; there was nothing to be seene but bloud, wounded, or dead men; but much more of the Turks side than of the Christians. In the end after a combat of foure houres, the Turks fainted, some were taken, many were slaine, and the Christians obtained an absolute victory: but as it could not bee made without losse of their enemies, who made great resistance: so there were fiue and fifty Christians wounded, of which number *De Vic* a French Gentleman was one, who had a musket shot through his thigh, going to charge a troupe of Turks which were retired into a tower: and some Gentlemen were slaine; amongst the which was young *Boissierre*, a French-man, whose valour in this action made them that saw him fight so generously, conceiue a certaine hope that hee would haue prooued a valiant Captaine, if Heauen had lent him longer life. The sorrow for his death was generall; as well among the Italian troupes, as among those of his owne Nation. *Vernegue* and *Villandre*, two other braue French Gentlemen were also slaine. The dead and wounded were carried vnto their Gallies: they emptied the Fort of all the Artillery, munition for warre, and victuals; the trophy of forty Florentines heads was beaten downe and all the houses set on fire. Agliman beeing thus ruined, they shipped their booty, with three hundred and fifty Turkish slaues, hauing freed about two hundred and forty Christians which were in yrons. The two Turkish Gallies were drawne out of the Port, and carried away with eight other vessels. In this triumph as the Admirall *Inghirami* bent his course towards Ligorne; vpon the way a Turkish Caramousall came into the middest of the fleet, as into a toyle: It prepared to defend it selfe, the patrons gally inuested it, but not without losse; for the Turks made so great resistance, as there were aboue fourescore Christians hurt or slaine; the Earle of Candale fighting alone at the prow of the Gally, by the permission of the Generall. But this Caramousall being taken, and the Florentine mariners entered, it split and sunke suddenly. The great Dukes gallies encountered some other smaller

The Christians get the victory.

K L M

A smaller vessels, the which they tooke, and afterwards arriued happily at their Port.

The twelfth of August following, *Octauio* of Arragon Generall of the gallies of Sicily, by the commandement of the Duke of Ossunna, Viceroy in that Realme, parted from the hauen of Palermo, with eight gallies well armed and manned, to saile into the Leuant. His first touch was vpon the Island of Cerigo, where he vnderstood that the Admirall Bassa of the sea was gone from Constantinople with thirty gallies, bending his course to the Island of Negropont, whereas sixty others attended him in the hauen; and moreouer, that the gallies of Rhodes prepared to goe and joyne with him, all which Nauall fleet was to fall vpon Soria, against the Turks Rebels.

The Voyage of the gallies of Sicily in the Leuant.

Notwithstanding these news, *Octauio* continues his course vnto the Island of Nicaria, where B he vnderstood by a Greeke vessell, that the Turkish Admirall meant to send twelue gallies to Rhodes, to guard certaine vessels of the fleet, which came from Alexandria by the Channell of Samos. True it is, that of twelue which were together when they parted, two were sent by the Bey or Captaine which commanded them, into the Island of Chio, so as there remained but ten together. *Octauio* resolued to charge these ten, causing his fleet to row that day, and almost a whole night as secretly as they could, along the shore of the firme land of Natolia, and at the breake of day hee arriued at the cape of Coruo, twenty miles from Chio; from whence hee sent his long boat to discouer. But in the meane time he himselfe espied the ten Turkish gallies not far from him; at sight whereof he ordred his gallies for battell, with such diligence, as at Sun rising he was about the enemies gallies, and had inuested them. At his first C approch he discharged all his ordnance, and then with his Admirall gally he joyned with the Turks gally which carried the standard; the Spaniards entered, slew and massacred all that made resistance: the combat began at the prow, from whence they went to the poope, where as the Bey or Commander of the ten gallies stood, whom they forced to yeeld. In the meane time the other gallies of Sicily charged the Turks so furiously, as they tooke fiue, all great vessels carrying lanthornes; two fled towards the land, hoping to saue themselues, but the Turks had scarce leisure to leape to land, and to fly into the country, abandoning their vessels to the Spaniards, who pursued them; the other three gallies hauing gotten some aduantage escaped by flight: so seuen only came into the Spaniards power, in the which they had a very rich booty, freeing aboue a thousand Christian slaues, which were at the chaine, and by a D strange change of fortune, putting into their places the Turks which had inchained them. Among the most remarkeable of the prisoners, were the commander of the ten gallies called *Sinan* Bey of Grigna in the Island of Cyprus; the Bey of Alexandria (sonne to *Piall Bassa*, who was defeated in the battell of Lepanto, by *Don Iohn* of Austria) and some Raise or Captaines, and Patrons of gallies.

They set vpon ten Turkish gallies.

This Summer the Emperor *Matthias* being gone to an assembly of the States at Presburg in Hungary, in the meane time *Sigismund Battori*, who had beene Prince of Transyluania, and so great a terrour and scourge vnto the Turks, as hee made *Sinan Bassa*, hauing an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, to fly thrice within ten daies from before him, and would neuer endure the sight of him, hee hauing but forty thousand men in his army. But afterwards E being the author of his owne misfortunes and miseries, by his inconstant humours, he came and liued a priuat life at Prague, and there died of an Apoplexie. The Estates assembled at Presburg, consulted of the fortifying of their Frontier towns, and manning them with good garrisons, knowing the infidelity of the Turks, and doubting that they would not obserue the truce. But there was some question in the assembly, touching the admissions of Germans into their garrisons: for that the Hungarians maintained they had a decree to the contrary; and yet they could not defend themselues without the assistance of Germanes: but in the end it was concluded, that the Germans should be admitted equally with the Hungarians into their garrisons, but all other strange souldiers should be excluded. The Turks in the meane time had burnt and spoiled many villages in Hungary and Transyluania, carried F away many Christians captiue, and committed many other acts of hostility, so as all men feared a new warre in Hungary; but by the prouidence of God it was diuerted. For Sultan *Achmat* marching towards Transyluania with a mighty Army, hearing vpon the way that *Bethlem Gabor* was acknowledged Prince, vnder his protection, he turned head towards Constantinople

Sigismund Battori Prince of Transyluania dies at Prague.

stantinople. But rather for the affaires of Asia, whereas the Rebels of Natolia had spoiled G
and burnt many places; and a certaine Arabian had reuolted against him, and vsurped the
title of King, hauing drawne vnto his party fifty thousand Rebels, the which did ouerrun and
spoyle the Countrey which yeelded obedience vnto him, threatening his Dominions with a
greater ruine. Moreouer, the Portugals and Spaniards had made many incursions vpon his
places joyning to the Red Sea, and had taken and spoiled Aden, a place of importance: so as
all these disorders hastened his returne into Thrace, to send forces against his Turkish Rebels,
A great Plague in Constantinople. and his Spanish enemies. But approching neere vnto the Imperiall city of Constantinople,
the Plague was so violent, as hee staied at Adrianople vntill the end of this yeare, when as
that horrible contagion ceased. Hee then came vnto the City, whereas he made a very state-
ly entry; before him there marched his ordinary guard of fiue and twenty or thirty thousand H
Ianizaries, all the Bassaes of the Court following him in very great pompe, and before him
there marched on horsebacke two of his sonnes, the pillars and hope of his affaires, the el-
dest beeing about seuen or eight yeares old. Passing before the Mosques, the Talismans or
Priests of his law, made sacrifices in his presence for his prosperity, they slew sheepe and ox-
en vpon Altars erected for that purpose, then they cut them in pieces, and gaue them vnto
the people.

The Grand Seignior beeing returned to Constantinople after the great Plague, not-
withstanding the Turkes hold a firme opinion of Predestination, and that they shall not
die before their appointed time, and that the time of their death is written in their fore-
heads; yet apprehending the infection, by the aduice of some about him, hee commanded I
All the Dogs sent out of Constantinople. all the dogges in the City of Constantinople, to bee transported vnto Scutary in Asia (a
Towne antiently called Chrisopolis) and for the due execution thereof, euery housholder
was to bring in his dogge first to the Cadi (which is the Iudge of the place) and to receiue
from him a Tuscany or Ticket for his passage, or else hee was to pay foure Chequines; by
which meanes there were transported to the number of fifty thousand dogges. The reason
of his sending them away, was, for that reading the Acts of his father, hee found that thirty
yeares before, hee had sent away all the dogges for feare of the infection. The Sultan com-
manded allowance of bread and flesh to be carried euery day to sustaine them, which not suf-
ficing, the inhabitants were much oppressed, and ready to fall into mutiny; but by the ad-
uice of his Muphti, they were at length transported from thence to an Island that was not K
inhabited, some sixteene miles from Constantinople, where they all perished. Before
their sending away, the Grand Seignior had propounded to his Muphti, to haue them all
slaine: who made answere, That euery dogge had a soule, and therefore it was not fit to kill
them.

The care of the Turkes to win men to their Religion. The Turkes are wonderfull glad when they win any one to their Religion, and seeke by
all meanes to seduce them either by force or by faire persuasions; whereof you may see an
assured proofe, by a Iew, who being turned Turke, soone after buying of grapes of another
Turke, fell at variance with him about the weighing of his grapes: from words they fell to
blowes, and the Iew-Turke beat the other, which hee endured very patiently to encourage
him as it seemed in his new Religion. Soone after, another Iew came to the Turke who had L
beene beaten, and demanded of him why hee had suffered himselfe to be so abused? Who an-
swered, You shall beat me as much as you will, turne Musulman: so zealous they are to winne
Proselites.

A seuere punishment of a drunkard. This yeare in October, the Turkes obseruing their feasts of Bairan (which is our Easter) the
which they obserue twice a yeare; a Turke hauing drunke Wine too freely (the drinking
whereof is forbidden amongst them, although they loue it well, and drinke in priuate) was ap-
prehended, and carried before the Grand Visier: who seeing the fact verified, inflicted this
punishment vpon him, to haue boyled lead powred into his mouth and eares, the which was
speedily executed.

Bethlem Gabor as you haue heard was seated quietly in the Principality of Transyl- M
uania, the Sultan supported him, and had sent *Sarder Bassa* with an Army against *Gabriel*
Bastori who was then in possession; but weake both of men, money, and friends, hee was not
able to make head against them; so as beeing abandoned of his friends, and hated of his
subjects,

A subiects for his tyrannie, he grew into despaire, and was slaine by his owne souldiers. Where-
upon the countrey yeelding obedience to *Gabor*, *Sarder Bassa* retired out of Transyluania with
his Turks. Yet afterwards, some neerly allyed to *Battori* (desiring to reuenge his death) cau-
sed some alterations; and others seeking to get a Prouince from the Emperour, had surpri-
sed Hust and other places in his name. The Sultan hearing this, wrote his Letters to the No-
blemen and States of the Prouince. They were not ignorant he said, that since the time that
Transyluania yeelded obedience to his predecessors and him, they had alwaies liued in peace
vnder his protection, and had often desired and obtained succour against their enemies: That
when as *Botscay* had beeu annoied by the Germans, assisting him with great forces, he had sha-
ked off the yoke: That when as *Battori* his successour had liued after his owne will, they sent
B *Bethlem Gabor* with complaints to his Court by their generall consent, and did easily obtaine
forces to free the Prouince from tyrannie. Hee being taken away, now a wished day began to
shine, the clouds of tribulation being all dispersed: That he had held *Bethlem* worthy to suc-
ceed *Battori*, and to enioy that Prouince. Wherefore he had commanded all the Noblemen
to submit themselues vnto him, and to enioy a wished peace: That *Bethlem* had sent to aduer-
tise him of the new practises of the Germans; wherefore he had giuen charge to the Bassaes
of Temeswar and Agria, and to the Prince of Valachia, to be watchfull to repell all these in-
iuries; admonishing the Noblemen to yeeld speedy obedience to *Bethlem*: to which end hee
had sent them those letters, that vpon the sight therof they might be admonished of their du-
ties; and if the Germans should attempt any thing, they should make resistance till the com-
C ming of his forces: and following *Bethlem* in al things, they should acknowledge him for their
true and lawfull Prince, and continue constant in their fidelitie, lest they should prouoke his
wrath against them, and draw vpon themselues some great misery: writing much more to the
like effect; concluding, That he had fully purposed and resolued not to spoile any one village
or any Fort in Transyluania, nor to do any wrong to any man, nor suffer it to be done by any o-
ther, but would defend that Prouince from all oppression. Wherefore he would haue the Em-
peror aduertised, that if he meant to haue the peace inuiolably kept, hee should cause the said
places of Transyluania to be presently restored vnto the Prince, or signifie his mind vnto him
by letters.

Of these Rebels of Asia, whereof wee haue made mention, the Gouernour of Sarepta or *Emir Facardin abandoneth Sidon.*
D Sidon in Syria, called *Armill* or *Emir Facardin*, he who gaue entrance into his Port to the
Florentines, and receiued them in their courses to the Leuant; hearing that the Bassa of Da-
mas, and the Bassa of the sea, with the gallies which he brought from Constantinople, and the
threescore which he tooke at Negropont (whereof wee haue made mention) came to fall
vpon him with a mighty and fearfull army, hee left his eldest sonne within Sidon with forces
to command there, and in other Forts about it, and flying from a furious tempest of enemies,
hee went to sea with three ships, to retyre himselfe into Europe, with his foure wiues, ten
children, seuenty Turks, and fourteene thousand pound weight in gold. Hee arriued at
Ligorne, and went from thence to Florence, vnder the protection of *Cosmo de Medicis*
great Duke of Tuscanie, whose hands hee kissed, presenting vnto him a Cuttelas very curi-
E ously wrought, and enriched with stone, and two jewels to the great Dutchesse, to the value of
six thousand Crownes. This Turke though hee had no faith, yet he found faith with this
Prince of Tuscanie. *Cosmo* receiued him, defrayed him and all his traine, furnished him
with money, whether it were by way of gratification, or that *Emir* had consumed his owne:
and by all kinde of courtesies made this Infidell see what difference there was to flie vnto the
protection of a Christian Prince, or to haue recourse vnto a Mahometane. They say that
Emir had many goodly ouertures for the setling of the Christians in Asia: but to attempt
it with a good and happy successe, it should be necessarie that most of the Christian Princes
would ioine their wils and armes together for the generall good of Christendome. It is true,
that the great Duke *Ferdinand* deceased, and *Cosmo* his successour had made proofe of their
F good intentions, by many generous enterprises against the Turke. But one Prince alone can-
not do all.

These things past in the yeare 1613. the end whereof concludes with the fury of terrible *A horrible tempest in the Mediterranean sea.*
tempests in the Mediterranean sea. The tenth of Nouember a fearefull tempest full of
lightning, thunder, and furious winds, was the cause of the losse of many gallies and ships in
the

the port of Genoa, with a great number of persons which were miserably drowned. Which G
losse was valued at aboue 800000 crowns. The port of Naples was not free from this storm;
and the gallies of Malta, with a great number of other vessels receiued great losse.

The grand Signior hauing this year and the year before sustained great losse of his gallies
and frigots in the Mediterranian sea, by the gallies of Naples, Malta, and Florence; and in the
black sea by the Cossacks, who had taken two gallies well manned and richly laden; hee now
imposed a great tax vpon all his Christian subiects, towards the reparation of that losse: so
as he charged the Armenians to build him nine gallies at their owne costs; and the Grecians
twenty. Such is the Turks tyrannie, as he suffers not the poore Christians to enioy any thing,
but he finds means to pull it from them.

The grand Visier *Nassuf* held his credit with the Prince: at whose returne from Adriano- H
ple, many of the Ianizaries (to whom he was very odious) conspired to kill him as hee should
enter in at the North gate comming from Adrianople: and had placed themselues there for
the effecting of what they had intended: but comming neer the gate, the Sultan (ignorant of
what was plotted against the Visier) called for him to speake with him, keeping him by him
vntil he was entred into the city, by which means he escaped the intended practise. Soon af-
ter *Nassuf* inuited the Sultan to a sumptuous feast, and within few daies after the Emperour
feasted the Visier; who presuming vpon his great credit, caused all the crosses in the Church
of S. *Sophia* (which is one of the goodliest monuments in Constantinople) to be cast downe,
and all the images to be defaced: the which had stood entire euer since the Christians Go-
uernment.

cruelty of the Persian King.

The year before, the King of Persia had put to death 1200 Armenians, vpon a false sugge- I
stion as if they had intended to reconcile themselues to the Pope; as hating the Papists, yet
suffering diuers Iesuits to liue in his dominions. The English Embassadors Chaplein desi-
ring to know the reason of the Persians cruelty, conferred with the Patriark of the Armenians
which resided at Constantinople (for there are two Patriarks, one vnder the Persian, and the
other vnder the Turk) who told him, that it was true he had miserably slain many of their na-
tion, by the cunning practises of an Armenian, who had counterfeited letters from the Patri-
ark of Armenia to the Pope; by which the Patriark with his whole church of Armenians offe-
red to reconcile themselues to the Church of Rome, and to acknowledge the Pope for their
head; intreating the Pope to write to the king of Persia to giue them leaue to doe it freely. K
Which letters the Pope receiuing, he rewarded the messenger bountifully, and returned Let-
ters by him to the Persian king; wherby he intreated him to suffer the Armenians in his coun-
try to vse their consciences freely. The King of Persia hauing receiued these letters, grew in-
to a great rage, causing many of them to be put to death; saying, *That if they would be obedient
to the Pope, he could expect no seruice nor obedience from them.* Although the Papists say this was
don directly by the Patriark, the Armenians affirm it was the practise of a counterfeit rogue.
Soon after there arriued three Embassadors at Constantinople; the one was a Circassian, the
second a Georgian Bishop, and the third a Mingrelian; all of them complaining of the Per-
sians oppression and cruelty, and imploring succors from the grand Signior for their support.
Presently after there arriued a Persian Embassador, whom the Sultan would not admit to au- L
dience, vntil all controuersies were concluded betwixt himself and the Emperour, which was
then in question; the Sultan hauing sent one *Gasparo* (somerime a seruant in the English Em-
bassadors house) to treat with the Emperor; by whose means at length all matters were recon-
ciled betwixt them.

1614. *The fall of Nassuf.*

The year 1614 began by the horror of great prodigies, which were seen in diuers parts of
Hungary and Silesia. Ouer the strong town of Vienna in Austria, the heauens grew sored
and fearfully darkned, as they feared that either the last day was come, or else there would
follow some horrible effusion of bloud. But all these signes had no other effect this year, but
the ruine of the fortune and prodigious authoritie of *Nassuf Bassa* the great Visier of the Tur-
kish Empire; formerly one of the greatest and most fearefull enemies which had caried arms M
in Asia against the soueraigne power of their Sultan. But to comprehend more plainly the
fall and declining of his fortune, let vs behold him in his beginning and first rising. He was
the sonne of a Greek Priest, borne in a little village neere vnto Solonica, and hauing beene
taken by the Triburc, which the Turks exact from Christians vpon their miserable children,
ta-

A taking one of three; hee was carried very young to Constantinople, and there sold for three *The beginning & progresse of Nassuf fortune.*
Chequines or Sultanines (euery one of which is not aboue eight shillings sterling, to an Eu-
nuch of the Sultans, who nourished him and bred him vp vntill hee came to the age of twenty
yeares, and afterwards sold him to a steward of the Sultana's house, to serue him in his charge.
Who finding this slaue to haue a spirit capable of greater affaires than the houshold, em-
ployed him in the ouersight and building of a rich and stately Mosque, which the Sultana
caused to be erected at her charge. In this place he gaue such proofe of his wit and judge-
ment, to the Sultana's content, that soone after she gaue him the gouernment of her house-
hold.

The Sultan had a will to imploy him in his seruice, and retyred him from the Sultana's
B house into his Seraglio, where he was honored with the charge of the Caplgi Bassa or Cap-
taine of the Porters or Vshers of the Seraglio: from thence he was aduanced to the dignitie
of the Bassa of Aleppo, and soone after hee was made gouernour Generall of Mesopotamia.
The commodity of his gouernment, frontiring vpon Persia, stirred vp his ambitious thoughts
and his disordinate desire to become Soueraign of that countrey, and made him to entertain
many practises with the King of Persia, an antient enemy to his master. The report of his pra-
ctises came to Constantinople, the Sultan is aduertised thereof, he knowes the ambitious and
stirring spirit of this *Nassuf*, and findes that he is very profitable for his seruice, if hee can by
any milde course withdraw him from his disloyalties and intelligences with the Persian.
Wherefore he dissembled the knowledge of his treacherous designes, and to gaine him the
C more powerfully, he gorged his ambitious appetite with the greatest dignitie of his empire.
After the death of *Murath Bassa* hee honoured him with the place of grand Visier, and gaue
him a great part of his goods, and in his place made him Generall of the army against the
Persian, with promise to giue him his daughter in mariage. Thus was *Nassuf* aduanced by his
dexteritie, wit, diligence, and treacherie, to the greatest charges of the greatest Empire of the
World.

He entred into Persia as Lieutenant General of his masters Army, with the which he made
so great a spoile, that he forced *Ka Abbas* King of Persia then reigning, to demand a peace.
And after that he granted him a surcease from armes, he brought his Embassadour to Con-
stantinople, to conclude this peace to his masters benefit, as we haue formerly obserued. He
D enters in pompe, presents a million of gold vnto his Emperor, is wel receiued at the Seraglio,
much made of by the Bassa's, but more by the Sultan, who caused him to marry his daughter.
Fortune hauing thus aduanced him to the height of greatnesse, not being possible to climbe
higher, she ouerthrowes him, and doth precipitate him to the lowest degrees of miserie. The
Sultan fears his spirit, too head-strong by reason of his ambition, he grows jealous of his acti-
ons, and about the end of the year concludes his ruin and death. The commandment is giuen
to Bostangi Bassa, that is to say, the Sultans chief gardiner, and ouerseer of his Seraglio and
all his houses, one of the goodliest dignities in the court. *Nassuf* was at that time sick in his
house; Bostangi goes thither to visit him, and to cause him to bee strangled, being accompa-
nied onely with seuen or eight men; for that he would not giue any suspition of the comman-
E dement he had receiued from his master. Being come vnto his lodging he demanded to speak
with him, and *Nassuf* excused himself by his seruants, by reason of the discommodities of his
health. But the Bostangi (who would needs execute his commission) replied, That hee could
not return to the Sultan (who had sent him to haue certain newes of his health) before he had
seen him, to be the better assured. At this reply *Nassuf* grew distrustfull, and would without
all doubt haue bin far from thence in some place of Mesoporamia: but beleeuing what soe-
uer hapned to him was ineuitable, he commanded them to suffer the Bostangi to enter: who
at his first approch entertained him with many complements of curtesie; and hauing deman-
ded some questions of him concerning his health, he drew out of his pocket a commandment
from the Sultan to *Nassuf*, to deliuer vnto him the seales of the Empire. The which beeing
F presently don, he drew out another commandement vnto him, by which hee was injoined to
send him his head. Then *Nassuf* cried out aloud, and desired to speak with the Sultan; but the
Bostangi answered, That he had no commission to conduct him to the Seraglio, but to cause
his life to be taken away presently. Vpon this refusall hee intreateth him to giue him leaue

to wash himselfe in the next chamber, to the end that his soule (said he) should not depart the world in the state of pollution, according to the Turks beleefe, who hold the washing of the body for a true purification. This fauour was also denied him; hee saw there was no remedy in his misery, nor any hope of grace. Bostangi Bassaes followers (which were seuen or eight Capigies) being come to take away his life, and enuironing his bed, which was an vndoubted summons that he must die; in the end hee resolues, and turning himselfe vnto these executioners, hee willed them to do their duties: whereupon they fell to worke, and casting themselues vpon him, they put a cord about his necke, and sought to strangle him, but seeing that the fatnesse of his repleat body would not suffer them to take away his life presently, they cut his throat with a knife. His death could not be displeasing to the Christians, seeing that all his designes tended to their ruine: he had persuaded his Master to breake the peace with the Emperour, the French King, and the Venetians, promising him to make him souereign Monarch of the whole world, to the end he might keep his spirit in action, and make himselfe necessarie to his Master, and liue more safely in combustions than in a calme; whereas the enuy and malice of his enemies gaue him a thousand furious assaults. Thus *Nassuf Bassa* ended his dayes and fortune; before Gouernour of Mesopotamia, Generall of an Imperiall army, and Grand Visier of the Turkish Empire, aduanced to these supreme dignities by the great actions of his mind, but ouerthrown shamefully to his ruine by his boundlesse ambition. Doubtlesse it is a difficult thing for a fauorite that is insolently audatious, to continue long in grace with his Prince; especially when his vnrestrained ambition hath once broken the bounds which reason prescribeth to those that Fortune aduanceth by the fauour of her blastes; and that hee followes obstinately that pernitious curiositie to know by experience how high Fortune can aduance him: for, then the desire to enioy that which is aboue his condition, blinding the eyes of reason, he doth precipitate himselfe by his rash and insolent actions, to the lowest step of shamefull ruine. The riches of *Nassuf* were so great and proportionable to his fortune, as after his death they found about two bushels of diamonds and pearles. Doubtlesse this rich and stately spoyle deserued to be enioyed by some great Prince. So the Emperour *Achmat* seised thereon, and applyed it to his Chasna, or Treasurie.

Nassufs throat cut.

Another discourse of Nassufs death.

This death of *Nassuf* is related after another manner by one who was then present in Constantinople, the which I haue thought good to set downe as I haue receiued it from him. The Grand Seignior being much discontented with his Visier, whither inseneed with such as were neere about him, who both hated and feared *Nassuf*, or doubting his great power; hee dissembled his spleene, vntill he might find some opportunitie for reuenge: yet it was not so secretly carried, but *Nassuf* had discouered the Sultans discontent, and laboured by great gifts both to the Sultana and others to pacifie him, prouiding notwithstanding in the meane time for his owne safety, sending horsemen dayly ouer into Asia, meaning to passe himselfe when he had gathered together a sufficient strength. But it fel out on the seuenth day of October, it being the Turks Sabbath, that the Moone about eight a clocke at night was mucheclipsed, which made the Turks expect some great accident. The Grand Seigniour hauing formerly caused it to be bruited, That hee would about that time passe to visit a new Mosque which was then in building; whereupon all the streets were hanged with cloth and arras, and as the custome was, a crie went before, that *The King commeth*; at the noise whereof, *Nassuf* (being then in his house) could not but descend to salute the Sultan as he passed by: But it was not the Grand Seigniour himselfe, but his Bostangi Bassa, whom he had caused to be attyred like himselfe, who being come before *Nassufs* dore, and finding him standing there, hee suddenly leapt vnto him, and told him that the Sultans pleasure was he should deliuer vp his seal: whereat *Nassuff* being amazed, demanded what the Sultan meant to do? to whom the Bostangi Bassa replyed, That he knew not what the Princes pleasure was, but if he would not deliuer it, he would returne with that message vnto him. Whereupon *Nassuf* drew the seale out of his bosome, and deliuered it. Then the Bostangi Bassa shewed him a warrant for his head, whereunto he presently submitted himself, and then two Iamoglans strangled him: his head was presently cut off, and carried to the Grand Seigniour, and his body thrown into the street to be trampled on.

It

It was thought that his death was procured by the wife of *Cicala* Bassa of Babylon, who had been manzoled or deposed from his gouernment there by *Nassuf*, and was a little before returned to Constantinople, but could not be allowed by *Nassuf* to haue any accesse vnto the grand Seigniors presence. Wherupon he wrot a letter vnto the Sultan, wherein hee accused *Nassuf* to haue conspired with the Persian to kill him; charging him with many things that were capitall. This letter he sent by his wife, who was sister to the grand Seignior, who comming to his speech (although she was watchfully obserued by *Nassuf* who was then present) left the letter in his chamber, and so departed. The grand Seignior finding this Letter, and reading it, was much insenced against *Nassuf*, and neuer quiet in mind vntil hee had his head. He writes, that there were found in *Nassufs* house eighty bags of gold, each bag containing ten thousand Chequines. After *Nassufs* death, *Mechmet Bassa* Admirall at sea (who had married Sultan *Achmats* eldest daughter) was made chiefe Visier. He was born in the Imperial City of Constantinople, and the first naturall Turk that was euer chiefe Visier since Constantinople was won.

You haue heard in the last yeares relation, of some combustions which were growing in Transylvania; and how the Sultan had written his letters of an imperial stile vnto the Nobilitie and States of the Countrey; which letters were fixed vp in form of a Mandate thorowout all Transylvania, and in places that were neerest vnto those noblemen which held the Emperors party against *Bethlem*. At the same time *Bethlem* defeated certaine troups of the Garrisons at Lippa and Genoa, which ouer-ranne and spoiled the Countrey; so as the gouernors of those places were forced to send to Vienna, to demand succors of men and money. A Chiaus arriued at that time at Lintz, bringing letters vnto the Emperor from the grand Seignior: The first point contained in them was, That his Imperial Maiestie should haue a care, that the peace made betwixt them for twenty yeares should not be violated; and that for his part he desired to obserue it faithfully. 2. That in the name of his Imperial Maiesty they had seised vpon certain places in Transyluania, a Prouince which had been alwaies vnder his protection; which receiued her Princes from his hand, and the which he was bound to defend against all her enemies. 3. That the tyrannie of prince *Battori* had constrained him to giue forces to *Bethlem Gabor*, to dispossesse him of the principalitie of Transylvania. That after the death of the said *Battori*, he had inuested *Bethlem* to gouern it in peace. 4. That since, he had bin aduertised, how that some troups of souldiers in the name of his Imperiall Maiestie, contrary to the articles of peace concluded betwixt them, had by force seised vpon the forts of Hust and Viuar, and the townes of Nagipan and Tonase. 5. That hee had giuen charge to *Bethlem*, not to suffer any enterprise, no not vpon the least village of his principalitie; to the end that nothing should be separated, and that he should repel the iniury of the aggressor by force. 6. That hee exhorted his Imperiall Maiestie, if hee desired the continuance of the peace, to command his people to make restitution of the places vsurped; or to signifie his intention by the same Chiaus which he had sent vnto him, to the end he might be fully assured: for the mischiefe increasing daily, the affection which hee bare to the good of peace might grow cold.

Achmats Letters to the Emperor.

The Emperour receiued this Chiaus at Lintz very honourably, and gaue him an answer of his Letter, wrapped in a piece of cloath of gold. The sence whereof was, That this businesse being of great importance, his Imperial Maiestie desired to confer with the Princes Electors and States of the empire to heare their aduice: after which he would acquaint him with his last resolution. And finally, That hee should rest assured, that for his part hee would not attempt any thing contrary to the peace. In the meane time there was a petty Warre in Hungary, the incursions and spoiles betwixt the Christians and the Turks beginning the same againe. The Turkes of the garrison of Agria going forth, tooke a great number of cattel from the Christians. Eight hundred Haiduckes aduertised of this spoile, pursued them so speedily, as they ouertooke them before they came within halfe a league of their retreit; when they made them to leaue their prize, and put them to flight. The Bassa of Agria aduertised of the defeat of his out-riders, goeth forth with a thousand souldiers, to recouer the bootie from the Haiduckes, which they had but newly before taken from his men. But after a sharp incounter, hee lost his horse and two hundred of his men, and was forced to make his retreit.

From thence the Haiduckes went and spoiled the Countrey about Solnoc: some others holding the waies of Strigonium or Gran, took a Turkish Bride with her baggage, who was going from Gran to Buda; and foure hundred Boot-halers (some of them Haiduckes, and the G
rest Turkes, men which hold no party but their owne, to robbe with the more impunitie) seised vpon Balaster, Micolut, and Felak: but at the recouerie of them they were so ill intreated by the Hungarians, as that most of them lost their liues there, and the rest were taken prisoners.

But the Emperor, who desired to be resolued in the important businesse of Transyluania, assembled the Estates of Bohemia, Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Silesia, Lusatia, Morauia, and Hungarie, his hereditarie countries; whom hee gaue to vnderstand, That the peace was violated in Hungarie by the hostilities of the Turkes vpon the Christians: to whose prejudice Sultan *Achmat* had subiected vnto himself the prouinces of Valachia, Moldauia, and H
Transylvania: this last being vnder the gouernment of *Bethlem Gabor*, who had made himself his Vassall. That the Sultan had sent word vnto his Imperial Maiesty, That hee should not pretend any thing there, to the end this countrey might bee wholly vnited vnto the Turkish Empire. Whereupon he earnestly exhorted the assembly to consider wisely: First whether Transyluania should be left wholly in the Turks power: Secondly, why the Sultan would not consent to the ratification of the Truce: Thirdly, of the means to make war, if the necessity of his affairs should force him: Fourthly, to what end the Turke would hinder his Imperiall Maiesty, that he should pretend no right to Transyluania: Fifthly, that the Turke had sent him an Embassador, who contrary to the articles of peace, had not brought any Presents: Sixthly, if I
they should make a new accord with the Turke, to consider aduisedly, what assurance they might take, seeing that he would not consent vnto the sixth article of the peace.

The resolution of the Estates.

There opinions were diuers vpon these propositions; but all ioyntly consented to maintaine the authoritie of the Imperiall Maiestie. The Hungarians only interessed in their resolutions to warre, by reason of the spoyle of their countrey, as a passage for all their troupes, they besought the Emperour, that if hee meant to send any forces into Transyluania, they

The designes of Bethlem vpon diuers places.

might haue commandement to march some other way, and not ouer their lands. *Bethlem Gabor* in the meane time laboured to recouer those places which had been lost. Wherefore he prouided himselfe to make some attempts vpon Lippa, and other places; as at Borene, Genoë, and Arach. The Gouernours of these places gaue aduice vnto *Forgatsi*, Lieutenant K
Generall to the Emperour in high Hungarie; representing vnto him the estate of their garrison, and the feare they had, that if *Bethlem* should once get them into his possession and power, he would deliuer them ouer vnto the Turke: That if they would send them succors, they would rather endure all extremities than yeeld them to the enemie. Yet for all this, they make no haste to send them succours: and *Sander Bassa* according to the commandement hee had receiued from the Sultan, hauing brought forces to *Bethlem*, the siege of Lippa was resolued in the Estates of Transyluania. On the fiue and twentieth of October

He receiues forces from the Turks, and besiegeth Lippa.

the Cannon being drawne out of Veradin to batter the Fort; *Bethlem* went to inuest it, made his approaches, and battered it so furiously, as hauing made a reasonable breach, it serued first for a passage for foure hundred men to escape, who left the Gouernour with very L
small meanes to defend the place, and without hope of succours from Hungarie; which made him come to a parley, promising to yeeld the place, to haue their liues and goods saued. The Forts of Genoë and Arach, were deliuered by the same capitulation. That these three places should not be put into the Turks hands, but should remaine perpetually vnited to the principalitie of Transyluania: and to take all interest from the Turks, the Estates of the Countrey should pay vnto *Sander Bassa* the charges and entertainment of his troups. These places thus gotten by *Bethlem*, he manned them with new garrisons: the Imperials which were within them, being retyred to *Forgatsi* the Emperours Lieutenant in high Hungarie. But the Estates of Transyluania being assembled at Veradin, disputed diuersly, whether they should resigne these three places into the Sultans power: some represented the discontentment hee would haue if they were refused, and the inconuenience that M
might ensue: others were not of opinion that the Prouince should be so dismembred, giuing the

A the most important places thereof vnto the Infidels. Thus without consenting, or refusing to deliuer these places vnto the Turk, the Estates concluded that prince *Bethlem* should do therin what he held most necessary for the tranquilitie of the country; beseeching him most humbly to free them from the Imperials, who had seised vpon Hust and Viuar. Such were the affairs of Transylvania this year; a prouince distracted from the Emperors power by the Turks practises.

At Constantinople, Sultan *Achmat* being desirous to beautifie the outward part of his Seraglio, with a goodly and spacious place vpon the sea shore, he caused a platforme to bee made within the sea, beeing eight hundred paces long, and one hundred and twenty broad. The Prouost of Constantinople caused this his resolution to be proclaimed; when as pre-

The Sultan caused a platforme to bee made at Constantinople.

B sently euery house sent forth a man, and the chiefe of families themselues laboured there in person. There might you see the Bassa's serue as the ouerseers of the Workmen, and the Ianizaries and Spahies carrying scuttles with a wonderfull alacritie; and at all houres of the day there was musicke of diuers sorts of instruments to ease their labour, and to incourage them to continue. The Visiers going to view the Workemen, caused a largesse of pieces of siluer to be cast among them. Thus the Sultan being serued with admirable diligence in this his worke of pleasure, hee saw it finished in three moneths, hauing beene begun in October this yeare.

Whilest that the Sultan imployed his leisure after this manner in the structure of a platform within the sea at Constantinople, certain religious men departing from Pera, had a de-

Certain Iesuites go to Mingrelia or Cholcos.

C signe to build another in the waues of infidelitie, but more profitable for the health of souls. This was an imployment of the Iesuites into the countrey of Mingrelia, in old time called Cholcos. *Lewis Grangier* a priest of this societie, and two others of his order, with an Armenian for their Interpreter, parted from Thrace with this godly resolution, to preach to the people far from God, the truth of his holy Word, and to guide them happily in the way to heauen. He passed the Bosphorus of Thrace, and the famous castles of *Leander* and *Hero*, and cut thorow those waues, whereas he that could not quench the fire of his passion, quenched the flame of his life: he passed beyond *Pompeyes* pillar, or rather that of the most happy *Daniel Stylita*, who erected his toward the mouth of this sea; and about the sixt of Iune this year they arriued at Verna, a famous town in Thrace; whereas a company of French soldiers (whom the

D violence of necessity had some years since forced to leaue the Emperors seruice in Hungary) were in garrison for the Turke, to defend his subiects against the incursions of the Cossacks: yet these Frenchmen do stil obserue the Catholique Religion inuiolably. From thence hee sailed toward Cordula, and by the incounter of a little gallion he entred into the port of Trabizond. Within few daies after, he was caried in the same vessel to Erissa in the countrey of Laxia or Lassia, which on the one side lookes toward the countrey of Georgia, and the other that of Trabizond. The Christian religion hath bin for a long time planted amongst those people, but very ill manured; for the fathers to free their miserable children from the tribute wherewith the Turkes doe oppresse them, cause their children to be circumcised after the Mahometan manner; and for the same consideration they marry their daughters vnto Ianiza-

E ries. Moreouer, they abandon themselues to the Mahometan impietie, to the end they may be deliuered from their insupportable oppressions, and their Turkish yoke. The Iesuits found there a good subiect to worke vpon for the help of soules: during their abode there, for certaine dayes they catechised the men, baptised the children, and aduertised the women married vnto Turks, what they were to do for the maintenance of their faith. But for that their commission or charge was to goe vnto Mingrelia or Cholcos, they went againe to sea, and sailed towards Gouea, which is the farthest corner of the Black sea. This hauen being verie vnfit to cast anchor in, they followed the gallies which caried a Bassa called *Onezt* from Constantinople, who should treat of a peace on the behalfe of Sultan *Achmat* with the Prince of the Mingrelians, and dispose him to pay a certain tribute. With these Vessels they went

F into a port called Macrogalo, nine miles from that of Gouea, holding this place more safe than the other. But doubtlesse there is very little assurance whereas the waues and windes command soueraignetie. A North-west wind rising about midnight on the fifteenth of September, draue their gallies neere vnto the shelfes and rockes, wheras one was broke and cast

The shipwracke of certaine gallies.

away.

away. This tempest continued many daies, and during the violence therof another gally was G
lost, in which the Iesuits had bin, but by good aduice they retired to land during the fury of the sea and winds. The Iesuits imputed the cause of this losse to the prohibition which *Oneze* the Bassa had made vnto them, Not to passe into Mingrelia before the peace was concluded betwixt the Princes of that country; the which grew long, by reason of the difficulties which hapned in the treaty. In the end those princes resoluing to pay the tribute to the Turk, it was concluded.

The libertie of trauel followes peace; *Grangier* and his Companions proceeded in their journey: twenty daies after they departed from Macrogalo, they arriued at Satrapella, a place of Georgia; wheras the princes Visier came to visit them, and after the Georgian maner saluted them bare headed, and kneeling vpon one knee. *Gorel* Prince of the Georgians (who was H
then at Barlet, wheras the Court was to passe the feast of Christmas) being aduertised of the arriual of these new Christian and French preachers, sent for them, receiued them fauorably, and saluted them bare headed and kneeling. After that he had made them to blesse his court, he held many discourses with them of the truth of the Roman church, & of the Popes power as Father of all Christendom: being mooued partly thereunto, by a feeling of pietie to the Church, and partly from the instructions he receiued from the Iesuits; so as inlightned with a new beam of the true light, he intreated *Grangier* to craue absolution of his sinnes from the Pope, the which (saith he) he may giue me by the power hee hath from God; promising to send him his confession in writing. But vnderstanding that the Iesuite had power from the Pope to absolue him, hee purged his conscience of all his sins, by a generall confession of his I
life. Without doubt the zeal of these soules, so far from succor, shews plainly what the harueſt would be, if so many labourers were sent as were necessarie. A Monke of Georgia, who had liued at Rome for the space of twelue yeares, had in former time planted pietie there, the which they of this mission did now alter. This Prince *Gorel* intreated the Iesuits to send him some of their company at their return into Europe, promising to make great esteem of them, and to giue them a Church, an house, and all things necessarie for their maintenance. The prince offered them siluer, which they refused, modestly excusing themselues vpon the rules of their institution, which forbids them to receiue any temporall recompence for the administration of holy things. Thus they parted from this prince, who commended much their maner of liuing, and caused them to be conducted to Satrapella, to continue on their journy K
into Mingrelia.

The third of February, in the yeare of our Lord God 1615, they parted from this towne with the Turkes who came to conclude the peace; and passing by the banks of Fasso (a riuer which doth water the Countrey of Cholchos, now called Mingrelia) they arriued at Herailcano, otherwise called Heraclea, and from thence they went to Margoula, whereas the Prince of the Mingrelians, called *Dodran*, then remained, being busie in the reception of *Threbis Cham* King of Georgia, who was come thither to visit him, being expelled his Country by the king of Persia. The Iesuites were brought to kisse the hands of prince *Dodran*, and of *Liparti* his Vncle, who was Regent for the Realme during the time of his minoritie. They both promised them assistance in their affairs, sending them to the towne Macaurie, to make their abode L
there whilest they were busied in the affaires of their Countries, the which at that time were somewhat confused. The Bishop of that place entertained them with very great demonstration of loue, and soone after making a feast to *Threbis Cham*, or Prince of the Georgians, he would needs haue the Iesuites assist at this banquet, for a great testimonie of his loue. It is the manner of those of Cholchos or the Mingrelians, as well as the Georgians, to sing at their meat. The *Threbis Cham* desired, that the Iesuites might sing some note when it came to their turne, whereof they excused themselues diuers times: But there was no remedy, they must do as others haue done: whereupon they sung the hymne of *Plange Lingua, &c.* appointed for Holy Thursday. Being thus fauourably entertained in Mingrelia, they make their residence at Mocaury, with hope to labour profitably for the health of soules, which erre in M
that countrey through the darknesse of ignorance, for want of men to teach them the way of truth. They are Christians of the Greeke profession, vnder the commandement of diuers Princes, alwaies in warre either against the Turke or the Persian: They carry the name of

The Mingrelians custome at their feasts.

A of Cham, which is as much to say, as King or Souereigne Prince: The Sophie had dispossest *Trebis Cham* chiefe King of Georgia of all his countries, in the yeare 1613, who had retyred himselfe into Mingrelia, as you haue heard.

Whilest those men labour to sow the seeds of true doctrine of the Apostles in the soyle of Mahometisme, a Turke passing out of Asia, comes into Christendome to seeke the light of truth, and demands fauorable assistance and succors from Christian Princes, to enter into the possession of the Empire, wherunto his birth and the degrees of a lawful succession seemed to cal him by a iust title. The discourse of his birth, of his fortunes, and of his pretensions to the Turkish Empire, is comprehended in this following relation. He termed himselfe the son of *Mahomet* the third, father to *Achmat*, now sitting in the Imperiall Throne at Constantinople; B
he maintained, that his father by foure wiues or concubines had had foure sons; *viz. Mustapha* who was strangled, for that he would haue dispossessed his father of his kingdom; *Iacaia* (which was himself) *Achmat* now reigning, and *Osman*: yet it seems by the sequell of the Historie, that he had another *Mustapha*: that hauing bin sent for to come out of Magnesia to Constantinople, his mother (who had bin a Christian, and baptised vnder the name of *Hellen*, but was afterward ingaged in the company of *Mahomet* the third, for the worth of her beauty, and knowne in Turky by the name of Sultana *Lalpare*) could not conduct him to his father, for that he was dangerously sick of the small pocks. And this Princesse desired much, to find some fauorable occasion, wherby she might be freed from the damnable errors of *Mahomets* law, and return to the wholesome way of the Christian faith, and retyre her sonne *Iacaia* farre from the power of C
those bloudy lawes, which sprinckle the Imperiall Scepter of him that comes to the Crowne with the bloud of his brethren; she well foresaw that *Iacaia* being but the second of *Mahomets* sonnes, should one day by his death secure the life of *Mustapha* his elder, and that the onely meanes to preserue him, was to retyre him into Christendome. Wherefore she laboured seriously in this designe, and made vse of a fauourable fiction; giuing it out, that her sonne *Iacaia* was dead of the small pockes; and hauing supposed in his place the son of an Eunuch dead of the same disease, assisted at his funerall, and by her constrained teares subtilly disguised her designe. An Eunuch called *Aslam Mehemet* was the faithfull secretarie of her enterprise; with him she leaues Magnesia, a Prouince in Asia, and vnder pretext to goe vnto certain baths there by, shee gets her downe to the sea side, passes into Europe, and transports her son into Mo-
D rea, sometimes called Hellespont, and lodgeth him (as vnknowne) in the Bishops Palace in the towne of Miclo. *Iacaia* was aboue nine yeares old; she held him not secure at Miclo, but transported him into Macedonia, vnder the habit of a Greeke Monke, and retyres him into the towne of Cassandria; where she discouers vnto the Archbishop of Thessalonica, a man learned and of a holy life, the qualitie of her sonne, and the desire shee had to make him a Christian: intreating him in charitie to take them both into his protection. This Archbishop lodgeth the mother in the Monasterie of Religious women of our Lady of Thessalonica, and giues the custody of the sonne vnto an Abbot of Saint *Michael*, a man learned in all Sciences, vnder whom hee profited wonderfully, as well in the Greeke Tongue as in many goodly arts. I do well know this to be true, for that I haue conuersed with him for the space of
E six moneths, and haue seene him often in the companie of learned men speake the Greeke with as great facilitie as his Turkish and mother tongue. He continued in this Monastery vnder the care and gouernment of this learned Abbot, vntill the age of seuenteene yeares; that is to say, for the space of eight whole yeares; during which time, his Mothers tears, the holy instructions of the Abbot (but rather the Diuine fauour) made him to enter into the way of his soules health, and become a Christian. The Archbishop of Thessalonica clensed his soule from the pollutions of the Law of *Mahomet*, and baptised him in the Church of Saint *Anastasius*, without the City of Thessalonica; yet secretly, for feare lest the Eunuch comming to discouer this misterie, should abandon him, and publish abroad the place and estate of his solitarie aboad, and so be miserably taken. Thus *Iacaia* calling himselfe Sultan, being already
F in some assurace of the Crowne of heauen by the promises of Holy Baptisme, whilest that hee was in the beginning of his pretensions to that of the Turkish Empire, he leaues the Monasterie where hee had been instructed; and in the companie of the Eunuch trauels vp and

The historie of Sultan Iacaia, held by many to be the Emperour Achmats brother.

and down Greece, passing away (in the length and varietie of his voyage) the impatiencie of his age & desires, for that he would not be known, he takes vpon him the habit and the license of a Dervis or religious Turk. But when he came to the city of Siopia, hee vnderstood of the death of the Emperour *Mahomet* the third his father, and the rejoycing for the new aduancement of Sultan *Achmat* to the Empire; learning at the same instant, that *Mustapha* his elder brother had bin strangled by the commandement of his father. The displeasure which hee conceiued for that he had not bin bred vp at Constantinople with the rest, to receiue so rich a Crown as that of the Turkish Empire, made him to wauer in diuers resolutions; somtimes he would go into Persia to haue succours from him, and with him to make warre against his brother: somtime he would serue for a support and countenance to the Rebels in Asia, and justifie their party.

After many discourses with the Eunuch touching his affairs, he sends him vnto the son of *Peri Bassa*, a Rebell against *Achmat*: the Eunuch treats for his master, and receiues from him the Rebels oath; and returning to Tarlis, where the Sultan *Iacaia* remained, he conducted him to *Peri Bassa*, to be the head of his troups. *Iacaia* arriues, and sees himselfe obeyed by an army ready to fight: for the Deftarder or Treasurer beeing sent against the rebell *Peri*, with seuen thousand horse, and three thousand foot, was already vpon the banks of the riuer Bardate, ready to giue him battel. The Bassa's troups (being lesse in number of fighting men) went to assail him. There was a sharp incounter, but in the end the Deftarder was victor, & the troups of *Peri Bassa* defeated, and *Iacaia* being wounded in four places of his body, was forced to saue himselfe on the other side of the riuer, where wandring vp and down the fields, hee found relief with a poore countrey peasant, and soone after with an Abbot there by, who entertained him, and caused him to be cured; holding him to be one of the Deftarders pages, as he himselfe said.

His wounds being cured, *Iacaia* returnes again towards Greece, where he finds his mother, conferres with her, and soone after with the Eunuch, of the estate of his affaires; and concludes with both of them, to send to Constantinople, to the Visier Deruis (who at that time was discontented with the Emperor *Achmat*) to sound his disposition, and to see if hee might gaine him to his party: The Eunuch vndertakes the voyage, he speaks with the Deruis, and finds him disposed to entertaine the offers of *Iacaia*: The conspiracie was concluded, and they sweare to kill *Achmat*, and to settle *Iacaia* in the Imperiall Throne. Hereupon he transports himselfe to Constantinople, in a disguised habit: but when as they were ready to execute their enterprise (say they) the Deruis died; be it that the Emperor *Achmat* had discouered their designe, or otherwise. Thus *Iacaia* being frustrate of his hope to effect any thing by this means, he left the City and fled towards the blacke sea, and then wandred into the countries of Valachia, and Moldauia, following the Carock of a Poland Embassador on foot, vntill he came to the City of Cracouia, whereas Fortune had laid a snare for him, which brought him in danger of his life; for a Chiaus being come from Constantinople, and knowing him, he desired the King of Poland in his Masters name, to stay him, assuring him that by this meanes he should strictly bring vnto him the affections of Sultan *Achmat*: the King refused his vniust demand, holding himselfe much honoured to see his Court the refuge of vnfortunate Princes. After this refusal the Chiaus flies to trecherie; he corrupts certaine Tartarians of the Kings guard with money, who promised to murther *Iacaia*; and doubtlesse they had performed it, if a Flemish Embroiderer had not aduertised him, and lent him his lodging for certain daies to hide himselfe; after which he freed himself from danger, and past to Prague towards the Emperor *Rodulphus* who was then liuing.

In this Imperiall Court hee found reliefe, and meanes to ease his forepast miseries: The Emperour furnished him with all things necessarie: Hee spent a whole yeare there, and was acknowledged during his abode, by many Turks which came to Prague, for brother to their Emperour *Achmat*. There wanted nothing but succours to effect his designes: But hee finds nothing but good words and faire wishes at Prague; so as hee was forced to seeke the effects elsewhere. Certaine Saxons that were his friends, aduised him to passe to Florence to *Ferdinand* the great Duke of Tuscanie: hee takes directions from that Princes Embassador

Embassador residing at Prague, and goes on his journy: but entring into Italy, he heares that *Ferdinand* was dead; these mournfull news made him to resolue to seeke some other place, if *Cosmo* successor to *Ferdinand*, and the great Duchesse his mother, had not called him backe. He came then to Florence, where he was honorably entertained, and lodged for the safety of his person in the Fort of *S. John*, where he was supplied with all sorts of commodities. The great Duke *Cosmo* gaue him the title of Excellencie, appointed him horses and caroches, and such companie as he delighted in, for the pleasure of hunting. He had not staid long at Florence, but he saw himselfe assisted with such forces as he desired. The great Duke *Cosmo* caused his gallions to be armed, sending them into the Leuant, vnder the command of the knight *Beauregard*, where hee had conference with *Nassuf Bassa*, at that time chiefe of the Rebels of Asia. He offers him men, armes, any money, if he would come to land, and march towards Persia, whither many Rebels were retyred. But he who commanded the Florentine gallions, had no commission to leaue him in the hands of *Nassuf*: wherefore hee carried him backe to Florence to his Highnesse.

During the time that *Iacaia* was aboord the gallions, the great Duke sent diuers persons into many parts of the Leuant, to informe themselues carefully of these things which he had deliuered, not onely touching his owne person, but also of his Mother; and they all brought backe certaine proofes of the truth of his discourses: This gaue the great Duke subiect to impart this faire occasion vnto Spaine, to labour for the common good of Christendome: He wrote vnto the Catholique King, and informed him of the quality of *Iacaia*, to the end that contributing succours to his personage, they might vndertake some happy enterprise against the Turke. The King of Spaine was content he should be sent to Naples: commanding the Viceroy to giue him a reception fit for his quality. *Iacaia* went on his journy, being accompanied by some, by the great Dukes commandement: but according to the newes which he receiued from Naples, he staid at Auerso, where he was receiued by the Gouernour with much honour. The Viceroy came to visit him, gaue him the right hand, and the title of Excellency. But as the councell of Spaine was tedious in their resolutions, and delayed too long (as *Iacaia* supposed) the succours which he expected; hee parted from Auerso to go to Millan, and from thence in a disguised habit past again into the Leuant, to sound their wills that might aduance his pretentions, and bring them to a happy end: but he preuailed as little as he had don before. Besides all these voyages which we haue described, to the end he might leaue no means vnattempted to aduance his affaires, he went to Rome to kisse his Holinesse feet. Cardinall *Bellarmine* receiued him; gaue him the right hand, and the title of Excellencie: the Pope assured him of his affection and succors; but it was necessary the secular powers should begin to leuy men, and make the first ouerture to war.

Since, we haue seene him at France and at Paris, vnder the protection of the Duke of Neuers, entertained by the bounty of this Prince, and assisted by his Councell: and doubtlesse if the troublesome combustions of a ciuill war had not diuerted the armies of this duke, we had seen some happy successe of the affairs which he treated in Loraine, Germany, and other places, to the ruine of the Turks, and the good of Christendome. Finally, as for this Turke called *Iacaia*, terming himselfe eldest brother to the Emperor *Achmat* now reigning at Constantinople, and for such acknowledged by many: yet some affirme (yea such as haue conuersed in the East) that Sultan *Mahomet* had but three sons, which were *Mustapha*, *Achmat* and *Osman*: Notwithstanding it is hard to discouer in this personage any signes of an imposture: I haue often frequented with him, and carefully obserued his carriage and actions: and haue alwaies noted in him a carriage and minde borne to great matters. This is all that wee could learne of this man.

Stephano or *Tomsho*, of whom we haue made mention in the yeare 1512, having ouerthrown *Constantine* the lawfull Prince, and made himselfe Vayuod of Moldauia, by the support and tyrannie of the Turke; as he held it by vsurpation, without any iust title, so he gouerned with all cruelty and inhumanitie, preferring cruelties before clemencie, and imitating that tyrant, who said openly, *That he respected not the loue of his subiects, so as they feared him.* Euen so this *Stephano* at his first entrance plotted how hee might root out all the Noblemen in the Country, whom in their language they call Boyers, with all others of credit and authoritie in

Tyrannie of Stephano.

in the countrey, both for that they supported *Constantine*, as for the jealousie he had of them, being best able to resist his tyrannous designes, being also the common disposition of such as vsurpe any estate by wicked practises, to be alwaies in feare to be dispossessed, and to be entreated according to their merits. He began first with the Lord of Botacan brother to the Princesse widow to *Ieremy*, whom he caused with two others of the chiefest Noblemen to bee miserably and inhumanely empailed, as if they had been two notable theeues and murderers, and not content herewith, soone after, hee caused threescore and fifteene Boyers to be apprehended, cutting off all their heads; and would not pardon any one, notwithstanding the great instance that was made by their kinsfolkes; charging them with the crime of treason, as if they had conspired against his person, hauing no proofe at all: but these his cruelties did nothing daunt the Boyers, as *Stephano* had persuaded himselfe; but contrariwise they were the more insenced, and many of them tooke armes openly, and had then seised vpon him, bin reuenged of his cruelties, and set their country at liberty (which had not been ruined as it was afterwards) if he had not bin assisted by the Citizens of Yas; whom he conjured to second him in this occasion, promising them immunities of all subsidies: In regard of which promise, these poore wretches preferring their priuat profit before their publique safety, imploied themselues in the seruice of this tyrant, and fought valiantly against the Boyers, who were come to assault him in the City of Yas; But finding that he was better assisted than they expected, after some light skirmish they retyred as well as they could, whereof many were taken prisoners, whom the tyrant caused to be slain in cold bloud, or empailed to terrifie the rest.

The Boyers which escaped from this defeat, knowing that there was no hope of mercy in *Stephano*, who was full of reuenge; nor by consequence any safety in Moldauia during his gouernment, they resolued to haue recourse vnto the Princesse (widow to *Ieremy*) who had fled into Polonia when as she received news of the taking of her sonne *Constantine*. This Princesse vnderstanding from the Boyers of the tyrannous gouernment of *Stephano*, and that most of the Moldauians were resolued to shake off the yoke of his tyranny, and desired to haue prince *Alexander* in his place, remembring the good vsage they had received from the deceased Prince *Ieremy* his father. These considerations, together with a desire of command vnder her sonne (who was then but sixteen yeares old) were strong motiues to persuade both her and her sonne to imbrace this occasion, the which they imparted to Prince *Kisinouickie* sonne in law to the Princesse, and to Prince *Coresky*, who at that time aspired to marry her yongest daughter: These Princes not only allowed of this designe, but they offered themselues willingly to accompanie Prince *Alexander* into Moldauia, and to take the whole care of his army. This resolution being taken, they presently imploied all their credit to leuy men, and had within lesse than two months drawn together ten or twelue thousand foot and horse, Polonians, Cossacks, and Transylauanians: whereof the Vayuod *Stephano* being aduertised, he presently leuied what forces he could, of Moldauians, Tartarians and Valachians, hauing drawne together an army of almost 20000 men, which hee kept about Yas, and there resolued to attend the Princes of Polonia.

The Fort of Cochina yeelded vnto Prince Alexander.

Prince *Alexander* being aduanced with his army within two leagues of Caminithe in Podolia, hee was much troubled to passe the riuer of Niestre, which diuides the countrey from Moldauia, fearing the Fort of Chochina, in the which there was a strong garrison of Moldauians, and store of munition to defend the passage of the said riuer: but it fell out happily for Prince *Alexander*; for the Captaine which commanded in the said Fort, being much discontented at the cruelties of the Vayuod *Stephano*, came voluntarily of himselfe to offer his seruice to *Alexander*, and brought him the keyes of the Fort, leauing all to his disposition; so as hee past his army easily into Moldauia, and in signe of ioy discharged many vollies of his great Ordnance, which made *Stephano* distrust the affections of the Moldauians, and to feele a pricking in his conscience, which doth neuer abandon tyrants and vsurpers.

1500 Tartarians defeated by the Cossackes.

Prince *Alexander* making some stay with his army at Cochina in the yeare 1615, aduanced towards Yas, and being come within halfe a daies journey, he sent forth eight hundred Cossackes (chosen out of a great number) to discouer the countenance of his enemies army, but they were not farre aduanced, before they encountered 1500 Tartarians, sent by *Stephano*

Stephano to giue some charge to the Polonians. Although the Cossackes were fewer in number, yet finding the Tartarians in disorder, they charged them so resolutely as they defeated a great part, and put the rest to rout. After which exploit they brought word to Prince *Alexander*, that *Stephano's* army might be about the number of fifteen thousand men; but they were such as were gathered vp in the country, and not trained vp to armes, who were rather drawne to it by constraint than of their free will, and therefore were not much to be feared. This happy successe, together with the report made by the Cossackes, did greatly encourage *Alexanders* army, being also much insenced against *Stephano* for certaine letters which he had written to their Prince, full of threats, as if both he and they had been already at his mercy, the which did the more encourage the Polonians, and made them resolute rather to die fighting, than to fall into the hands of this cruell tyrant. The same day there came certain deputies of the Moldauians to Prince *Alexander*, without the priuity of *Stephano*, to know what his designe was, and to intreat him to take pitty of Moldauia, which was threatned with a speedy ruine, if the war continued any longer: to whom the Prince made answer, That his intent was not to oppresse Moldauia, but to free it from the tyranny of *Stephano*; that he had beene inuited by a great number of the Boyers, who had come vnto him into Polonia to that end, and had giuen him assurance, that it was the common desire of the Moldauians. That vpon this confidence he had marched with what forces he could draw together, and that if he did preuaile in his designes (as he assured himself with their assistance) he would gouerne them with no lesse mildnesse than his father Prince *Ieremy* had done, whose sonne and lawfull successour he was. The deputies returned well satisfied with this answer, and hauing published it in diuers places, many Moldauians came and joyned with the Prince his army, and assisted him faithfully in this action.

In October Prince *Alexander* aduancing about three leagues with his army, hee made a stand in a faire Champion where there were good Springs to refresh them, and in the meane time he called a Councell at warre, to resolue what course he should take, and when he should draw the enemy to fight. In the meane time he had sent a troupe of Cossackes to discouer the army; who brought word that they were ranged in battell, and that they had twenty cannons ready in front, the which did not much amaze Prince *Alexander*, for that some daies before, the Generall of *Stephano's* artillery had sent to assure him, that if he gaue battell, he would annoy his men as little as he could, hauing a desire to serue the Prince, and by this meanes be reuenged of *Stephano*, who had caused his brother in lawes head to be cut off, vpon a false suspect which he had conceiued against him being innocent. The which should teach Princes, that nothing doth procure them more secret enemies than cruelty, and that at one time or other they in whom they most rely abandon them when as they least expect it. The Vayuod *Stephano* meaning to make a second discouery of the Princes army, sent 1200 Tartarians, and two or three hundred Moldauians, who being seene a far off (for that it was in a plaine champaine) the Prince sent 500 Cossacks with 400 Polonian lances to encounter them: The Tartarians perceiuing it, made a shew at the first as if they would retire, to draw them by little and little from the campe; and being about a league off, they made a stand, thinking that they durst not charge them: but they were soone deceiued, for the Polonians fell vpon the Tartarians with such fury, as they ouerthrew them, and slew most of them, so as there escaped not aboue fiue or six hundred, who retyring to their campe caused a great amasement. The Princes army was much encouraged by this exploit, and increased daily in number, as it is vsuall in ciuill war to follow that party which hath the first aduanced.

The Generall of Stephano's artillery resolues to betray him.

Presently after this execution, the Prince meaning to aduance his army towards the enemies campe, his forewardnesse was staied by a battalion of one thousand horse, who had the night before seised vpon a narrow passage, betwixt a poole and a marish, by the which they knew the Polonian army must passe: but this obstacle was soone taken away, by the aduice which was giuen by certaine Moldauians, to send a company of horsemen by a way vnknown to the enemy, by which meanes they might surprise them behinde, before they should be discouered. The execution of this stratagem was giuen to the Cossackes, who speedily went, being guided by certaine Moldauians; who comming within fifty paces of the enemy vndiscouered, they charged them, and were seconded so fitly by the foreward, that staid on the

other side; as of one thousand horse there returned not aboue fifty to their campe, to carry G
newes of their bad successe.

Prince *Alexander* hauing happily opened this passage, he aduanced with his army within cannon shot of *Stephano's* campe. Prince *Visnouiskie* was of opinion, that they should make a kinde of inclosure with their carts, which might serue them as a fort, hauing no place of retreat within ten leagues; the which being discouered by *Stephano*, hee shot certaine vollies of cannon through their fort, so as there were some souldiers slaine, and some hurt: and the Prince answered him with the like, but to small effect, for that night surprised them, neither had they aboue eight small pieces. Prince *Visnouiskie* spent the night to encourage his souldiers, letting them vnderstand that they had no reason to be amased, although their enemies were more in number, for that most of them were peasants, neuer trained vp in armes H
nor seene battell; whereof they had had good proofe in many encounters, where they had euer beene victors ouer their enemies, although they were inferiour in number: That they were so many testimonies and assurances that God did fight for them, and would vse them to punish the tyrannies of *Stephano*, and his cruelties against Moldauia. Finally, if they were victors (whereof he doubted not, if they did their duties) there was not any one but should returne loaden with rich spoiles and recompences from Prince *Alexander*. This did so encourage the souldiers, as they protested all with one voice, rather to die than to faile of their duties. Moreouer, the Princes gaue the Collonels and Captaines to vnderstand of the intelligence they had with the Generall of *Stephano's* Artillery, wherewith they were much comforted. I

The disposition of the two armies.

The next day being the eleuenth of October, they began to put their Armies in battell, during the which there were diuers skirmishes, wherein *Alexanders* party had still the aduantage; so as it seemed they were so many presages of good Fortune which should befall them that day. The Princes army was ordered by *Visnouiskie*, to whom Prince *Alexander* had giuen the charge of Generall, as most capable, hauing sundry times giuen sufficient proofes of his sufficiency and valour in other battels. This Generall seeing *Stephano's* horsemen diuided into three squadrons, and the Tartarians most aduanced, he appointed the Cossackes to encounter with them: the which was judiciously and discreetly done, for they both goe freely to the charge, neither are they couered with any armes, but only with the skinnes of certaine beasts, wherewith they make themselues to seeme as fearefull as they can, obseruing no order K
in their fighting, and vsing cries which are fearefull to such as are not accustomed vnto them; and being once broken, they seldome returne againe to their charge. The Polonian Lanciers called in their language Houssarskie, being about one thousand and fiue hundred men well armed, made the second battalion of *Alexanders* army, led by Prince *Coreskie*, and were placed on the right hand against three thousand Tartarian, Valachian, and Moldauian horsemen. The Hungarian foot being about three thousand men were in the middest of Prince *Alexanders* Army, with the cannon, vpon a little hill of some aduantage; and on the left hand was the rest of the Chaualry, who were led by the Princes *Alexander* and *Visnouiskie*; and the baggage was a little behinde the foot of the campe where they lodged the night before. L

The battell betwixt Prince Alexander and the Vayuod Stephano.

The tyrant *Stephano* hauing disposed his Army into diuers squadrons, began about nine of the clocke in the morning to play with his cannon vpon *Alexanders* Army, who found that the Generall of the Artillery had kept his promise, for most of the bullets flew ouer his men and hurt them not; vpon which confidence hee commanded the Cossackes to charge the Tartarians which were aduanced, whom they soone defeated. At the same instant two thousand light horse gaue charge to the Hungarian footmen which guarded *Stephano's* cannon, and in an instant cut most of them in pieces, and the rest yeelded themselues; so as *Alexander* became master of his cannon. The tyrant seeing his Infantery in danger to bee defeated, and his cannon lost, caused a battalion of three thousand Valachian and Moldauian horsemen to aduance, who without doubt had recouered the cannon, but the gene- M
rous Prince *Coreskie* with his Polonian Leunciers charged them so furiously in the flanke, as that they slew almost the one halfe of them vpon the place, and put the rest that remained to rout. Presently after this followed another squadron, the which *Coreskie* perceiuing, he

A he wisely retyred towards his campe, seeing his men wearied and tyred with the slaughter of their enemies, and not able to maintaine the fight without some rest. Then came Prince *Alexander*, and *Visnouiskie* who was his faithfull guide, with the rest of his horsemen to encounter this last battalion of the enemy, whereunto they went with greater courage, for that they were assured the Vayuod *Stephano* was there present; which charge continued for the space of a quarter of an houre, during which time Prince *Coreskie* had leisure to take breath, and to gather together what possibly hee could of those of his party, to succour them that were then in fight, who were almost tyred, and Prince *Alexander* farre ingaged. But seeing these vnexpected succours, hee and his men recouered their forces, and their enemies were so much amased at it, as that all them that remained aliue were put to rout and B fled.

Stephano's army defeated.

But *Stephano* (being naturally a coward) apprehending blowes, had retired himselfe to the rest of his footmen, who had not yet come to fight, making a shew that hee would rather die with them than fly away; but seeing the euent of this last charge, and his horsemen all in rout: he soone resolued to saue himselfe by flight, hauing neuer giuen one stroke in this battel. The footmen which remained being about foure thousand men, seeing the successe of the battell, yeelded to the mercy of the victors, and cryed out, God saue *Alexander* Vayuod of Moldauia. The day of the victory Prince *Alexander* made his entry into the City of Yas, hauing the Princes *Coreskie* and *Visnouiskie* on either side, after whom followed his whole army. Entering into the castle he was there proclaimed Prince and Vayuod of Moldauia by all the No- C bles and Boyers of the country, the which he would neuer accept vntill that time. The next day Prince *Alexander* vnderstanding that a great number of the chiefest of the inhabitants of Yas were fled into the mountaines and forrest to attend the euent of these troubles, he sent certaine Boyers to inuite them to returne backe againe (with all assurance) to their houses, causing part of his Army to dislodge, and to be quartered in the country thereabouts; and there were one thousand and fiue hundred foot, and fiue hundred horse (vnder the leading of Prince *Coreskie*) sent to the city of Vasselloy, for that *Stephano* had fled that way, and might returne backe againe into Moldauia. As for the Artillery, some were sent into Polonia, and some were put into the fort of Çochina, the which is as it were the Arsenall of Moldauia.

Alexander proclaimed Prince of Moldauia.

D At the same time Prince *Alexander* knowing that it was no lesse glory to preserue than to get, hee called the chiefe Noblemen of his Court to Councell, to resolue what was fit to doe to maintaine him and his estate, which hee had newly gotten by the sword: where it was concluded among other things, that hee should speedily send an Embassadour to the Grand Seignior, to let him vnderstand that hee had neuer any intent to take armes against his Majesty, nor to withdraw Moldauia from his obedience; but that hee had beene sought vnto being in Polonia, and inuited by the Boyers of Moldauia, for the vnspeakeable cruelties of the Vayuod *Stephano*, who had resolued to root out the Nobility of the said Countrey, hauing put many of the chiefe to death without any occasion. They had also charge to giue the Sultan to vnderstand, That when his Majesty aduanced *Stephano* to E be Vayuod of Moldauia, he had falsely suggested that hee was sonne to a Prince of Moldauia; that hee was not truely aduertised by his Bassaes and Counsellours, that his predecessour had promised to the deceased father of Prince *Alexander*, and to Prince *Semeon* his vncle, that after his decease his sonnes should succeed him in the said estate, if they shewed not themselues vnworthy, and did pay the yearely tribute of forty thousand Chequines, which tribute since the death of *Ieremy* had beene offered by Prince *Constantine*, his eldest sonne, to *Houssine Aga*, when as hee was sent to settle the said *Stephano*: as also that Prince *Alexander* promised to pay it hereafter; and if need should be, he would giue Prince *Bougdan* his brother as a sure and certaine pledge for the performance of his promises during the first yeare.

Ambassadours sent by Prince Alexander to the Grand Seignior.

F The Embassadours hauing receiued these instructions, they tooke their journey speedily to Constantinople: But in stead of passing through Thrace which was their directest course, they were forced to goe by Transyluania, fearing to be hindered by the men of warre which

Prince Alexanders Embassadours put to death by Stephano.

which then troubled all Thrace. Comming to Buda they went to salute the Bassa which commanded there, who being a speciall friend to *Stephano*, put them in prison, violating the Law of Nations obserued by the most barbarous; and afterwards he sent them to Braille whither the tyrant *Stephano* had fled. They say he gaue fifteene thousand Chequines in recompence to the Bassa, and to reuenge himselfe in some sort of Prince *Alexander* in the persons of his Embassadours; he caused their heads to be cut off one night after supper, and their bodies to be cast into the Danowe. The death of these Embassadours was very prejudiciall to Prince *Alexander*, by meanes whereof the Grand Seigniour was not truly aduertised of what had past in Moldauia, not receiued the complements, offers, and submission of Prince *Alexander*, so as he was wonderfully insenced against him, and sware his ruine, as you shall heare hereafter.

Stephano hauing receiued foure thousand men from *Michna* Prince of Valachia, and gathered together the reliques of his scattered army, he marched towards Valachia; wherof Prince *Alexander* being aduertised, he sent Prince *Coreskie* with six thousand horse, Polonians and Cossackes to Ticouch a strong frontier towne, to guard that passage: And Prince *Alexander* and *Visnouiskie*, they staied at Yas with the rest of the army to preserue the country, and to preuent all alterations in fauour of *Stephano*, who had some intelligencers. Within few daies after, the Prince had newes that the Inhabitants of Horreoua (a Countrey in Moldauia conteining about fifteene or sixteene French leagues in circuit) were in armes, and had joyned with a great troupe of Tartarians to come and inuest him, knowing well that Prince *Coreskie* was otherwise emploied with part of the Polonian army. *Alexander* staied not to haue these Rebels come to Yas; but sent *Visnouiskie* his brother in law with such forces as he could draw together to encounter with them. They met together within two leagues of the city, where *Visnouiskie* charged the Tartarians with such fury, as halfe of them were slaine vpon the place, and the rest of them fled: there were a great number of prisoners taken, and all the poore inhabitants of Horreoua were brought vnto Yas in token of triumph. The dead being numbred, there were found about eight hundred Tartarians and others slaine, and of the Polonians only fifty, and some hundred hurt.

Stephano returnes into Moldauia.

Prince *Alexander* hauing receiued newes of this defeat, was wonderfully glad, and went presently to horseback with his company of French, which hee had onely reserued about him, to goe and meet with *Visnouiskie*, and to congratulate his happy victory. This being done with many complements and embracings, he cast his eie vpon the poore inhabitants of Horreoua, whom they led like a troupe of sheepe; and had such commiseration on them, as he presently sent them backe againe, hauing taken their oath of fidelity, hoping that this his clemency would draw the most factious to obedience, hauing formerly tried the oppressions of a most cruell Prince. Prince *Alexander* hauing giuen thankes to God for this new and vnexpected victory, he sent a Gentleman vnto Prince *Coreskie*, to aduertise him thereof, who at the same instant was busie to dispose of his troupes to meet with *Stephano*, who returned into Moldauia. The encounter was in a plaine Champaine, hauing on the one side the riuer of Sirette, the which diuides Moldauia from Valachia: the skirmish continued from tenne of the clocke vntill it was noone with like aduantage; but Prince *Coreskie* being aduertised that *Stephano* was in a squadron of horse which was some two hundred paces distant from him; he joyned vnto his troupe foure hundred Gerbeyes, who were well armed, and led by a very valiant Captaine, with the which he charged him with such violence and fury as hee forced them to giue backe, yet fighting in such sort as the euent seemed to be doubtfull: the which being discouered by another of the Princes Captaines, who led a troupe of foure hundred light horse: hee came so fitly to succour him, as *Stephano* and his horsemen were forced to fly, whom the Prince pursued and cut in peeces. *Stephano* escaped with a troupe which he had reserued rather for the guard of his person, than to fight. Prince *Coreskie* at his returne from the chase of his enemies, caused the dead to be numbred, where he found that of *Stephano's* side were three thousand and foure hundred men slaine vpon the place, besides those that were prisoners and wounded; and of his part only three hundred and fifty.

Stephano defeated the second time.

Presently

Presently after this victory, the season of the yeare being cold (it beeing the twelfth of Nouember) Prince *Coreskie* put his troupes into garrison, and returned with one hundred and fifty horse to Yas, where hee was receiued with much honour and joy. The princesse mother to *Alexander*, was yet in Poland, but being aduertised of her sonnes fortunate successe, shee returned to Yas, and brought with her Prince *Bougdan* her youngest sonne, with *Alexandrina* her daughter, who was yet to marry. At whose arriuall there was great feasting and joy; then they began to treat of a marriage betwixt Prince *Coreskie* and the princesse *Alexandrina*, the which had beene then consummated, if *Bellona* had not opposed it, stirring vp new and more powerfull armies than the precedent, to exercise the vertues and valours of the said princes, and to try the patience of the two louers, who loued one another reciprocally from their youth.

To continue the deduction of new affaires which troubled the quiet of the said Princes more than euer, you must vnderstand that about the end of Nouember this yeare 1615, they were aduertised that *Michna* Prince of Valachia with a Bassa called *Hebraim*, came against them with an army of forty thousand men, Turks, Tartarians and Valachians, to succour the Vayuod *Stephano*: and moreouer, that *Bethlem Gabor* prince of Transyluania, had charge from the Grand Seigniour to arme against them, and to assaile them; which in effect was a false alarme; for the said Bassa had beene sent by the Grand Seignior to bring Caphtanes (which are robes of cloath of gold which the Grand Seignior doth vsually send in fauour to Princes that are vnder his power) both to *Michna* and *Stephano*, who he held to be in peaceable possession of Moldauia; but not with any army, nor with an intent to make war against the said Princes; for he was yet ignorant what had passed against *Stephano*. Notwithstanding the Princes holding this aduertisement to be true, assembled a Councell of the chiefe Noblemen in Court, where it was resolued, That an Embassador should be speedily sent to Prince *Michna*, both to know his intent, and to discouer whether he marched toward Moldauia, and with what forces. This charge was giuen vnto a braue Gentleman of Polonia called *Boyartskie*, who parted presently from Yas, and being entred into Valachia, he vnderstood that prince *Michna* was then in his towne of Bonza, some twenty French leagues distant from the frontiers of Moldauia. The Embassadour being arriued demanded audience before *Michna*, by whom he was sent vnto the Bassa, who at his first enterance (without hearing the subject of his Embassage) demanded, who had made his master *Alexander* so bold, as to carry armes in the country of the Grand Seignior without his authority; for the which hee should be punished, and those that did assist him: commanding the Embassadour presently to be put in yrons, as if he had beene a theefe or some miserable caitife. The Embassadors seruants seeing how they entreated their master, escaped as they could, fearing the like; who returning to Yas, enformed prince *Alexander* what had passed, assuring him that *Michna* had no army ready, nor any intent to enter into Moldauia at that time. The Bassa disdaining to speake any more to the said Embassadour, he gaue charge to some of his officers to examine him particularly of all matters concerning *Alexander*, and what forces he had: and within few daies after he returned to Constantinople, leading the said Embassadour thither with him. But as soone as they were arriued, they sent the Embassadour vnto the Diuano, where he was againe examined by a Visier, and in the end he was condemned by him to the gallies there to remaine perpetually. So little account do these barbarous people make, to violate the Law of Nations, especially with Christians, presuming that all the World should bow vnto them, as if they were gods vpon earth.

An Embassador from Prince Alexander to prince Michna.

There was another Embassadour sent by Prince *Alexander* vnto *Bethlem Gabor* who was prince of Transyluania, being at Fureuar or Alba-Iulia, whom he receiued very courteously; to whom the Embassadour deliuered the subject of his charge. That Prince *Alexander* his master had beene aduertised that he made some leuie of men to joyne with *Michna* prince of Valachia, and to make war against him; the which he could not easily beleeue, for that he had made profession of friendship to his deceased father, and had no cause now to leaue it; entreating and conjuring him, not to meddle in the affaires which hee had to decide with *Michna*; and that in requitall (if any occasion were offered to serue him) he would employ

Prince Alexander sends an Embassador to Bethlem Gabor.

all

all his meanes. The Embassadour hauing ended his speech, he deliuered his Princes letters G
of credit: To whom *Bethlem Gabor* made this answer, That hee neuer had an intent to take
armes, nor to attempt any thing against Prince *Alexander*, whose father was his true friend;
neither would he euer giue any cause to discontinue this loud and friendship betwixt them,
wherefore he would giue good proofe in all occasions, especially in this subject now in que-
stion. The Embassadour was much satisfied with this answer, the which was also confirmed
by letters; yet he afterwards leuied forces against prince *Alexander*, but he would not joyne
with *Michna* his army.

To returne to the course of our History; presently after the Bassa his departure from Ci-
couch to returne to Constantinople, prince *Michna* sent an Embassadour to *Alexander* with
Letters, by the which he excused himselfe for the ill vsage of his Embassadour by the Bassa, H
protesting that he was much grieued, and that it was not with his consent that he had carried
him with him, promising to employ his best meanes to mediate his deliuery. Moreouer,
that hee was not ignorant what authority and power the Grand Seigniour had ouer him,
whom he might not resist, nor by consequence his Bassaes; that he had no army on foot, as he
was giuen to vnderstand, and that his designe was not to support the cause of the Vayuod
Stephano, vnlesse he were forced by the commandement of the Grand Seigniour. And where-
as he entreated him to deliuer his enemy *Stephano* into his hands, hee could not do it, vnlesse
hee should violate the lawes of hospitality, in betraying his friend who had fled vnto him
for succour, and withall hee should incurre the indignation of the Sultan, and be in danger
to be dispossessed of his owne estate, hauing no sufficient meanes to maintaine himselfe a- I
gainst so great a power. Prince *Alexander* hauing heard this Embassadour, and receiued an
answer from the prince of Transyluania, by the aduice of his Councell dismissed all his foot-
men, and part of the Cossackes, retaining only fiue or six thousand men with him during the
Winter.

Prince Visnouiskie poysoned by a Priest.

About this time there was one of the most cursed and impious acts committed that euer
was heard of. Prince *Visnouiskie* who was a Protestent of the Greeke Church, hauing pre-
pared at Christmas to receiue the communion after their manner, the Priest (who had vsu-
ally serued him in that deuotion, being corrupted with money by his enemies) poysoned the
bread; which the prince hauing receiued, he suddenly fell sicke, and his torments were so vio-
lent, as he died the next day. This bred a suspition that he had beene poysoned; whereupon K
the priest was apprehended, who presently confessed that he was guilty, and had beene pro-
uoked by his enemies. As his offence was terrible, being committed by a man of that Coat,
who had made vse of so reuerend a Sacrament, to poyson a prince beloued of all men for his
rare vertues; so his punishment was very seuere and long: being bound in a chaire made of
copper wire, and a fire made round about him, so as he was heard for twelue houres crying
out fearefully for the insupportable paines which he endured. Whilest that prince *Alexan-
der* and his whole Court mourned for this fatall and vnexpected accident, there arriued a spy
which hee had sent into Valachia to obserue the actions of prince *Michna*, who gaue him
to vnderstand that there was a Bassa arriued called *Skinder*, with a great and powerfull Army,
and that *Stephano* was there in like manner, who pressed them dayly to march into Molda- L
uia; and to begin the warre, hee sent foure hundred men to surprise the Towne of Berlada,
whereas prince *Coreskie* had left part of his men in garrison during the Winter: who kee-
ping bad guard, were surprised and most of them cut in pieces; which so puffed vp *Stephano*
with pride, as he assured himselfe of an easie victory. But Prince *Alexander* hearing of this
defeat, hee sent foure hundred Cossackes, who made such speed, as within three daies after
they arriued at Berlada a towne not walled, no more than the rest, where hauing set fire in ma-
ny places, they forced his men to come forth, cutting them in peeces, and the rest were burnt;
so as there escaped not aboue fiue or six to carry this bad newes vnto their master, who was
much afflicted.

Skinder Bassa comes with an army against Prince Alexander.

At the same instant, when as the Cossackes were sent vpon this expedition, prince *Coreskie* M
desiring to be reuenged for the defeat of his men, tooke two thousand fiue hundred choice
horse, and put himselfe speedily into Vasselloy, fearing the garrison he had left there would
be

A be in like manner surprised: whereof the Bassa being aduertised, by some of the countrymen,
he sent his sonne (being twelue or thirteene yeares old), and gaue him an old Turke of great
experience for his conductor, with seuen thousand men, holding this a good occasion to get
reputation to his sonne. Prince *Creeskie* being aduertised of his march by some Moldauians,
and that they should surprise them early in the morning, knowing that they were of necessity
to passe a bridge of wood ouer a riuer that runs by the towne, he disposed his men in such sort
as that the enemy could hardly discouer them: some of them were lodged within Vasselloy,
and the rest were couered with a little mountaine that adjoyned vpon the towne: when as
some of the Turks had passed the bridge, two squadrons sallied from the towne, and char-
ged their foreward so furiously, as they were in a manner all put to the sword, and amongst
B them the conductor of the whole troupe, the which was no difficult thing to execute; for
that the Turks who had marched in a maner all night, to arriue early in the morning, were be-
nummed and halfe dead with cold; the rest of the Turks which had not yet past, hearing the
noyse of this hot alarme, durst not aduance, but retyred speedily, fearing perchance that the
Bassaes sonne might be lost as well as his conductor. Prince *Coreskie* pursued them vnto a
village foure leagues distant from Vasselloy, killing and taking prisoners all he found in the
way. Among the prisoners there was one who gaue it out that he was neere kinsman vnto
the Bassa, who being brought to prince *Alexander*, he receiued him very courteously, and gaue
him a garment fit for him, hauing beene stript of his owne, he also gaue him a horse, and sent
him backe vnto the Bassa with a good conuoy, to whom he sent a letter, by the which he in-
C treated him not to aduance in fauour of *Stephano*, promising that if the Grand Seignior would
suffer him to enjoy Moldauia quietly, hee would be most faithfull vnto him afterwards, and
pay him the yearely accustomed tribute: whereof the Bassa made no great account; for hee
was wonderfully incenced, both for his sons bad successe in this enterprise, and for the death of
the Turkish captaine.

Vpon the day of this victory, prince *Alexander* sent fifteen hundred horse to fortifie prince
Coreskie, whereof eight hundred were lodged in a certaine Borough six leagues from Ticouth,
whereas the Bassa and *Michna* were then with their army; being about fiue and twenty thou-
sand men. These eight hundred men neglecting their guards, did nothing but drinke drunke,
and molest their hostes with all kinde of insolencies, and forcing their wiues and daughters,
D which made them take a resolution to be reuenged, and to that end they called vnto them
certaine Boyers out of the country, who chusing their time, cut all their throats when they
were asleep, and most of them drunke.

Prince Alexander returnes to Cochina.

About the end of this yeare prince *Alexander* called a generall councell, whereas the prin-
cesse his mother, prince *Coreskie*, and all the chiefe noblemen and captaines assisted: where it
was resolued that they should returne to Chochina, being thirty French leagues off; for that
it was the strongest place and the best furnished of all Moldauia, and withall they should be
far from their enemies, and neere vnto Polonia. According to this resolution, prince *Alex-
ander* parted the next day with his whole army, and came in foure daies march to Cochina,
in the extreamest cold season that could be; hauing lodged his troups, the princes sent di-
E uers Gentlemen to all their friends and confederates, to conjure them to come speedily to
succour them; and in the meane time they gaue order to make prouision of victuals, and of
all other things necessary for their army. The Bassa being aduertised of this retreat, he mar-
ched with *Michna* and *Stephano* towards Yas, notwithstanding the extremity of the cold, which
was so violent that many died vpon the way; whereupon they staied vntill the time was more
milde.

Succours come to Prince Alexander.

In the beginning of March, the Lord of *Tischeuich* came vnto prince *Alexander* with 3500
Cossackes, and within few daies after arriued the Lord *Potoskie*, nephew to him who had
been taken at the first battell, and carried prisoner at Constantinople, who brought with him
a troupe of fifteene hundred Polonians well armed: there came also other succours vnto him,
F so as by the end of that moneth the princes army was ten or twelue thousand strong foot and
horse.

Prince *Alexander* hearing of the enemies approch, he sent forth a thousand horse with his
company of French Caualiers to discouer the enemies army, who staying to refresh them-
selues

selues within halfe a league of the towne of Espanocha, whereas *Michna* his Tartarians were lodged: they were discouered and presently inuested by them and by a great number of Turks; and although that there were little hope to resist so great a multitude, yet *Alexanders* men (who had alwaies beene accustomed to vanquish) behaued themselues very valiantly, desiring rather to die, than to yeeld basely without giuing proofes of their valour. This fight continued from ten of the clocke in the morning, vntill night; and of the whole troupe there escaped but twelue, seuen Polonians, and fiue French, the rest were either slaine or taken prisoners, among the which was the captaine of the French company called *Mountespin*, whom they would haue sent with the rest to the Grand Seignious gallies: But *Stephano* preserued him, vpon promise that he would doe him good seruice. Heere Fortune (which had hitherto beene fauourable vnto Prince *Alexander*) began to shew her inconstancy, to teach Princes not to runne rashly into dangers, although they haue had some aduantage ouer their enemies.

1616 At Constantinople about the end of August this yeare 1616, Enuie, the most furious of all the windes that shake the affaires of the World, stirred vp a horrible tempest, whose violent gusts fell dangerously vpon the Iesuites settled at Pera by the Sultans permission, at the persuasion of *Henry* the fourth, the French King; and labours to cast them vpon the rocks where they might suffer shipwrecke, shamefull to their Order, and prejudiciall to the Christians which liue in the middest of Mahometisme. And to ruine them without all hope of helpe or reliefe, they accused them before the Grand Visier, to be spies to Spaine; to giue absolution to renegadoes; to baptise Turks, to conceale fugitiue slaues, and to send them into Christendome; and withall they objected the doctrine of killing of Kings, if they were tyrants, the which had beene rashly written by a Spaniard of their Cost: all which crimes are commonly punished at Constantinople with death. They seised vpon their persons, and lodged them in a dungeon, they were six in number, that is to say, *Francis Bouton, Denis Guilier, Dominick Maurice* of Chio, and *Iohn Baptiste Iobert* their superiour, all foure Priests, and two assistants, and with them a Franciscan Friar, Vicar to the Patriarch of Constantinople. A suspition of danger in an estate is easily beleeued vpon the least accident. In the meane time the Emperours Embassadour came to Constantinople, to renew the truce; they entered with their drummes beating, and their ensignes displaied. They which thought to erect trophies to their glory by their ruine of the Iesuites, made vse of this entry, and gaue false aduertisements to the Seraglio, that there were in Constantinople, and at Pera many thousands of Christians disguised in the habites of Greekes and Turks; which came with this Embassadour, with an intent to put that in execution which the Iesuites had projected. Moreouer, they enformed the Grand Visier, and the Mufti, that the Churches in Pera, and the Embassadours houses were full of armes; and that now when as the Turks estate, and especially Constantinople, was vnprouided of forces, hauing employed their armies in diuers places, and at one instant, as in Poland, Persia, and both the seas, that they meant to draw the Greekes into rebellion, and giue an entry to the Cossackes, by the blacke Sea. The Sultan and his Bassaes tooke an alarme, they commanded euery man to weare the habit of his owne Nation, with a prohibition to weare any hat except the Frankes, and they to weare a Grecian habit; They also inrolled all the Christians in Constantinople and Pera. But the Sultan did not thinke his Imperial City of Constantinople free from the danger of surprise by this diligent search, but he would seeke his assurance in the bloud of the Christians, so as he commanded that all the Frankes should be slaine without exception. But yet this commandement took no effect, by reason of the remonstrances which the grand Visier and the Mufti made him, representing vnto him, That by this cruelty he should draw vpon his estate a dangerous Warre from all the Christian princes in generall. But all this freed him not from feare; he walks all night vp and down the City, contrary to his vsuall custome, and he caused a Frier, Vicar to the Patriarch, who had beene taken with the Iesuits, to be executed in his presence; and he doth expressely forbid the passage from Constantinople to Pera, and from Pera to Constantinople.

Iesuits at Constantinople accused.

During this prohibition, the French Embassador had past from Pera to the city, to solicit the Iesuits libertie. At his return he had found the passage stopt, he goes vnto the Mufti, and leaues

leaues his people in the meane time at the sea side (for it is the custome, to goe to the Soueraigne of *Mahomets* law with a small traine) during the time of his being there, a multitude of people ran downe to the shore, to see these men, thinking for certaine, that they went to put them to death: They lamenting their miserable fortune, and the Turks charging them furiously with injuries, as the men whom they thought practised by conspiracy their ruine. But the grand Visier hauing written with his owne hand, and sent one of his people to them that kept the passage, the Embassadour with his whole traine was suffered to passe to Pera, but he found the storme as raging at Pera as from whence he came: for one night after, the people of that place fell into such a fury, as it was to be feared the law of Nations would haue beene violated by the insolency of some furious people, although the subject were of small importance. About fiue hundred paces from the French Embassadours quarter, there fell out a dispute in a lodging, betwixt some who spent the night in some kinde of emploiment: the Turks that dwelt neere, being awaked with this noise, ran to armes, and trouped together in the street, beeing in all a thousand men armed, crying out, that this noise came from the Franckes, (that is to say from the Christians in the West, as Italians, French, Spanish, English, and others) who meant to rise; and they resolued to force the Embassadours houses, and to put all to fire and sword, if some better aduised of the troupe had not persuaded them to delay the execution vntill day, the which being come, the French Embassadour had meanes to get the Sultan to interpose his soueraigne authority, to bridle the insolency of a multitude inconsiderately insenced. Such is the danger in the which many times the ministers of Christian Princes find themselues, who for their Masters seruice liue at the mercy of a Nation barbarously furious, as the Turkish.

A tumult at Pera.

The Iesuites in the meane time continued prisoners in the dungeon, vntill that the Baron of *Sansy* Embassadour for France, had let the Grand Visier see their innocency, and procured their liberty, and the Sultan by his letters Patents did publish the falsehood of the malicious accusations inuented against them: but to auoid the fury of a multitude blind in their passions, and dangerous in their fury, they went to sea to returne to France: but after they had sojourned sometime at the Dardanels, they were againe committed to prison, by reason of some certaine aduertisement that was giuen to the Sultan of the same substance: the Sultan informed himselfe truely of their probity, gaue them their liberty, calling backe to Pera, to liue there, with the same priuiledges they formerly had, and suffered the rest to returne into France.

The Iesuits set at liberty.

Alexander Prince of Moldauia hauing lost a thousand horse neere vnto Cochina, the last yere as you haue heard, the Bassa and *Stephano* were puft vp with this good successe; but *Michna* had no joy of it, who hearing that the Princes attended him at Chochina with a resolution to defend themselues, remembring that a certaine Italian making a profession to foretell future things, had told him, That if he euer came to fight with the Polonians, he would be in danger of his life. Wherefore by the aduice of his Chancellor and Campe-master, called *Spaterlecha*, he pretended that he had receiued news from his Lieutenant, that there was a great troupe of Tartarians entered into Valachia, and spoiled the country; vpon which pretext he tooke leaue of the Bassa and returned, leauing all his souldiers in the army, reseruing only an hundred horse for his guard. Being in Valachia, *Stephano* wrote vnto him, that he had defeated the Polonians in battell, in the which there were slaine six thousand men vpon the place, and had taken a great number of prisoners, which they meant to send to the grand Seignior: all which was but a meere inuention to mocke *Michna*, and to make him sorry that he was not in the action: whereupon he was so much discontented, as he caused the heads of his Chancellour and Camp-master to be cut off for their bad counsell, charging them that they had some secret intelligence with the Polonians.

About the end of March, the Bassa with *Stephano*, and a Tartarian Prince called *Monoza*, resolued to aduance with their whole army (being twenty thousand men) towards Chochina, and being within two leagues, they made a stand a whole day to refresh their men. In the meane time the Princes put their army in order of battell, in a little plaine within a quarter of a league of Chochina, leauing a thousand choice horse within the towne vnder the command of

The Bassa and Stephano defeated at Cochina.

of Prince *Coreskie*, assuring themselues that the Turks would not faile to campe betwixt the G
towne and the Princes army, that if they were defeated they might haue no meanes to retire
into the fort, which was held impregnable. The Princes drew eight pieces of cannon out of
the fort, which they planted within a trench which was couered with a wood. The Bassa on
the other side thought that he had the Princes at his mercy, being aduertised that they had
not halfe so many men in their Army; early in the morning hee caused his men to march in
good order, who arriued neere to Cochina by seuen of the clocke in the morning, where ha-
uing made a stand to discouer the Princes army, he went and encamped betwixt them and the
towne, as it had beene foreseene. His men being put in order, the Tartarians who had a great
desire to be reuenged of the Cossackes, who had defeated them in many encounters, intreated
to haue the point: the which was granted, and the trumpets sounding, they aduanced towards H
a battalion of Cossackes, nothing distrusting the cannon which was planted on that side, and
not seene. Comming within the shot, they presently plaied vpon them, and ouerthrew a great
number of the Tartarians, and terrified the rest, the which the Ccossakes perceiuing, they
charged them furiously, and cut the rest in peeces, and so returned towards their army, seeing
another squadron of Valachians and Moldauians come to succour the Tartarians. The Lord
of *Tischeuich* with his troup of fifteene or sixteene hundred horse well armed, went to encoun-
ter the said squadron, which aduanced brauely towards the Princes cannon. The combate
was long without any shew of aduantage, which made the Marshall of the Turks Army to
send three thousand Turks to succour them: and the Princes caused a squadron of Cossackes
and Moldauians to aduance, who carried themselues so valiantly, as they forced the Turks to I
retire aboue an hundred paces. Then Prince *Alexander* cryed out, Now my companions, be-
hold the enemy is in disorder, let vs charge them resolutely, and the victory is certaine. After
which he aduanced with the rest of his Army, commanding two cannons should be shot off
together, for a signe to Prince *Coreskie* that he might sally forth, and charge the Turks rere-
ward, as it had bin resolued: But he staied not for the signall, being already aduanced aboue
three hundred paces, fearing that the party would be ended without him, or that he should
fayle at need.

The Bassa seeing this stratagem, which he feared not, and the bad successe of his men which
he had sent to fight, and that he was charged both before and behinde, he began to be amased,
and hauing caused a squadron of two thousand horse, Turks and Valachians, to aduance, to K
second his troupes, he retyred apart with *Stephano* (who was no lesse afraid than himselfe) with
the rest of the Turkish Cauallary, to attend the euent of the battell. There was neuer a more
furious combat seene (which continued for the space of two houres) full of fearefull how-
lings of Turks, who in the end fainted, seeing no succours come vnto them: whereas if the
Bassa and the cowardly *Stephano* had joined with them, they had without doubt fortified their
carriages and renued their forces, and by all apparance woon the victory, which they lost be-
yond all mens expectation. When as the Bassa and *Stephano* saw that their forces were in
rout, and no meanes to draw them againe together, they began to make a retreat with aboue
two thousand horse, which had not yet fought. In the meane time the Princes *Tischeuich* and
Coreskie (like two thunderbolts of warre) cut all in peeces they could meet; and fearing lest L
they should make a new head, the Princes drew all their men together, and made a stand vpon
the place of battell, not suffering their souldiers to go to the spoile, before they were assured
that the enemy was retired in great haste, fearing the Princes would haue pursued them, the
which they would willingly haue done, if their men and horses had not beene almost tyred
in the former battell, in which there were slain aboue twelue thousand men besides the woun-
ded and prisoners.

Flight of the Bassa and Stephano.

Prince *Alexander* being returned to Cochina with the other Princes and Noblemen, they
gaue thankes to God for the victory they had obtained against the Turks and their confede-
rates; and there was much joy with the Princes and all the Ladies, who were retired into the
fort, attending the euent of this fearefull battell. Prince *Coreskie* burned with desire to enjoy M
his Mistresse, whom he loued as his owne life; so as by a free consent of all parties, they were
married within two daies after the victory, to the great content of all the Court.

Prince Coresky marries with the Princesse Alexandrina.

Whilest

A Whilest that the Princes began to enjoy the fruits of their victory, the Bassa and wretched
Stephano returned to Yas, but finding no safety there, they parted presently; the Bassa to Con-
stantinople, and the tyrant into Valachia to Prince *Michna*, who was his onely support, not-
withstanding that he had mocked him apparantly. But before this wretch departed from
Yas (hauing no hope euer to returne againe) he caused the towne to be set on fire in many
places; so as of two and twenty thousand houses, there were not aboue six hundred vntou-
ched. The Princes hauing aduice hereof in the beginning of Aprill, they marched speedily
thither, where finding it so desolate, they resolued to pursue *Stephano* into Valachia, and pu-
nish him according to his deseruing. The next day they marched towards Valachia, being
to passe the riuer of Siretta, there being on the other side a Borough in which *Michna* had
B foure hundred men in garrison, to keepe the Frontiers. The Princes arriuing at this place,
the garrison put themselues in defence, but they were soone forced and cut in pieces, so as
there escaped not one, and as for the inhabitants, they were well entreated, hauing made no
resistance, and withall they hated *Michna* for the vexations they receiued from the said garri-
son. The Army hauing rested there three dayes, aduanced with all speed towards the City
of Bonza, whereas *Michna* then remained with wretched *Stephano*, who had no care but to
make good cheere. The Army beeing come within a league of Bonza, it was discouered
by some countreymen who ran to aduertise their Prince, withing him to saue himselfe spee-
dily, for that they had discouered the Polonian Army neere the City. *Michna* was ready to
C vnexpected comming of the Princes, as hee ranne himselfe to his stable, and mounted vpon
the first horse hee could finde, without saddle, and so tooke his way towards Tergouist,
beeing followed by few of his people, one of which gaue him his owne horse, which was
better furnished, and as for *Stephano* hauing saddled his owne horse, he fled all alone towards
Nicopolis.

Prince Michna and Stephano fly from Bonza.

The Princes being entered Bonza without resistance, they were wonderfully grieued that
they had not found *Stephano*, which was their whole designe, and that Prince *Michna* (to whom
they intended no harme) had beene so amazed. The Army at the first enterance spoylèd the
city, which the Princes could not hinder, nor yet the rauishing of many wiues and virgines,
which drew the wrath of God vpon them, and in all appearance was the true cause of the
D miseries which afterward befell the Princes. During their abode at Bonza to refresh their
men, many Boyers or Noblemen of the Countrey (desiring to shake off the yoke of Prince
Michna's command, who gouerned insolently) came vnto Prince *Alexander*, beseeching him
to stay in Valachia, promising that the whole Nobility would willingly yeeld him all obedi-
ence and fidelity. But the Prince (hauing no intent to dispossesse *Michna*) thanked them for
their good will, the which the Boyers vnderstanding, they told him, that they would bee
glad (seeing he refused it) that Prince *Cherbanne* (who had beene their Vayuod before *Michna*,
and had beene expelled Valachia by *Bethlem Gabor*, and forced to retire into Germany to the
Emperour) might returne and take vpon him the gouernment of Valachia, entreating him
to giue him passage through Moldauia if he presented himselfe, the which Prince *Alexander*
E willingly granted, desiring much that Prince *Cherbanne* were restored, for that *Michna* fauou-
red his enemy, and had himselfe a designe vpon the estate of Moldauia, which in the end he
obtained.

Prince Alexander refuseth the estate of Valachia.

Prince *Michna* being come to Playa, which is betwixt Bonza and Tergouist, he stayed
some dayes there attending his traine, during the which he sent speedily to his wife being
at Tergouist, willing her to goe with all speed to Nicopolis: for that he feared the Princes
would seise both vpon them and their estates, as they might easily haue done, if they had
foreseene what afterwards befell them. *Michna* being come to Tergouist, he presently sent
an Embassadour to Prince *Alexander*, to know vpon what designe hee had entered Valachia
with an Army, hauing no cause; but contrariwise, that he had giuen good testimony that
F he was his friend, for that hee would not assist the Bassa and *Stephano*, when they pursued
him to Cochina, notwithstanding that they were much stronger in shew; That if his intent
were onely to seise vpon *Stephano*, hee assured him that hee was not with him, but was fled
another way; promising that if he could euer take him, he would deliuer him into his hands:

intreating

intreating him withall to retire out of his estate, not suffering his army to spoyle it any more, G
and that they might continue good friends. Prince *Alexander* receiued this Embassadour
very courteously, who hearing the subject of his Embassie, made answere, That hee had
the day before sent vnto his Master to informe him of his intent, which was not to attempt
any thing against his person nor estate, but onely to pursue *Stephano* who had set fire on
the City of Yas before he parted: and to let *Michna* know, That he meant not to wrong him,
nor to enrich himselfe with any thing that was his, he had sent him backe his plate, with all
his rich moueables. *Michna's* Embassadour hauing thanked Prince *Alexander*, returned to
Tergouista, and found all true that the Prince had said; the which freed *Michna* from further
feare.

1500 Tartarians defeated by Troianoskie.

Before Prince *Alexanders* departure from Bonza, he sent the Lord *Troianoskie* with two H
thousand horse to pursue *Stephano*: but it was without effect, for he vnderstood that he had
passed the riuer of Danow with his wife, and a small traine. At the same time a troupe of
fifteene hundred Tartarians, being aduertised that the Polonians pursued *Stephano* onely with
a thousand horse, and that they were tyred with their long marches, aduanced to charge
them; but it was not with that successe they expected: for *Troianoskie* discouering them a
farre off in a plaine champion field, had leasure to put his men into foure squadrons, and
there attended them, who approching neere to discouer the number of the Polonians,
would gladly return without blowes, but it was too late: for *Troianoskie* commanded two of
his squadrons to charge them suddenly, so as within lesse than a quarter of an houre they
were defeated, and aboue foure hundred slaine vpon the place, the rest fled the same way that I
they came: of the Polonians there were not aboue fiue and twenty slaine, and about fifty
hurt.

The Princes had resolued to leaue Valachia, forbidding all Captaines and souldiers vpon
paine of death to carry away any Valachian of either sex with them, hearing they had seised
vpon some, and meant to draw a ransome from them: after which they began to march, and
being vpon the way, they were aduertised that the inhabitants of Horreoua were againe re-
uolted and in armes, refusing to acknowledge Prince *Alexander*, or to pay the accustomed tri-
bute, vnlesse he would make it appeare that he was confirmed by the Grand Seignior. Prince
Coreskie was sent thither with fiue thousand men, whose comming did so amaze them, as they
yeelded without any resistance. This Prince being loath to lose any time, laid siege to the K
towne and fort of Bialigront, seated vpon the riuer of Bohou, the which was held by the Tar-
tarians Præcopences, in which fort there was a garrison of Ianizaries, and many Boyers of
Moldauia, who defended themselues valiantly, and made many sallies, in which they slew a-
boue three hundred of the Princes men, and he himselfe was in danger to be taken, if he had
not beene speedily deliuered by the Lord of *Tischeuich* and his troupe, who charged the Iani-
zaries so resolutely, as they forced them to retire, leauing many of their men dead vpon the
place. The Prince seeing there was no hope to take the place without cannon, raised his siege
and returned to Yas to Prince *Alexander*.

Soone after, *Hebraim Bassa* wrote to Prince *Alexander* (as if he had beene his friend) giuing
him to vnderstand, That from thenceforth hee should liue quietly in Moldauia, for that the L
Grand Seigniours Lieutenant Generall or chiefe Visier (from whom *Stephano* had alwaies
drawne his chiefe support) was in disgrace, promising the Prince to employ himselfe for him
to his Master: the which he did either to make him carelesse of his owne strength, or to draw
some recompence or reward from him, if the Grand Seigniour should confirme him in
Moldauia, as there was some likelihood, seeing that *Stephano* had made himselfe altogether
vnworthy; as well by his flight, as by his wicked actions, which made him in the end so
odious to the Grand Seigniour, as hee resolued to ruine him. So as soone after they were

Stephano in disgrace with the Sultan.

aduertised, That the Grand Seigniour had giuen commandement vnto the said Bassa to
seize vpon *Stephano*, who had retired himselfe to Brahile, and to bring him vnto him aliue or
dead, with whatsoeuer did belong vnto him: the which he executed after this manner: the M
said Bassa marched with all diligence towards Brahile, carrying a Chiaux with him, and be-
ing within foure or fiue leagues of the towne, he sent one of his people to aduertise *Stephano*
of his comming, and that he meant the next day to dine with him. *Stephano* (who distrusted
nothing)

A nothing) holding the Visier to be stil his friend, parted early in the morning to meet him, and
comming neer him he alighted from his horse to do him reuerence, and the Bassa did the like;
where after some little conference together, he drew out the commission he had to seise vpon
his person, and to cary him to Constantinople. The which *Stephano* perceiuing, he turned him
to his seruants, and willed them to shift for themselues, for that hee saw hee went to his death.
His men being retired, the Chiaus who had his mace in his hand gaue him a blow betweene
the shoulders, and then caused him to be bound hand and foot, and cast into a cart drawne by
four good horses, and in this maner they caried him to Constantinople: where being ariued,
to auoid the punishment he had deserued, he denied his faith and became a renegado, & with-
all he became very poor and miserable; for at the same instant when he was taken, the Bassa
B sent to seise and carry away whatsoeuer he had at Brahile & Nicopolis, where his wife remai-
ned; so as he had nothing left him but remorse of conscience, which tormented him continu-
ally, for the barbarous cruelties he had practised in Moldauia. Some of his men returned to
Yas, and there declared what had befallen *Stephano* in their presence, for which they generally
gaue thanks vnto God, and were very ioyfull.

Soon after, newes came to Yas, That the Sultan had appointed prince *Michna* to succeed
Stephano in the principalitie of Moldauia (which is far better than that of Valachia) and that
he sent *Skinder Bassa* his General in Europ, with a powerfull army to settle the said *Michna*,
and to expel *Alexander*. The which proued so true, as on the 25 of Iune this yeare 1616, the
said Bassa came to Tergouist, where prince *Michna* attended him, with great preparatiues
C both to receiue him and to refresh his army. The Bassa entring into Tergouist, had amongst
other things of note, thirty or forty musitians on horseback, playing vpon certain instruments
almost like to gitterns, which made but silly musick; he had also many pages, who in stead of
cloaks ware the skins of leopards, lions, and tygers, as if they meant to terrifie the world; and
his army consisted of about 20000 men, some Turks, some Tartars; to whom *Michna* joyned
his forces, hauing 10000 horse and foot which he had drawn from Valachia and the neighbor
countries. The Bassa being entred the castle wheras Prince *Michna* attended him, after ma-
ny complements they entred into a great hall wel appointed, where the Bassa presented him
with his letters patents, and a robe which his master had sent to *Michna*, which hee caused to
be put on in the presence of all the noblemen of his court, proclaiming him prince of Molda-
D uia, with many ceremonies too long to relate. After which, prince *Michna* led the Bassa into
another great hall, where a feast was prepared, both for himselfe and such as hee would admit
to his table; *Michna* offering to serue the Bassa, but he would not suffer him, causing him to sit
down right against him. On the second of Iuly they departed from Tergouist, and marched
into Moldauia: wherof the Polonian princes were aduertised, but the princesse mother to *A-*
lexander maintained, that the Bassa came only to bring the patents to her son. Which dange-
rous opinion of hers grew by reason of the letters which *Hebraim Bassa* had sent to prince *A-*
lexander; not remembring that it came from a Turk his sworn enemy, and therefore not to bee
credited, especially in a matter of that importance; so as she was the cause of their vtter ruine.

Michna proclaimed Prince of Moldauia.

About this time, the General of the king of Polonia's Army, called *Zolkelchy*, enuying the
E honor which the Polonian princes had gotten by so many victories, and withall drawn by his
own priuat interest, writ to prince *Michna* and the Bassa, That if they would promise to pro-
cure the Sultan to aduance the eldest son of the deceased prince *Simeon* (who liued with him)
to be Prince of Valachia (whereof his father had bin formerly Vayuod) he would so weaken
the Princes army, as they should be forced to yeeld or flie. Whose demand being easily gran-
ted, this traitor writ to certaine Captaines of the Cossacks, that they should leaue the Prin-
ces army, and come with all speed into Poland, to accompanie *Vladislaus* their Kings son, who
had been chosen Duke of Muscouie, and meant to go thither with a great army by reason of
some crosses; and that they should be very well paid. The Cossackes (who depend vpon the
Crowne of Poland, seruing those that promise) most began to mutiny, saying plainly, That if

The Cossackes mutinie and leaue Prince Alexander.

F they had not money speedily, they would retire into their countrey, yet concealing that they
had bin called to any other seruice; and without any long stay, there parted early in a morning
about 8000, carrying with them great store of oxen, sheepe, and other cattell, with all the
spoyles they had gotten in the precedent victories.

After their example, *Bicho* General of Prince *Alexanders* army, whether corrupted by bribes,

or

or for that he had an apprehension of this powerfull army that came against them, retired al-
so secretly toward *Michna* and the Bassa, being followed by 2000 horse. This much amased G
the princes army, & yet as if they had bin inchanted by some diuellish charms, they could not
resolue to make a retreit while they might haue don it without danger. Many aduised prince
Alexander to this course, yea prince *Michna* by letters persuaded him to return into Polonia,
before his army came neerer to Yas. Which he did for fear of the successe, wherof his false
prophet had forewarned him, as is formerly noted. Wherupon *Alexander* went to counsel the
25 of Iuly, but they could not resolue; the commaunders and souldiers being much diuided,
most of them demanding their pay, else they would not fight; the which they took for a pre-
tence of their retreit. In the mean time the Tartars, who made the vantgard of prince *Mich-*
na's army, approched, which made the princes to leaue Yas, & to march toward Cochina: but H
they could not do it so secretly but the Tartars heard of it, who past speedily thorow the city
and charged them in the reare. In which incounter *George Potoskie*, Nephew to him that was
taken with *Constantine*, hauing fought valiantly, & slain many Tartars with his own hand, was
in the end shot thorow the body with an arrow, wherof he died presently. The lord *Tischeuich*
came speedily to the charge with a troupe of Cossacks which he had staied, and charged the
Tartars so furiously, as he slew 800 vpon the place and put the rest to rout.

Alexander hauing receiued the forementioned letter from prince *Michna*, made answer, that
contrary to his promise to continue his friend, & neuer to take arms against him, he had cra-
ued aid of the Turk to dispossesse him of Moldauia, to which his predecessor had neuer pre-
tended, neither could they according to the fundamentall lawes of the country, and the con- I
uentions accorded by the grand Seignior when as the Moldauians submitted themselues vn-
der his soueraignty, by the which no man could be Vayuod of Moldauia vnlesse he were born
in the country. Moreoner, he should remember that it was in his power to dispossesse him of
Valachia, when as he entred Bonza with his army in pursuit of *Stephano*: the which he would
not do, nor detain any of his pretious moueables, but had sent them all vnto him. That if hee
abused the power which he then had, God would not suffer so great an ingratitude and vsurpa-
tion to passe vnpunished. And although his army were far inferior to his, yet he should know
hee neither feared him nor the Bassa, putting his chiefe confidence in the Almighties assi-
stance, who had in many occasions vsed them to abate the Turkes pride, which hee should ab-
hor if he were a true Christian, rather than to join with them to satisfie his ambition. K

Prince *Michna* hauing sent this letter to *Skinder Bassa* Generall of the Turks army, he was so
insenced, as hee presently commaunded his Lieutenant to pursue the Polonians with 12000
choice men, they being then at Cotnard betwixt Yas and Cochina. Prince *Alexander* beeing
aduertised hereof, he suddenly caused his army to aduance towards the fort of Cochina. At
the same time Prince *Cherbannes* Chancellour, who came with a hundred and fifty horse vnto
prince *Alexander*, to aduertise him that his master was comming to his aid with fiue or sixe
thousand men, was pursued by the Turks neer vnto Yas, wheras he thought to haue found the
said prince; and of all his troupe only himself and one more escaped, so as the prince could
haue no certain news of the said *Cherbanne*. Prince *Coresky*, who had staied with 2500 horse
not far from Cotnard, was also incountred with a great troup of Turks and Tartars, which he L
could not wel discouer by reason of a little mountain that couered them. The prince seeing
some of them appear, charged them; but finding that as he defeated one troup, a fresh succee-
ded in his place, he was forced to retire, with this aduantage, that he had slain almost 6000 of
his enemies, hauing not lost aboue 250 of his owne men. But the prince was wounded with
two arrows, one in the thigh, and the other in the backe, which was a great disaster for himself
and for the whole army. He which commanded this troup of Turkes being very much ama-
sed at this vnexpected incounter, hauing gathered his men together, and joined them to fif-
teen thousand others whom the Bassa had sent, he being yet at Yas, he caused this army to ap-
proch within a quarter of a league of the Polonians; where hauing incouraged his men in
what he could, he told them, That to shew his affection vnto the Sultans seruice in this occa- M
sion, he was resolued to send a challenge to prince *Coresky*, whom hee confessed to be the most
valiant man of all the Polonian army. So as he presently dispatched one of his Captaines to
go vnto the prince, and to call him in the behalfe of his Generall. The Captaine comming
to *Alexanders* camp, demanded to speak with prince *Coresky*; who being brought vnto him, de-
liuered

Prince Coresky challenged by the Turks General.

A liuered the charge he had from the Generall. The prince, although he were neither able to
stand, nor to sit on horseback, by reason of his wounds, yet would needs haue accepted this
challenge, if prince *Alexander* and the chiefe noblemen of the army had not conjured him to
excuse himselfe by reason of his indispositon; letting him know, that the euent of such a
combat did not only import him, but all those of his party, who had their chief hope in him.
Wherunto the princesses added their instant intreaties, and among others his deare Spouse,
who was much afflicted for his wounds. The Lord *Tischeuich* a braue and valiant Gentleman
being then present, earnestly intreated prince *Alexander* to giue him leaue to accept of the
challenge for prince *Coresky* his cousin: the which being easily granted, he sent a Gentleman
with the said Turk, to know if the General would yeeld thereunto. Which he did willingly,
B not being ignorant of the qualitie and valour of the said *Tischeuich*. It was agreed, That the
combat should be betwixt both armies, lying in an open field, within a quarter of a league of
one another, with promise that neither party should be assisted.

These two braue warriors hauing taken leaue of their friends, came to the place appointed
in view of both armies. The Turks General being about fifty paces from his army, caused wa-
ter to be brought, with which he washed his mouth, eies, nose, ears, and priuy parts; beleeuing
(according to his Law) that this washing would serue as a purifying: then turning toward the
East he made his prayer, after which he went to horseback, being richly armed and furnished,
and then marched softly toward his aduersarie, who attended him well mounted and armed,
and so began the combat; their chief arms being bows and arrows, which they spent without
C hurting one another; til at last *Tischeuich* hauing a petronel, shot the Turke thorow the body
and ouerthrew him, who striuing to rise again, *Tischeuich* passed ouer him with his horse, and
wounded him in his right arm, and at the next blow slew him: after which he cut off his head
and caried it to prince *Alexander*.

The Polonians were very ioyfull of the happy successe of this famous combat; and the
Turks being much amased, aduertised the Bassa and *Michna*, That they should bring the rest
of the army and their cannon, if they would be reuenged of the Polonians. In the mean time
the traitor *Bicho*, who had abandoned prince *Alexander*, with a troup of two thousand Tartari-
ans and Moldauians found means to get before the Polonian army, and to cut off the way be-
twixt Cotnarde and the town of Bothocan six leagues off. The Valachians and Transylva-
D nians led by the General of *Michna's* army inuested them vpon the right hand, and the body
of the Turks army followed behind: so as there remained nothing but vpon the left hand a
wood of timber trees, which might fauor their retreit.

Skinder Bassa hearing the successe of the combat, commanded his army to aduance present-
ly with sixteen canons. The Princes seeing themselues inuironed by so many enemies, they
resolued to fortifie themselues with their carts and carriages, and to defend themselues. But
what could fiue or six thousand men prouail against two or three and twenty thousand; for so
many were thought to be in the Turks army. True it is, they expected daily prince *Cherbanne*
& the lord *Bossi*, who were within two dais journy, and brought with them ten or 12000 men.
This made the Bassa and *Michna* to aduance, to force the Polonians to yeeld or to fight. Com-
E ming neer vnto their camp, and seeing themselues inuested on all sides but toward the wood,
they approched their cannon, which had been able to haue spoyled their Campe; but that it
was not their designe; for they only desired to take the princes and princesses prisoners, with
the chiefe Noblemen and Captaines of the Army. Whereupon they sent to summon the
Polonian souldiers to deliuer into their hands the said princes and Lords, promising that the
rest of the Army should depart with bag and baggage. Whereunto they would not yeeld,
but made an answer with one consent, That they would rather die than commit such basenes
and treacherie. This being reported to the Bassa and prince *Michna*, they commaunded that
some of their canon should be charged with small bullets, and discharged through the Polo-
nian army, wherby a great number were slaine and wounded. The princes who had but some
F smal pieces, made certain vollies, but to small purpose: neither had they any more bullets left,
and little pouder, for that by il chance part had bin burnt some few daies before: so that all
things seemed to foretell their ruine at hand. The Lord *Tischeuich* hauing diligently obser-
ued, that remaining in that inclosure he could not escape death, or at least captiuity, resolued

The princes of Polonia inuironed by their enemies.

with

with 500 horse, the most valiant amongst the Polonians, to force thorow three or four squa- G
drons which were set in gard by the wood side, to the end none might escape, that place bee-
ing most suspected by the Turks. The which they executed with such fury, as they ouerthrew
all they incountred; shewing that it is a very dangerous thing to make head against those who
are reduced to that extremitie as they must either vanquish or die. Prince *Coresky* would not
haue failed to haue made the like retreit, and to haue carried prince *Alexander* with him; but
he could not sit on horseback by reason of his wounds: and besides, he had rather haue died,
than to leaue his wife in that extremitie. His last refuge was to disguise himself as well as he
could, giuing it out that he was escaped with *Tisheskich*, that so he might passe for a common
soldier if the prisoners were put to ransom. In like maner the Princesses disguised themselues
for the like intent.

The Turks cannon hauing ouerthrown many of their cariages, which serued as a Rampier, H
two squadrons, one of Tartars, another of Turks, presented themselues at one instant, in two
seueral places to force the Polonian camp; who seeing no means to make resistance and to re-
pel their enemies, laid down their arms, and yeelded. Wherat their enemies were exceeding
glad, desiring nothing more than to take these noble princes prisoners, and to dispose of the
rest at their pleasure. The Turks and Tartars hauing entred their camp, making spoil of all,
and seising vpon what they could lay hands on, beginning to share their prisoners, the princes
The Princes taken prisoners. *Iexander* and *Bougdan*, with their mother, were deliuered vnto *Skinder Bassa*, who led them to
Constantinople, wheras soon after their arriual they forsook their God, denied their faith, and
became renegado's, for fear of perpetual imprisonment wherewith they were threatened. For I
which infidelitie *Bougdan* was presently punished, for hauing caused himself to be circumci-
sed according to the Law of *Mahomet*, he died, and the Princesse his mother was confined to
the old Seraglio. As for prince *Coreskie*, in this generall ruin of a Christian army (being for-
ced to yeeld and submit it selfe to the Turks tyrannie) he had so disguised himselfe, that hee
past for a time vnknown, and was led to Yas among the common soldiers; where he was after-
wards discouered by a soldier of his own party, who obtained his libertie by this base treche-
rie. The Turkish Captaine who had gotten the Prince, hearing of his qualitie by the afore-
said Villein, he led him vnto *Skinder Bassa* the Generall, who recompenced him well, and made
both him and the souldier that discouered him, to take solemne oathes not to impart it to any
man; for he had an intent to draw some great ransom from this prince, and to restore him to K
his former libertie; knowing wel, that if he caried him to Constantinople the grand Seignior
would confine him into his prisons, by which means he should make no vse nor benefit by his
taking. But it hapned, that another Perfidious of the Polonian army aduertised *Michna* of
Coreskies captiuitie, and in whose hands he was; who was so jealous, as he crost and ouerthrew
the good designe of *Skinden Bassa*, telling him plainly in the presence of many, That hee knew
for certain prince *Coresky* was among his slaues, and that he should beware he did not escape,
for that the grand Seignior would call him to account. The General answered, That he would
be glad if it were so, but he had not yet any notice of him, thanking *Michna* for his good ad-
uice. But fearing that if he did what he intended, suffering prince *Coresky* to escape for a ran-
som, the Sultan comming to the knowledge therof would be much insenced, and punish him L
with disgrace or death, the next day he told prince *Michna* plainely, that the aduice that hee
had giuen him was true, and that *Coresky* had bin found disguised among his other prisoners,
whom he would present vnto his master, with the princes *Alexander* and *Bougdan*; as he did, of
whose deliuerie you shall heare hereafter. The yong princesse wife to *Coresky*, hauing disgui-
sed her selfe and dis-figured her face with her nailes and other helpes, fel into the hands of a
Tartarian captain, with many others, who caried her into Tartarie, wheras she was inhumanly
intreated.

In the Mediterranian sea *Cosmo* great Duke of Tuscanie continued his enterprises this
yeare against the Turks: his gallies part from Ligorne and runne into the Levant, in quest of
some occasions to anoy these infidels. They drew neere vnto Cerigo, in old time Cythera, M
the twenty fift of April; where meeting with certaine Christian ships, some Venetians aduer-
sised them, That in the Iland of Chio the Turkes had prepared two gallies to passe into Bar-
barie. *Inghirami* Admiral to the great Duke resolued to set vpon them: beeing on the way,
he

A he turned with his fleet where they were to passe, and being couered by the night, hee cast an-
chor vnder castle Roux. But as he attended a fair occasion, the Moone shining discouered him
vnto the Turks; and the gards hauing aduertised the Turkes Gallies, they presently began to
flie, the one rowing amaine towards land, and the other continuing her course at sea with all
speed. *Inghirami* with his Admirall gally got before that which was going to land, inuested
it (being followed by the gally called S. *Stephen*) and three houres within night grapled with
it, and labored to enter it: but the Turks (who were all good souldiers) defended it valiantly,
so as they were aboue an hour fastned together, hewing one another furiously: yea the Turks
entring *Inghirami* his gally, fought valiantly vpon the hatches; but in the end the Florentines
had the victorie, and took this gally, yet with much losse of Christian bloud. It was the Pa-
B tron gally of that famous pyrat *Amurath Raise*, which was commanded by the son of *Mammi a*
Portugall, called *Mustapha Celebi*, who was taken aliue, but sore wounded. The other Galley *Turkish gallies taken by the Florentines.*
which was fled to sea, and was the Captaine galley of the said *Amurath Raise*, commanded by
the Bey of Mitylene, nephew and son in law to the said pirat, called *Amurath*, who had mar-
ried his daughter, being his mothers son, was inuested by the gallies of S. *Mary Magdalen*, and
the Patron S. *Cosmo*. This combat was no lesse furious than the other, the Turkes making a
wonderful defence: but in the end, the bloud on either side being abundantly spilt, the Flo-
rentines had the victorie. *Amurath* Bey of Mitylene was slain, and *Mustapha*, whom these Tur-
kish gallies carried to Algier in Barbary. They were of twenty siue bankes a piece, carrying
lanthorns, and furnished with all things necessary, manned with 420 Ianizaries, all men of a-
C ction, and practised in piracies with that pirat *Amurath Rais*. In this prize the Florentines
took 240 Turks; and freed 430 Christians: among the artillery of these gallies they recoue-
red a cannon and two sacres of the gally of S. *Iohn*, and a sail belonging to the great dukes cap-
tain gally, which the pirat *Amurath Rais* had formerly spoiled. These Turkish gallies were
loden with great store of rich commodities, the which were valued at 200000 crownes. But
this conquest was got with the losse of much bloud; for of the Florentines two hundred
twenty three men were wounded, and 35 slain in those two combats: which made the Admiral
Inghirami to rest satisfied in this voyage with the taking of two gallies, after which hee retur-
ned to Ligorn.

We haue formerly made mention in the Iesuits businesse, being presented at Constantino-
D ple, of the Emperors Embassadors entry into that city: and this was the effect of his Embas-
sage. The peace concluded at Situa Torok, *Anno* 1606, betwixt the Emperour and the Sul-
tan, was somewhat altred by the diuers interpretations and explications which they made of
the articles therin contained; but this year 1616, in the month of March, the Embassadors of
both their Imperial Maiesties assembled at Vienna: namely the Cardinall *Forgatsie* Archbi-
shop of Strigonium and Chancellor to the Emperor, Cardinal *Klessel* Bishop of Vienna, the
Baron of Rainek, Count *Adolph Althem*, the Earle of Solmes, the Earle of Thoron, and *Paul*
Apponi Nagi, for the Emperor: *Hali* Bassa of Buda, *Achmat Tybaia*, and *Gasper Gratsiani* for the
Turk. Where they concluded these following articles, to take away all pretext of controuer-
sie, in the explication of those which were agreed vpon at Situa Torok. But it was after that
E Embassadors had been sent on either side, as well to Constantinople as to Prague, with royall
and rich presents.

Articles extracted out of the Letters Patents of *Achmat* Emperor of the Turks.

1 *For asmuch as many things haue hapned on either side, contrary to the peace concluded at Situa Torok, it hath bin necessary to confirm it anew, and to reduce it into the right course. Wherfore this holy peace made and concluded at Situa Torok shall be obserued for twenty yeares compleat, to begin at*
F *the date of these presents. Giuen in the month of Chomazilabil, in the year of the Prophet* 1024.

2 *That the Peace hertofore concluded at Situa Torok shall remain firm in all the articles, according to the treaty which the Emperor* Rodulphus *did send vnto vs, signed with his hand, and sealed with his seal; the which we haue receiued willingly, and the same treaty we also sent back confirmed to the Emperor*

of the Romans; the which he receiued in like maner. And this treaty which was sent vnto vs, bare date the ninth of December, in the year 1606, of Iesus of reuerend and happy memory; and that which wee sent vnto the Emperor of Romans, wherwith he was satisfied, was dated in the year of the Prophet 1021. G

3. Since the time that Agria, Canise, Alba-Regalis, Pesth, Buda, Solnoc, Hatwan, and other places haue bin taken, that the villages which were of their appurtenances shall hereafter remain annexed vnto them. But those villages which since the peace of Situa Torok, haue bin hindred from paying of their tribute on either side, or haue bin held by force, contrary to the treaty of peace, that those villages shall bee viewed by Commissaries appointed by vs and the Emperor of the Romans, and presently shall bee set at libertie, and restored to their Lords and right owners. As for the villages which pay tribute to either part, those which are scituat vpon the frontiers of the Emperour of the Romanes, toward Novigrade and other places, shall be viewed by Commissaries thereunto deputed, who shall take a register, to the end those villages may not be molested by their neighbors. In like manner the Commissarie shall make a register of the villages that pay to both sides, lying neer the towns of the Emperor of Romans, of Strigonium, and other places; to the end they may take notice what villages are bound to the one or to the other party, that hereafter there might grow no controuersie. And for that which concerned the 158 villages about Strigonium, for the which there was some controuersie; the 60 lying neerest vnto the said towne shall be adiudged as it hath bin agreed, and the Commissaries of either side shall take order for it. The foresaid villages lying neer to Strigonium, and all other of the realm of Hungary, which shall be adiudged to the one or other party shall not in any sort be disquieted, more than of antient custome, and there shall nothing bee exacted from them more than the tribute. H

The Iudges of villages shall pay vnto the Lords the tributes according to the antient custome; If the Iudges do not bring the tribute, the Bassa or Beg of the place shall summon the Inhabitants thrice, to the end their Iudges may come and pay their tribute: and if they do it not after these summonings, hee shall write vnto the next Gouernor for the Roman Empire, that the Iudges of the villages may be sent to him with the tribute. And finally, if after all these formalities it be not payed, the Bassa or Beg may vse force to fetch in these Inhabitants and make them slaues. The which shall be obserued thorowout all the villages which owe vs tribute in the realm of Hungary; yet nothing shall bee exacted or demaunded of them, more than they haue been accustomed to pay in antient times. The Commissaries deputed, shall view and set down by a ioynt consent, the limits and bounds of the lands and signiories which are held by either part in the vpper or lower Hungary, and in the realms of Croatia and Sclavonia. I

4 They that shall break the peace of either part, if they canot be conuicted and punished instantly, we haue decreed, That there shall be order taken on either side, and justice shall be don within three moneths. All prisoners of war, and others that haue bin taken since the peace of Torok, shall be set at liberty without ransome. K

5 Achmet Tahaia hath presented vnto vs a Roll of places built and fortified since the peace, for the retreat of soldiers. Whereupon we haue ordained, That information shall be taken of all fortifications made on either side since the peace of Situa Torok; and if it be found that any fortification hath bin made contrary to the peace, it shall be visited within three moneths, by the captains on both sides, or by a Nobleman of either party, and the fortifications which shall be found to haue bin thus made contrary vnto the peace, shall be demolished.

6 And for that some wicked and malicious spirits haue attempted many things vniustly, to infringe this holy peace and good amity, we haue ordained, That if hereafter any person on either side shall attempt or practise any thing that is wicked and lewd, contrary to the peace and mutuall correspondencie, wee will auertise the Emperor of Romans therof: and in like maner the Roman Emperour, King of Hungary and Bohemia, shall write vnto vs to our Court, and no credit shall be giuen to the reports of such persons. L

7 The Priests, religious men, and Iesuits, amoug the people of holy Iesus, which follow the Popes Religion, may build Temples in our Realms, there to say diuine seruice after their manner, and read the Gospell. We will yeeld them all fauor, and will not suffer any one to disturb them contrary to law and equitie.

8 It shall be lawfull for the inhabitants born in the realm of Hungary of either part, to re-edifie the villages ruined and laid wast; and after they are inhabited, they shall pay tribute to the one and the other, if they be such villages as haue bin accustomed to pay to both. M

9 Merchants shall haue free leaue to traffique, passing from our port into those Countries, and the transport of merchandise shall be free to such as shall take letters from the Gouernours of the frontiers, or from the Receiuers of the thirties; the which they shall represent in passing; and the Lord of the place, or the

A the Receiuer shall attest the said letters by his manual signe or seale; for the which they shall take nothing of the Merchant. If he be to passe by any dangerous place, they shall giue him a sufficient conuoy to conduct him in safety; and after that the Merchant hath payd of either side the thirtieth, which is the full due, no man shall molest him, nor hinder him to go where he pleaseth.

10 The Merchants which would passe from the realms and signiories of the Emperour of the Romans and the house of Austria, into our kingdom, with merchandise or mony, shal come vnder the ensigne of the Emperor of Romans, and shall haue his letters patents to vs, without the which they shall not be suffered to passe. And if they enter without ensigne or patents, the Agents and Consuls of the Roman Emperour may seise vpon their vessels, merchandise, and mony, and shall giue aduice thereof vnto their Emperor. Wherfore all the Merchants of the Emperors countries, of the house of Austria, and of the King of B Spain, both as well those of the Low-countries, as his other realmes, may come with all assurance into our realms, with their ships, mony, and merchandise, paying three in the hundred. And as for the Agents and Consuls of the Roman Empire, they shall pay vnto them two Aspers for the hundred: and in doing so, the said Agents and Consuls for the Roman Emperor shall haue a care of the merchants affairs. If any merchant shall chance to die, the Emperors Agent and Consul shall cause his goods to be sealed vp, and shall take them into his possession, to which our Treasurer shall haue no colour of pretension. And when as the merchants haue payd the custom of three for the hundred in one place, they shall not be bound to pay in another for the same merchandise. If the Merchants haue any controuersies among st themselues or with others, the Cadi or Iudge of the place may take knowledge of the cause, if it exceed not the value of 4000 Aspers, but it shall be iudged by the Cadi of our Port.

C 11. As long as this holy peace shall continue, the Posts which shal be sent with letters from the Bassa's, Begs, Lords, and Agents, or by the Visiers on our behalf, to the Emperor of the Romanes, and respectuely from him to our Court, shall be honorably entertained by our officers: and if the way bee dangerous, they shall giue them assistance to conduct them into a place of safety with their letters. And if the agent which is with vs desire to write any particular letter vnto the Emperor, and not send an expresse messenger, that this letter shall be caried by the post, and deliuered safely where it is directed. That the messengers of the Bassa's and Begs shall go no more into the villages, but the Iudges shall bring the tribute and deliuer it where they ought.

D An Accord for the execution of the Articles touching the villages in controuersie, and the rasing of fortifications.

TO conclude all differences touching the diuision of Villages, and demolition of fortifications made in preiudice of the peace of Situa Torok; we the Commissaries deputed had agreed vpon the time of four moneths. But for that all controuersies cannot be decided within that time, by a common consent we haue concluded the time of twelue moneths, for the expedition of all that shall remaine vndecided; all things remaining in the same estate during the time. For the ending of these affairs on the behalf of the Maiesty of the Roman Emperor, shall be sent the noble Lord Adolph of Alihem Earle of the sacred empire, with others according to his Maieslies good pleasure. And on the behalfe of the Othoman Emperor hath been named the noble Lord Ali Visier Bassa.

E For the greater assurance of these things, we the said Commissioners haue caused six copies of this treaty to be dispatched in the Italian, Hungarian, and Turkish tongues. And we the director or President of the priuy Councell to his Imperiall Maiesty, and Cardinall, with other Counsellours of his priuy Councell, and Commissioners, hauing full power and authoritie, haue confirmed these presents vnder our hands and the seals of our arms.

As also we Ali Bassa of Buda, Visier to the most powerfull Sultan Achmat, Tyhaia Mustafaraga, and Gasper Gratiani, Embassadors for the Turkish Emperor with the Imperial Maiesty of the Roman Emperor, hauing full power and authoritie to conclude this treaty, haue signed it with our hands, and sealed it with our ordinary seals: wherof there were three copies deliuered to either party. Given at Vienna the first of March, 1616.

F

This new declaration of the Othoman Emperor, vpon the first Articles concluded at Situa Torok, shewes plainly how much the Turks are of late daies refined from their antiene barbarisme and rudenesse, hauing made themselues capable of great affairs. And these frequent meetings

meetings betwixt the Emperor of the Romanes and the Sultan, by their Embassadours, as an holy watering of the Oliue tree of peace, seemes to make it so flourishing, as the sweet sauour may pierce farther, and make vs hope that God wil make vse of this peaceful vnion, to prepare vnto himselfe some means for a new harueſt, or a healthful conquering of soules, wandring amidst the falshoods of the Alchoran.

Prince Coresky his wife caried into Tartary.

Alexandrina wife to prince *Coresky*, hauing bin taken at that vnfortunate ouerthrow of the Polonian Princes in Moldauia, by *Skinder Bassa* and prince *Michna*; she was carried away (as you haue formerly heard) by a Tartar captaine, and led captiue vnknowne to Bialigrot, where she receiued many indignities being with childe; yea during the time of her lying in, beeing fiue or six months after her taking. All which time she bethought her selfe of a means to hasten her own deliuery, and withall to free a Polonian soldier called *Iaques*, who had bore arms vnder prince *Coresky*. This man although he knew the Princesse well, and might by her discouerie haue purchased his own libertie, yet he would not do it: wherfore the Princesse hauing tried his fidelitie, taught him a meanes how to work his owne libertie, and hers in the end, by his care and diligence. The Tartar one day being absent, *Alexandrina* took occasion to talke with this *Iaques*; telling him, That hauing found him faithfull vnto her, she would direct him a course wherby hee might redeeme himselfe out of captiuitie, so as he would principally obserue what she did prescribe. *Iaques* hauing promised to execute whatsoeuer this lady should enjoin him, though it were to the hasarding of his life; she then said vnto him, You know the Tartarian whose captiues we are hath an elder brother a very rich man, who of late is become blind and deaf, by reason of a great catarrhe and defluxion which is fallen down into his eyes and ears, wherwith his brother seems to be much afflicted. I haue a jewel which my Lord and husband gaue me when we were made sure; the which I haue kept carefully, hiding it sometimes in my hair, somtimes in my old tatterd rags which I haue worn since my captiuity: the which I haue much esteemed, for that my deare spouse assured me, that the stone which was set in this jewel had many and singular vertues; and amongst others, that it would restore the sight which was lost by defluxion, and cure deafnes, so as it were not natural or too inueterate. I am resolued to take out the stone and deliuer it to thee: after which thou maist sound the Tartarian, whether he wil set thee at libertie if thou cureſt his brother; making him sweare solemnly not to retain the stone, but to suffer thee to carry it away, to the end thou mayst restore it vnto me without his knowledge. Hauing resolued vpon this plot, the lady said vnto him, You must also demand of the sick man an horse and some mony, with pasports to go into your country, to the end thou mayst go speedily to my deare husband, wheresoeuer thou shalt hear of him, and deliuer him my letters and bring mee an answer if it be possible. *Iaques* hauing sworn to perform whatsoeuer the lady commanded him, beeing at libertie, the princesse deliuered him the stone, he swearing to restore it vnto her again so soone as hee had done his cure, if it were not taken from him by violence.

The Polonian attended with impatiencie, vntil that the Tartarian did talk vnto him of his brothers infirmitie: who finding him one day much afflicted, took occasion to tel him, that he knew a certain means how to cure his brother without any pain, or taking any thing inwardly. I beleeue nothing (replied the Tartar) for all the physitians in the country canot do it: but if he could effect his saying, he promised to set him at liberty without ransom, and to giue him wherwithall to conduct him into his country. It is the recompence (said the prisoner) that I meant to demand, and that you swear vnto me by your great God, not to faile of your promise when I haue performed mine, and not to detain, nor suffer any one to take from me the thing I shall vse in the cure. The Tartarian hauing solemnly sworne, and laid his right hand vpon his heart, the Polonian took a time to make preparation for his cure. The Tartarian although he distrusted his new physitian, yet he acquainted his brother with the project; who beeing desirous to recouer his sences, intreated his brother not to neglect the offer, promising to saue him harmlesse, both in respect of the ransom which he expected from the Polonian, and the mony he should giue him. The day appointed being come, the Tartarian prest his prisoner to perform his promise. To whom the diseased man also promised an horse, with 50 chequines to return into his Countrey, taking the same oath which his brother formerly had done. All things being now readie, hee applied his physicall stone, binding it fast vnto one of his eyes for

for the space of seuen hours; after which being taken away he saw clearly; and in like manner he recouered his other eie, and afterward his hearing by the like application. Whereat the Tartars much rejoiced, giuing vnto the Polonian what they had promised, and procuring him pasports from the Gouernor, without which he could hardly get out of the country.

Iaques fetcheth out Coresky.

The Polonian before his departure told the Tartarian captain that he had a suit vnto him, which was, That the Polonian woman which was also his prisoner was his neer kinswoman, intreating him, that in respect of his good office he had don vnto his brother, he would vse her and her little infant better, & that as soon as he were returned into his country, he would take a course for her ransome, and perhaps would bring it himself. The Polonian hauing acquainted the Lady with what had past, and deliuered her jewell faithfully vnto her, hauing receiued her letters to prince *Coresky*, and vowed to find him out, he took his leaue. This Polonian trauelling toward his country met with one of the same nation, who hauing bin taken prisoner with prince *Alexander*, made an escape. These two discoursing freely of their aduentures, *Iaques* inquired carefully what was become of the princes who had bin caried prisoners to Constantinople by *Skinder Bassa*, and especially of *Coresky*; and hearing that he was in the prisons of the Black sea, he inquired by what means he might speake with this prince, or at least how he might conuey some letters vnto him. To whom he answered, that it was very difficult, for that he was streitly garded: but he vnderstood that the French Embassadour had sometimes leaue to send to visit him, wherof he might inform himself more particularly. After this, *Iaques* entreated his countryman to deliuer certain letters which the princesse had written vnto her kinsfolks; the which he promised to perform faithfully, and so they parted. *Iaques* comming to Constantinople, grew acquainted with one of the French Embassadours men, who was somtimes imploied to visit the Prince, & cary him mony & other necessaries; by whose means he had accesse to the Prince, and deliuered his letters, the which he receiued very ioyfully, hearing of his wiues health. Eight daies after, the Polonian comming to visit the prince he receiued from him an answer to his wife, & so took his leaue: who after many troublesome incounters returned to Bialigrot; where finding the lady all alone (the Tartarian and his seruants being gon a hunting) he gaue an account her of his negotiation, and deliuered his letters, wherat she much rejoiced, hearing that he was aliue; though infinitly grieued at his captiuitie, vnderstanding that the grand Seignior had refused to put him to ransom. After their discourse, the Princesse aduertised her faithfull Agent, That since his departure the Tartar grew jealous of her qualitie, and had inquired of her what her husband, her kinsfolk, and their estates were. To whom she had answered, That her husband was a Captain who had been taken prisoner with prince *Alexander*, and carried with him into Turky; and as for her other kinsfolks they were all soldiers, who had bin ruined during the wars of Moldauia. Desiring the Polonian to remember it well, lest they should be found to differ when they should come to treat of her ransom. The Tartarian returning soone after to his house, he found *Iaques* the Polonian there; whom he entertained very kindly, both in regard of the good offices hee had done for his brother, and for the hope he had of his prisoners ransome, remembring that *Iaques* had told him that she was his kinswoman, and that it might be he would bring it. After some little discourse, *Iaques* asked him what ransom he would require for his Polonian prisoner. To whom the Tartarian answered, That he would haue 6000 chequines for her and her sonne, vnlesse he would giue him the stone with the which he had cured his brother. To whom the Polonian replied, That as for the stone, it was not in his power, hauing restored it to a Nobleman whom he had followed when he was taken prisoner. And as for the ransom which he demaunded for his prisoner and her child, it was more than she and all her kindred were worth, shee being wife to a captain who had bin taken prisoner at the defeat of *Alexander*, and for want of means was stil detained. The Tartarian interrupted him, saying, That he vnderstood shee was of noble extraction, and that she had rich kinsfolks, who would not suffer her to spend her life in captiuitie. I confesse, said the Polonian, that she is issued from noble parents, but they are ruined during the troubles of Moldauia; adding withall, that he would not haue returned, if he had thought he would haue demanded aboue 1000 Chequines, the which he offered him, intreating him to accept it, in regard she was his kinswoman, and for the good office hee had don for his brother. You haue bin satisfied, replied the Tartarian, and haue no cause to complaine.

plain. Notwithstanding after some contesting, by the mediation of the Captaines brother who had bin so wel cured, the ladies ransome was set at three thousand chiquines, whereof her faithfull agent gaue present intelligence to prince *Charles* brother to prince *Corecky*, who sent this sum with all possible speed: and so the princesse and her little infant were redeemed from captiuity, and conducted into Polonia by her faithful solicitor. From whence she aduertised the prince by letters of her deliuery. This relation was written by a Frenchman, who by his report was present in all the troubles of Moldauia. But as touching her deliuery by meanes of the cure, I cannot warrant it, but leaue it to the censure of physitians and Naturalists, who can best iudge of the vertues of stones, herbs, and plants; but it is certain that she was imprisoned and ransomed as an vnknown person. G

Prince Corecky his wife redeemed from the Tartars.

In the year 1617 there came to Paris a Chiaus a Spanish Renegado, called *Solyman*, sent from Constantinople with letters from Sultan *Achmat* to the King, for the deliuery of twentie eight slaues, who had redeemed their liberty for mony in diuers ports of Italy, and in their return to Constantinople had bin taken by the ships of Marseilles. The King caused them to be set at liberty. But the Chiaus had charge also to intreat his Maiesty to cause justice to be done vpon the Moores Granadines, expelled out of Spain, and wronged in their goods & persons vpon their passage into France: wherin he had what contentement he could expect of justice. Notwithstanding he did witnesse openly his amasement at their long delaies, in the dispatch of suits; saying plainly, That France which had the reputation thorowout the world, to maintaine euery mans right inuiolably, did no justice but after long and tedious pursuits; and that the execution of decrees was many times longer than the suit it selfe. Whereas the Turks justice (said he) was speedily administred to euery man, & within eight daies they saw an end of the greatest and most important suits. This Chiaus was fauorably entertained, and defraied with his train for the space of six or seuen moneths at the Kings charge. H I

As the Turks estate hath not growne great but by combustions, so it is ordinarily full of troubles; wherby it seems the preseruation thereof depends in making war vpon others, or to support it, when as neighbour princes seeke to recouer that which they had vniustly wrested from them by the *Othoman* force. So this great Estate entertained this yeare foure great Armies, two at land, the one against the Persian his antient enemy; the other (consisting in a maner all of Tartarians) against the king of Poland, as supporting the part of the Vayuod of Moldauia against the Turke, who had setled another in that prouince. And two nauall Armies, the one in the Black sea against the Cossacks and Rassians, who made daily incursions into the *Othomans* country; men wholly giuen to arms, who go to sea in small boats, able to carry but fiue or six men, made of the bodies of hollow trees; but they are in a maner inuincible with these kind of boats: for when as the disaduantages of a combat forces them to sound a retreit, they retyre neer vnto the land, and in such places where the Turkish gallies cannot approch, and so they easily preuent a totall ouerthrow. Finally, in case of necessitie they carry their vessels with them: for in the end of the last yeare, finding the passage of the blacke sea stopped at the mouth of the riuer of Danow, by the Turkish gallies, they put their boats into carts, and taking the way by the mountains brought them easily into the sea. Their fourth army was in the white sea, as they call it, imploied either to conduct the Carauan which brings the tribute from Egypt to Constantinople, or in search of the gallies of Malta and Florence, which scour those seas continually to anoy the Turk. The army against the Persian was led by *Haly Bassa* successor to *Mehemet Bassa*, he who fled into Persia after hee had lost sixty thousand men in a set battel; after which being sent for to come to Constantinople, fearing that the Sultan would take reuenge of so great a losse vpon his life, hee retyred to the Sophy and there remained. K L

The Turkes being much annoyed both at sea and land by the Vscoques, made great complaint to the States of Venice, with whom they were in league, being greatly grieued at their thefts, and complaining much, that they could not passe by sea without danger of seruitude or death: adding withall, That these pirats hauing gotten away into Turky, by the Venetian territories, they were by them made slaues and slain in their own countries, and although they went not from their house, nor vndertook any voyages, yet they were stil in alarm and subiect vnto ruin. That the small resistance which was made gaue great cause of jealousie that there M was

A was some secret intelligence betwixt the subiects of the Seigniory of Venice, and the Vscoques, and that they diuided the spoyle betwixt them. Finally, that in what sort soeuer the matter past, they held them insupportable to al men, but especially to themselues. The Turks threatned to take their iust reuenge, the which being impossible to effect in the countrey of the Vscoques (for that by the letters of the commonwealth of Venice their passage was stopped) they resolued to be reuenged vpon their subiects, and recouer a part of their goods which they had lost. Finally, they prepared to come into the gulph of Venice with a mighty army, the which without doubt had brought that State into great extremities, and been very prejudiciall to many Prouinces of Christendome. But for that the insolencies and thefts of the Vscoques had like to haue ingaged the Venetians in a dangerous war against the Turke with B whom they were in league, it shall neither be vnpleasant nor vnprofitable to make a little digression, and shew what these Vscoques were. About the yeare 1550, there assembled together in certaine plains neere the sea belonging to the Princes of the house of Austria, people (who were cruell, violent, and infamous) from diuers parts of the countrey of Chimera, Dalmatia, and the other confines of Hungarie, and such as had been banished from the State of Venice; whose delight was onely to liue vpon spoyle and bloud. All these theeues being thus gathered together (whom they called by a generall name Vscoques) as enemies to all art and industry to liue honestly by their labours, retyred themselues into a desart country, receiuing no pay from the Princes of Austria who commands there. Being thus by their naturall inclination giuen to spoyle, adding thereunto the spurre of pouerty, nothing mooued them to C stay in those places, but all libertie was left them to rob and spoyle: whereupon they applied all their minds and forces; so as hauing made certaine light foists, they began to make courses at sea, with the most barbarous and impious crueltie that euer was practised amongst the Scythians, Tartarians, or any other inhumane Nation whatsoeuer. And for that it is an ordinarie course for any one that will commit a great villanie, to seeke out some goodly pretext to couer it: so they concluded among themselues, to shadow their insolencies and thefts with a colour to goe against the Infidels. Wherefore in the beginning, there were no Merchants, were they Turks, Iewes, or subiects to the Turke, although they were Christians, but if they entred into the gulf either to traffique or to furnish Venice with prouision and merchandise, they were taken by them, their goods diuided amongst them, and they forced to pay a great D ransome, or to die miserably. All the ports of the State of Venice, both of Istria, Dalmatia, and the Islands from whence they receiued their victuals and prouision, were soon after shut vp by these pyrats, who not content to spoyle the Turks (which trafficked no more by reason of their great dangers and losse) allured by the rich spoyles which they tooke, and the desire they had to encounter them, they began to set vpon the Venetian ships, forcing the merchants whom they tooke to confesse by torments, that the goods belonged to Turks, although in effect their chiefe booty came from Christians. Hauing drawne many vnto them of their owne humors, and thinking their spoyles at sea not sufficient to satisfie their couetous desires, nor the Presents which they were to giue to others, to be fauoured and supported in the Courts of Princes, they staid not long before they entred with all violence into the Turks countrey, E through the Venetian territorie, to whom they were as hurtfull as to the Turks, from whence they carried away rich spoiles and many prisoners. There was nothing that was precious, rich, or good, but was subiect to the insatiable greedinesse of those pitilesse theeues and pyrats, if passing by sea they came neer vnto the maritime coasts. Whereupon grew the great complaint you haue heard made by the Turks, threatning to be reuenged vpon the Estate of Venice for the insolencie of the Vscoques, which afterward bred a cruell war, betwixt that State and the Archduke *Ferdinand* of Grets, now Emperor, who seemed to support them, thereby to ingage the State in a war with the Turke. But for that the successe thereof doth not belong to our History, we will leaue it to them that haue written it at large.

The beginning of the Vscoques.

On the fifteenth of Nouember this yeare, Sultan *Achmat Chan* hauing liued thirty yeares, F and gouerned that great Empire of Turky fifteene, died. When hee came to the Empire, he was but fifteene yeares old; he was of a good constitution, well complexioned, and somewhat enclined to be fat, strong and actiue, which appeared by his exercise in casting of a horsmans mace of nine or ten pounds weight, wherein hee exceeded any one of his Court; in memorie whereof

The death of Achmat.

wherof there are two pillars set vp in one of the courts of the seraglio at Constantinople, with G
an inscription, as marks of his dexteritie. He was by nature ambitious and proud, which some
hold qualities befitting his great estate: he was not so cruel as many of his predecessors, but
was much giuen to sensualitie and pleasure, for which he entertained three thousand Concu-
bins and virgins in a Seraglio; being the fairest daughters of the Christians. His mother was
a Christian of Bosna or of Cyprus, and therfore it was thought he was somwhat fauorable to
Christians. He was much delighted in hawking and hunting; and namely for hawking hee
kept in Grecia and Natolia forty thousand falconers, who attended his comming in their se-
ueral places of charge, and had good yearly pensions. Neither were his huntsmen much fewer
in number, or of lesse charge. As the Turkish Emperors are bound by the law of their religion
once euery day to practise some manual trade, so *Mahomet* his father gaue himself to the ma- H
king of arrows, and *Achmat* to the fashioning of horn rings such as the Turks wear when they
draw their bowes. This they do in the morning after they are ready and haue said their
prayers, then they call for their exercise; but it is onely for fashion-
sake: for they scarce make an arrow or a ring
in a whole year.

Christian Princes of the same time with Achmat.	*Emperours of Germany*	*Rodolphus the second,*		1577. 35
		Matthias,		1612.
	Kings	*Of great Brittain,*	*Iames the sixth,* — *Of England*	1602.
			Iames the sixth, — *Of Scotland*	1567.
		Of France	*Henry the fourth,*	1589.
			Lewis the thirteenth,	1610.
	Bishops of Rome	*Paul the V.*		1605.

Nought but affliction thundring out of heauen,
makes men on earth to any goodnesse giuen.
Nor longer than she thunders, any fear
that any heav'n holds any Thunderer.
So *Mustapha*, while Heaven restrain'd his state,
and held him fetter'd in his brothers hate,
To vertuous actions did his studies driue,
was curteous, pious, and contemplatiue.
But when his brother could no longer liue,
and Libertie did to him Power giue;
Then Pride and Tyrannie his horses were,
And driue him alwaies past Heavens loue or fear,
Greatnesse, on Goodnesse loues to slide, not stand,
and leaues for Fortunes ice, Vertues firm land.
Honor had rather be with danger driuen,
than stay with Vertue on the hand of Heauen.

Mustapha

MVSTAPHA THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, NINTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKS.

C 

Osman the eldest son of *Achmat* beeing not aboue twelue years old, *Mustapha* the brother of *Achmat* being 25, was drawn out of a Cell where he then liued as it were religiously and in contemplation, and proclaimed Sultan *Mustapha Chan*. They write of him, That he grew cruell, causing yong *Osman* to be kept vnder sure gards, putting his brethren to death. Hee also did many indignities to the Christian Embassadours. And to confirme him in his Throne, hee gaue great sums of money to the Ianizaries and Spahi; and sent a messenger to Vienna to the Emperor, to assure him that hee would maintain inviolably whatsoeuer had bin concluded betwixt him and his deceased brother *Achmat*. But growing odious by reason of his tyrannie, the grand Visier came out of Persia with an Army and deposed him, forcing him to turn to his cel, setting prince *Osman* at liberty, & seating him in the Imperial throne. But for that it may seem strange, that *Mustapha* should be preserued aliue during the reign of his brother *Achmat* (contrary to the custom of the *Othoman* Emperors, who do vsually kill all their brethren at their first comming to the crown, thinking thereby the better to assure their estates) it shall be fit to make mention therof. *Mahomet* the third of that name, dying in the year 1602, and leauing *Achmat* and *Mustapha* his sonnes by the Sultana *Flatra* a Lady of Cyprus, some say of Bosna, *Achmat* the eldest was sent for speedily out of Magnesia, by the Bassa's, to take possession of his fathers crown, being the first Emperour of that name. And for that the custom of the Turkish Emperors was (as wee haue said) to haue neither brother nor nephew aliue, vnlesse they could saue themselues by flight; yet the Visier Bassa's and other officers of the court concluded in Councel, That it was not fit that *Mustapha* brother to *Achmat* should die: grounding their opinion vpon a good reason of state, For that their Emperor being but fifteen years old, they feared, that dying in his nonage without children able to gouern, the Empire might fall into combustion, and ruine it selfe by reason of ciuil wars: wherupon they decreed, That *Mustapha's* life should be preserued, but with that caution and restriction, that he should remain still a prisoner in some chambers of the Emperours Seraglio at Constantinople.

Mustapha obtains the Empire, but vnsoon after deposed.

During *Achmats* minoritie, and before hee had children, there was no cruel decree made against *Mustapha*, but he onely continued in his contemplation without any liberty. But when

when as the Emperor saw himselfe fortified with issue, and remembring the cruel custome of his predecessors, he many times propounded the putting of his brother to death to his counsell. The which may seem very strange it took not effect, hauing beene often concluded. Among others it is written, that his death was concluded one euening, and that it should haue beene put in execution the next day. But *Achmat* was so wrapped in the night with apparitions and fearefull dreames, that morning being come, he said, Seeing the onely resolution of putting his brother to death had so terrified him, hee did beleeue that his torments would much encrease if he should put it in execution. And therefore he commanded, that his brother should liue, more in regard of the terror of his mind, than for any brotherly affection. Another time Sultan *Achmat* being in one of the windowes of the Seraglio, beheld his brother *Mustapha*, who by his permission was walking in the gardens with his gard. Some one of the Bassaes or other officers that were neere vnto him, and willing to flatter his humor, told him, That it was a matter of great consequence to suffer him to haue so great libertie. *Achmat* (mooued with jealousie and distrust) grew into a rage at his words, and thereupon tooke his bow and arrow (being a very expert Archer, as all the Turkish Nation generally are) and aimed at his brother to kill him: but at that very instant he felt so great a paine in his arme and shoulder, as not able to let loose his arrow, nor to perform what he had intended, hee said with a loud voice, That *Mahomet* would not haue *Mustapha* to die. This prince had three chambers in the Seraglio, where he remained a prisoner fifteen years, and spent his time in a contemplative kinde of life, after the manner of the Mussulmans: his whole delight was to reade the Arabian bookes of their doctors in diuers sciences. The grand Seignior gaue him leaue sometimes to take the aire of his gardens with his Gard, and admitted him of his counsell in diuers affaires of state; taking his aduice many times, for that he knew him to haue a sound judgement.

After a long imprisonment, and a daily apprehension of death, the Emperour *Achmat* falling grieuously sick in Nouember, as is before said; the great Bassa's of the Court and other Counsellors about him, seeing the great danger he was in, persuaded him to take some good course for the succession of his Empire. He had children by the Sultana, but they were all so young, that they were not capable to gouerne the Empire. Moreouer, this Sultana was dead, and the children left friendlesse, hauing none to speake for them. But on the other side, the Sultana *Flatra* mother to the Emperour *Mustapha* was yet liuing, who thought that if the Bassa's should vndertake to gouern the State during the minoritie of the Emperors children, her honour would be much eclipsed: wherfore she fauoured *Mustapha*, and persuaded the dying Emperour to make him his successor. On the fifteenth day of Nouember, *Achmat* seeing his end draw neer, called for his brother and told him, that seeing death approch, he desired to prouide for the preseruation of the Empire, and therefore had made choice of him to succeed him; intreating him to take the gouernment vpon him presently after his death. *Mustapha* was much amased at his speech, and answered him with words full of feare and humility, That he might not accept of the honour which he did him, seeing that the Empire did rightly belong vnto his eldest son. *Achmat* disabled his son for so great a gouernment, both for his age and capacitie, being necessarie for the maintenance of so great a monarchie; and said that he for his ripe yeares and deep iudgement, should take vpon him the managing thereof: recommending the children he had by the Sultana, vnto him, intreating him to vse them in the same manner that he had vsed him; leauing the other children which hee had by concubines being his slaues, to his discretion. Soon after these words *Achmat* died, and *Mustapha* was generally acknowledged for successor to the Turkish Empire. Who at the first was so amased, as he had thought he had bin in a dream, to see himselfe aduanced to so great a power and soueraigntie, from a streit prison and a daily apprehension of death. At his first comming to the empire he caused the Persian Embassador to be set at libertie, whom his brother *Achmat* had caused to be restrained, contrary to the publique faith, for that newes came to the Court, of some combustions raised by the Persia. After which, he sent speedily to the Bassa of Buda, commaunding him to entertaine the treaty of peace made by his predecessor with the Emperour inuiolably. Yet notwithstanding, he carried himselfe during the small time of his reigne,

reign insolently and cruelly; for violating the Laws of Nations, he had il intreated the Baron of Mole or Sancie Embassador to the most Christian King, setting gards vpon him as a prisoner, hauing caused his people to be put in prison, and tortured after their maner. The reason of this indignitie which *Mustapha* did vnto the French Embassadour and to his people, grew vpon an occasion which will require an ample discourse, for the better vnderstanding of that which hath gon before. After the ouerthrow and taking of the princes of Moldavia, Prince *Concsky*, as you haue heard, was brought by *Skinder Bassa* to Constantinople, wherat the grand Seignior was wonderfully wel pleased, for that he was held, euen by his enemies, for one of the most valiant and redoubted princes of Christendom. Wherfore he was sent away prisoner, and confined to the towers of the black sea, which are distant fiue miles from Constantinople; a place appointed for the gard of prisoners of great qualitie and importance, such as he was. He was shut vp with a French captain called *Regaut*, in a little chamber which was on the top of one of those towers; in which Chamber there was a window capable for a man to passe thorow, and yet it had no bars, for that the height of the place freed it from al suspition. This Prince was much solicited by the Turk to become a Renegado, as the princes *Alexander* and *Bougdan* his brothers in law had don: but hee resisted it with a generous resolution, resoluing rather to die in that tedious captiuitie, than commit so base an act against God and his conscience. The which being made known vnto the King of Polonia, it mooued him to compassion, and caused him to write to the French Embassador, and to intreat him to be a means that this Prince might be put to ransom, and freed from captiuitie, at what price soeuer. The which the Embassador durst not vndertake (although he desired it much) for that hee had no charge from the King his master. The Emperour's Embassadour did what possibly he could, knowing how much the liberty of this prince might auail Christendom. For which considerations the Turk would not yeeld in any sort to suffer him to be released; so as the friends of this captiue prince were out of hope euer to see him at liberty. But most commonly in such extremities the Almighty works by the secret instruments of his diuine prouidence, & giues assistance vnto them that feare him, when as all humane helpe and hope faileth; as you may vnderstand in the sequell of this history, whence grew the Embassadours affront which hee receiued.

About the same time there had bin a Lady taken out of Podolia, with a fair yong daughter of hers, and a maid seruant, by the Tartarians, who sould them vnto a Turke, and he brought them vnto Constantinople to make his profit. This Lady who was a Christian, hearing nothing from her husband for the space of nine moneths, went accompanied with her daughter to the French Embassadors house which was at Pera, to craue his aid and assistance. Where his Secretary (who was called *Martin*) mooued with compassion and loue, promised vnto them all seruice; and afterwards assured the mother, That if shee would promise hee should marry her daughter, he would indeauor to redeem them from captiuitie. Wherto the Ladies yeelded, and passed their promise in writing vnto the Secretary. Whereupon he payd two thousand and fiue hundred Crownes for their ransome, and sent them home into their owne Countrey. Being returned, the Lady made her husband and the rest of her friends acquainted, how they had been freed from captiuitie, and of the contract of mariage which was past between her daughter and the French Embassadors Secretarie. But the father did altogether dislike of this mariage, for that *Martin*, as he said, was no gentleman, and had not an estate to entertaine his daughter according to her qualitie. The mother aduertised *Martin* soon after of the fathers refusall; protesting vnto him, that he alone was the hinderance. And as for the mony which he had disbursed for their ransome, they would send it vnto him if he pleased to Constantinople with interest. *Martin* was much discontented, and diuers letters and expostulations passed betweene them, but hee could not obtaine the execution of his desire, and their promise: whereupon he grew full of griefe and melancholy, and thereupon went to visit Prince *Coreskie*, who was in the blacke tower, to make his complaint vnto him, and to take his aduice, what course he were best to follow. Hee made his excuse, That hee was sent by his master to carry the Prince some mony, as he had don at other times. Who making the prince acquainted with his discontent, (for that he knew these Podolians, and had formerly allowed of the suit which he had made to this virgin) he comforted him, saying, That if hee might by

by any means get out of prison, he would willingly supply the defects which they obiected against him, and would maintaine him against all that should oppose themselues against the accomplishment of his desires. This made *Martin* study by what meanes hee might free the Prince, to the end he might bind him to succor him when he was at liberty; and Loue, which is many times the author of many goodly inuentions, suggested one vnto him which was very subtil, and difficult to execute: which was, to send vnto Prince *Coresky* a bottom of packthred in a little pie; which hee sent him with other meat, aduertising him by a letter, That vpon a certain night concluded betwixt them, he should put downe the packethred at his Chamber window, wherunto a ladder of cords should be tied, by the which hee might descend from the tower. The which was afterwards punctually effected, not by *Martin* himself, but by a Greek Priest who liued in Constantinople, to whom hee had imparted his enterprise, and had inaged him vpon hope of great reward from the Prince. In the mean time *Martin*, doubting that he should be suspected to practise this escape, resolued to be gon, and took leaue of the Embassador, whom hee gaue to vnderstand, That hee had some present vrgent affaires which did presse his speedy returne into France: and therfore he left the execution of his designe to the Greek priest, who failed not at the time appointed to do as the Secretary had directed him. The Prince hauing drawn vp this ladder of ropes with the help of his packethread, and beeing come to the foot of the tower with his chamber fellow, he found the Greek priest attending for them; who told him that he had charge from *Martin*, to conduct them to a certain Caue which was is a great rock a league from thence, where they must remain all that day; and that in the euening he would not fail to come vnto them, and bring them habits like vnto his own; that being so disguised, he might conduct them to his lodging in Constantinople, and there conceal them so long as they should think fit. This deuice pleased them wel, and so they went all three vnto the said caue, wheras the two camrado's hid themselues, and the priest returned to his house.

Prince Coresky escapes out of prison.

At the break of day, it being the 23 of Nouember 1617, some of the gards entring the prisoners chamber, saw that they were escaped, and found the ladder of ropes which they had vsed, tied to the window; wherat they were much amased, knowing wel that they should smart for it. Notwithstanding he who had the charge of the prisons, sent speedily to Constantinople, to giue notice of their escapes. So soon as this was known, they sent posts speedily to all parts, to make inquiry for these fugitiues, especially at the ports and passages, giuing them special charge to obserue all men that passed, if there were not one of them who had the little finger of his right hand shrunk vp, as Prince *Coresky* had by a wound which hee had receiued. Within few daies after, the Turk seised vpon the seruants of the Baron of Sancy or Mole, Embassador for the French, torturing two of them after their manner; which is to lay the party vpon a table on his belly, and to giue him three or four hundred blowes with a staffe vpon the soles of his feet, the calues of his legs, and his buttocks: yet could they not make them say any thing that might charge their master, as these Turkish tormentors did hope. Not contented herewith, they did as much to a poor Turk, who was a weauer by trade, and dwelt neer vnto the Embassador; thinking to force him by this cruel torture to depose falsly, that he had seen the Secretary *Martin* going and comming to his masters lodging vntill the time of the prisoners escape: but God would not suffer the weauer to depose any thing but the truth, notwithstanding all the miserable and cruel torments which hee had suffered. The which is worthy the obseruation, for that the Turks do generally hate the Christians mortally, and do greatly rejoice at their disasters. As for the gards of the towers, some of them were impaled, and some were pouned or beaten to pieces in great iron mortars, wherin they vsually poun their rice to reduce it into meal.

Three daies after, the Chiaus Bassa had charge to seise vpon the person of the French Embassadour; the which he performed very seuerely and vnciuilly, without any respect vnto his qualitie. Hauing taken him, the said Chiaus led him vnto the Visier Bassa's house; where hauing beene examined vpon many circumstances touching the escape of the prince *Coresky*, they left him as a prisoner in the hands of the said Chiaus, where hee continued for the space of three daies. During the which time, the said Embassador desiring to write to some of his friends, and also to speak with the Mufti, which is the Turks high priest, to acquaint him with his

The French embassadour imprisoned by the Turks.

his iust grieuances, he could obtain leaue, but by giuing two thousand crownes vnto his Iaylor. True it is, that this present made the Chiaus tel the Embassador, That if he would obtain any fauor from the Mufti, he must procure it with mony. According to which aduice he gaue three or four thousand crowns; wherupon the Mufti became tractable, acquainting the grand Seignior *Mustapha* with the Embassadors iust complaints, and of what importance his detention was, seeing there was nothing found to charge him, that he had fauored the escape of the Prince *Coresky*, as it was suspected; and that his Secretary who had practised it for his owne priuat profit, had left his master aboue ten or twelue daies before the said escape, with an intent, as he said, to return into France. Finally, That all the world would taxe him to violate the law of Nations: and that no Christian prince nor other would herafter put any confidence in him; and it was to be feared, that they would all joine together, and make war against him. And in truth the Embassadours, both the King of Englands and the Low-Countries, were much discontented at this vnworthy vsage of the French; protesting openly, That if he were not speedily set at liberty, they would retyre themselues into their countries. All which considerations represented by the Mufti, mooued the grand Seignior to command, that the sayd Baron of Mole or Sancy should be sent back vnto his house without any further displeasure. But all this could not free his houshold seruants from their imprisonment, but he was forced to pay two or three and twenty thousand crowns for their redemption; else had they beene so tormented, as that their liues had been in danger: for so they were threatned. Soone after, the grand Visier hearing of the tyrannous gouernment Of Sultan *Mustapha*, returned from Persia with his whole army toward Constantinople, where he forced him to leaue the Empire, and to retyre into his Cel, hauing reigned but two moneths and some odde daies.

But to returne to prince *Coresky*, whom wee left with Captaine *Rigaut* in the lodging of the Greeke priest at Constantinople, wheras they lay hidden for the space of two moneths, vntil that their good host got leaue from the Patriark of Alexandria, as well for himselfe as for two others (who he said were of his societie) to goe and confine themselues in the desarts of the Archipelagus, with many hermits who liued there after the maner of the antient Anchorits. Hauing gotten this leaue and pasport, they imbarqued, being disguised like priests, and arrived at Etchut, where they found an English ship ready to set sail for Messina in Sicily: from whence he went by land to Naples, where he made himselfe known to the King of Poland his Embassador, who was wonderfull glad of his liberty, leading him to the duke of Ossuna, then Viceroy of Naples, who furnished him with all things necessarie, and a good conuoy to go to Rome; where the Pope receiued singular content to see him, and to hear of his strange aduentures. From thence he past to Vienna, where the Emperor entertained him according to his merits. After which he retyred to his own house, full of honor, gotten by his valour and constancie in his afflictions. Some say he escaped by the black sea, and so into Polonia.

Prince Coresky escapes from Constantinople.

Osman, thy gentle nature far declin'd
from Turkish tyrannie and pride of mind;
Which made heauen raise thee, and extirpat them,
the proud Vsurpers of thy Diadem.
O! would all Princes, when their States are blest
with Power and Empire, think their interest
In those their blessings, held but by the grace
Of Gratitude and Goodnesse; and no place
Is held without them long: they soone would trie,
that Truth preuailes past all their Policie.

OSMAN

OSMAN THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, TENTH EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKS.

PRince *Osman* beeing set at liberty by the Grand Visier, hee caused him to be proclaimed Sultan, and seated in the Imperiall throne of the *Othomans*, with the generall applause of all the Bassaes and army. The French Embassadour beeing by the same meanes freed from this guard, aduertised the King his Master, how barbarously he had beene entreated by *Mustapha*, entreating his Majesty to reuoke him from that charge. Whereupon the King sent two Gentlemen to Constantinople to the new Emperour *Osman*, to demand reparation of the indignity done to his Embassadour and Secretary; and to let him vnderstand, that hee could not send any other Embassadour to his Court to condole the death of Sultan *Achmat* his father, nor congratulate his comming to the East, vntill that he had receiued satisfaction from him befitting his dignity, and the wrongs he had receiued in his Embassador. The Grand Visier and the Muphti hearing this Embassie, and considering of the actions which had passed, aduised the Emperour *Osman* to send an Embassador to the most Christian King to confirme the league, and to testifie both by words and letters how much he was displeased for his discontent. 1618.

The French King sends to Constantinople.

The Grand Seignior by the aduice of the Visier and others, sent *Pri* Chiaus into France, to confirme the articles of peace betwixt the French and the Turks. At his first audience he presented a Letter vnto his Majesty with this superscription.

To the most glorious and puissant Prince of the Beleefe of Iesus, arbitrator of all the differences which happen among the Christian Nations, and of all the most noble, and the most antient, the Emperour of France, to whom we wish the end of his daies to be happy, and his desire accomplished.

KNow, that I send vnto you the capitulations and treaties of peace which are betwixt our majesties: giuing you to vnderstand, that there is not any thing firme or stable in this world, neither King nor beggar, although they liue long: that which pleaseth God cannot faile. If all mens desires should succeed, without doubt all men would goe to heauen. Man whatsoeuer he doeth, or in what dignity soeuer hee be, shall not remaine in this fraile life, wise men know it, and it is apparent to the learned. By that which we haue said, we desire to let you know, that he who was in health, hath encountred death, and is gone to a goodlier place, to Paradise, my father Sultan Achmat Chan; *the God which hath no resemblance haue mercy on him. No man shall remaine in this lying World: And in Paradise are the approches to God, where there is no death. Finally he is gone.*

Osmans letter to the French King.

Since the beginning of the Othomans *vntill this present, the empire of my fathers and their countries from*

from father and sonne, from hand to hand, and from father to sonne, the inheritance comming so vnto vs; our Vncle Sultan Mustapha Chan, *for that he was elder than our selfe, was preferred before vs to the throne of the* Ottomans, *and was some daies in peaceable possession of the Empire, yeelding iustice equally to all men both great and small. But as he was shut vp many yeares in secret places, praying vnto God continually; so of himselfe he hath relinquished the dignity of the Emperour, and contemned it. The Empire then belonged to those of our high linage, and for that by right it should come vnto me, the Almighty God by his infinite bounty and mercy hath restored it into my hands, my Visiers, Bassaes, Lieutenants, the Mufti, and other great personages, and they that are in any respect with me: and finally, all my subjects and vassals, by a generall consent haue acknowledged me for Emperor, in the happy yeare* 1027. *About the first day of the Moone of Ianuary, in a good houre. Wherefore I am seated in the great throne of the* Ottomans, *like vnto that of* Solomon, *a powerfull and able Emperor: And in all our countries and cities, all the Musulmans being assembled together in their churches to preach, the greatnesse of my name hath beene proclaimed, and through all the mints of mine Empire they haue graven it in their stamps, to coyne pieces of gold and siluer. Finally, whereosoeuer there are any Musulmans, and in what places there are men, my name shines like gold. Hereafter injustice nor impiety shall haue no place, but justice shall be done equally. Now we are in joy, and for that our naturall disposition is good, and the antient friendship betwixt vs is perfect, I therefore thought good to aduertise you of all that hath passed here, and to send you our Letters of Imperiall alliance by* Vreiu *Chiaus who is my antient seruant, hauing had the managing of my treasure, whereof he hath giuen me good account, being arriued at your Court, carrying my said Letter, he deserues to be receiued with honour: swearing and protesting againe vnto you, to obserue in all points the full capitulation made betwixt my predecessors, and your great grandfathers, and for our part, you may be assured, that the faith promised shall be maintained as it hath beene heretofore by our predecessors. And from the day I entred into my throne, I haue made my will knowne to all the Viceroyes, and other officers which do my justice, and generally to all those of my obedience; entreating you to giue the like commandement to your Gouernours of Prouinces, and other officers of Iustice, as in like manner to all your subjects. And as your grandfathers haue taken the faith of our high family, so it may please you to continue with me, and we desire on both sides it may be good and firme. Know then that for my part it shall be obserued, so as of your side there be nothing done contrary to the promised faith. And if before we came vnto the Imperiall throne, your Embassadour which did your affaires hath receiued any distaste, and hath not receiued the honor and friendship accustomed, in my time he shall be the more honoured and respected as the chiefest Embassadors haue beene: I haue commanded that he shall be greatly fauoured, and our respect shall be vnto him as Quineo, that is to say, Gold, and doubt nothing of it: for I do certifie you.*

The French King hauing receiued by this action a full satisfaction for the indignity done vnto his Embassador: soon after he called the Baron of *Mole* or *Sancie* home into France, sending the Earle of *Sezi* to succeed him as Embassador at Constantinople..

A battell betwixt the Turks and the Persians.

The war continuing still betwixt the Turks and the Persians, the grand Visier was sent to inuade Persia with a great army, where after many exploits of war, newes came to Constantinople, that the Visier had gotten a great aduantage vpon the Sophy of Persia in a battel which had beene fought, wherein there had been 100000 men slaine. And although the Turks lost the greatest number, yet they remained masters of the field, and spoiled the Persian campe, who was retired or fled. For that the manner of the Sophy is to fight with the Turks in retiring or giuing way a little; and with this manner of fighting they haue alwaies made head against the Turks. After this ouerthrow the Visier aduanced with his army, and entred far into Persia, which made many doubt that his returne would proue difficult: yet soone after there came letters to Constantinople, importing that the Turks being in Persia in great distresse for victuals, the Sophy had sent an Embassador to the Visier to demand peace, promising hereafter to satisfie the tributes of silkes which he ought yearely vnto the Turke; and that the Visier (in regard of the necessity of his army) had accepted his offer, and granted him peace, the which Sultan *Osman* did afterwards ratifie. After the conclusion whereof, the Sophy sent many Cammels loaden with victuals vnto the Turks army, which was in great distresse and want.

A peace concluded betwixt them.

A comet seene ouer Constantinople.

During the Turks war in Persia, vpon the anniuersary day of Sultan *Achmat*, there appeared in the night a Comet ouer the city of Constantinople; in forme like a crooked sword, or

or Turks scimiter: and it was so great as it extended from the meridian neer vnto our zenith, vnto the horison: the point began to shew it selfe an houre after midnight, and then it appeared little and somewhat whitish, and gaue but a glimpse, after an houre it was more apparant and of a deeper colour, and the more it did rise, the redder it was, and like vnto bloud; but at the breake of day it vanished by little and little in the light: And it was so big, when the point approched neere vnto the zenith, as the hilt was hidden vnder the horison; the Mathematicians did obserue, that it followed the motions of the heauens; it did alwaies rise in one place, and the bending of the said sword was towards Crates, more Southerly than it. It did appeare directly in the East a quarter towards the South, the point comming directly towards Constantinople, and the blade extending it selfe to the said East a quarter to the South, which is justly the part where Persia is seituated. The edge looked directly towards Constantinople, the which made men discourse diuersly, and many were amazed, fearing that it did signifie the losse and defeat of their army in Persia, whose returne they feared much.

Vri or *Hussein* Chiaus hauing finished his Embassie in France, came into England with the like charge, and had audience from his Majesty at White Hall, Sir *Thomas Glouer* being Interpreter, from whom I receiued a true discourse of his whole speech, as followeth.

The Turkish Embassadors speech to his Majesty.

Hac subhanehu, ve Allahuteale, Saadetlu, ve izzetlu Padishah hazeretlerinung vmriny ve deuletiny ziyad ve berziyad eileie, Amin yah Rabil alemin.

Ziyade cudretlu ve saadetlu Sultan Ali Osman Chan *Padishah Hazeretleri; saadetlu Padishah Hazeretlerine juzbin selamler ve doaler idub, bu namei humaiun saadet maakrunile, Sultanum Hazeretlerine irsal idub: vmidleri oldurchi, maabenilerinde munakid olan sulhu selah, bu anedeghin, ne vecuzre chyuz olundise, halia dachi ol vslub vzre her daim giunden ginne artirub mucarer olmasina murad humaiunleridur.*

Ali Osman, *Padishahung dachi Lala, ve Basb vezirazam Bassa hazeretleri, saadetlu Sultanum hazeretlerine juz bin selamber idub, bu mektub sherisleri dachi haki pay sherisserine irsal idub doaler ider.*

Asitanei saadette dachimutemekin olan elezighiz nam Paulo Pinder *Cullighiz haki pay sherisserine juz kylyndikdensongra, mubarek aiaghyn pusse idub, bu mektub Sultanum hazeretlerine irsal eiledy ler.*

The interpretation hereof is this.

That most true, incomprehensible, and most high God, encrease and multiply your Majesties yeares in all happinesse and felicity, Amen oh thou Lord of the World.

The most inuincible, most mighty, and most happy Sultan Osman Chan, *of the* Othoman *Empire Monarch, sendeth vnto your excellent Majesty a hundred thousand salutations and greetings, euermore praying the most high God for your Majesties happinesse, sendeth vnto your Highnesse with all possible honour and renowne, this his Imperiall and most noble Letter; and withall hopeth, that the sacred bond of peace, which hath beene hitherto inviolably on your Majesties parts kept and obserued; your Majesty will be well pleased still on your part, with dayly encrease more and more of friendship, earnestly to continue therein. And his Imperiall Majesty on his behalfe is also resolued in the like manner euermore punctually to keepe and obserue the same.*

Also the most mighty Emperour his Tutor, and his chiefe Visier Bassa, hath addressed to the dust of your noble feet, this his most honorable Letter, with a thousand commendations, praying euerlastingly that mighty God for your Majesties long life and happinesse.

Also your Majesties Embassadour at Constantinople, your slaue Paul Pinder, *bowing his forehead to the dust of your Majesties feet, and most humbly kissing your Highnesse blessed feet, hath directed vnto your Majesty this his submissiue Letter.*

This

This that now followeth, is the said Embassadors speech to his Majesty at the taking of his leaue at White Hall.

Saadetlu Padishahum, Nitekim bu kullighiz haki pay sheriflerine effendimuz olan Cudretlu ve adaletlu Ali Osman *Padishah Hazeretlerinung name humaiunlerin destimuzile teslin eileduk : Regia ve temenamuz budurki Sultanum hazaretcleri dachi angha giore effendimuze name sheriflerile giouab idub bu killighize teslim ei lemek erzany buiurila ve herdaim saadette ve deulette peydar ola.*

The Interpretation *Verbatim* is this.

Most happy Emperor, as I haue with mine owne hands, bowing my selfe to the dust of your Princely feet, appresented vnto your excellent Majesty the most mighty and high Sultan Othoman *my Lord and Master his Imperiall Letter, so likewise I most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased in conformity thereof, to vouchsafe your Princely answer by your noble Letter, and to deliuer the same into the hands of me your slaue : and be euer partaker of all blessednesse and happinesse.*

A Copy of the Letter of Sultan *Osman* the present *Othoman* Emperour, written to the Kings Majesty, and presented by *Husseine* Chiaus.

ALthough in this transitory World, if the King or the begger should enjoy the longest terme of life that might be, and obtaine all that his heart could wish, yet it is most certaine, that in the end hee must depart and be transported to the Word eternall; and it is well knowne vnto the wise, that it is impossible for man to abide for euer in this World. The occasion if this prologue is, that the immortall, omnipotent, and only God hath by his Diuine will and pleasure called vnto himselfe our father of blessed memory Sultan Achmat Chan, *who in life was happy, and in death laudable; and departing out of this momentary World to be neerer the mercifull Creator, being changed into perfect glory, and eternall blisse, hath his habitation on high, and his rest in Paradise. This paternall Empire and Monarchicall kingdome hath almost vntill this present blessed time, beene alwaies hereditary, from grandfather to father, from father to son, and so cursiuely on that manner; but hauing regard vnto the age and yeares of our great and noble Vncle Sultan* Mustapha, *he was preferred and honoured to sit on the* Othoman *Throne, and being settled for some time, tooke care for the affaires of the Empire, and for all that might concerne the people both in generall and particular. But hauing beene many yeares retired in solitariuesse, and giuen to deuotion and Diuine obedience, being also as it were wearied with the cares of the Empire, of his owne accord withdrew himselfe from the Gouernment; for that the Diademe and Scepter of the Empire of the seuen Climats, was the true right and inheritance of our most excellent Majesty, of the which with the meeting and consent of all the Visiers, and other Deputies of State, of the Primat of the Mussulman Law, and of the other honourable Doctors, of the souldiers, and of all the subjects both publike and priuat, the Almighty God hath made an high Present and worthy gift vnto vs. And in the happy day in the beginning of the Moone Rebea-il euel of this present yeare 1027, in an expected time, and in an acceptable houre, was our blessed and happy sitting established vpon the most fortunate* Othoman *Throne, the seat and wisedome of* Solomon. *In the pulpets of all the Mosques the congregations of the faithfull, and deuotion of the Mussulmen, throughout all our dominions is read to our Imperiall name the * Hutbeh. And in the mints (where innumerable summes of mony are coyned, as well vpon the siluer as the gold) our happy name and stampe is signed. And our most powerfull commandements are obeyed in all the parts and dominions of the World. And the brightnesse of the light of the Sun of Iustice and equity, hath caused the darkenesse of injuries and molestations to vanish away.*

Now seeing it hath beene an antient custome of our famous Predecessors to giue notice of the same vnto such Princes as are in sincere friendship, and do continue it with the House of great Majesty and our Imperiall Court : We also haue written these our princely Letters, and appointed for their Bearer the choice among his equals Husseine *Chiaus (whose power is great) one of the honoured and respected seruants*

* Hutbeh is a prayer only for the prosperity of the King.

seruants of our magnificent Port, the refuge of the World, to the end that such newes might cause great joy of our most honourable assumption. And we doe hope that when they shall come to your hands (in conformity of the well grounded friendship vpon the sure league, articles, and writings which hath been established of old with our most royall Race, and permanent Empire) you will manifest infinite joy and gladnesse, and certifie as much to the Rulers and Gouernours of the Dominions and Countries vnder you, that they may know the articles of the peace and league, and the points of the oath which are firme and to be desired on both parts, from the time of our grandfather and predecessour of royall stocke now in paradise (whose soule God enlighten) vndoubtedly during the time of our reigne shall be obseruied with all respect. And let there not be the least imagination of any want of due obseruance of the signes of friendship on our part, or by any manner of meanes on your part, for the violating the foundaiton of the peace and league.

The Copy of a Letter written by *Hallil Bassa*, chiefe Visier, and Generall in the expedition against the Persian, at his returne from the wars, to the City of Senit in Aprill 1618, vnto Sir *Paul Pinder* Knight, then Embassador for the Kings Majesty at Constantinople.

The humble Visier Halil Bassa.

TO the courteous Lord of the Nation of the Messiah, *both great and honourable among the people of* Iesus, *and the true determiner of the Christian affaires; our good friend* Paul Pinder, *the English Embassador, whose later daies be with all felicity. To whose noble presence (after our many kind salutations tending to all good affection and manifestation of joy, worthy and beseeming our friendship) our louing aduice is this, That if you desire to heare of our estate and being, you shall vnderstand, that after we departed from the happy port with the army for the wars of Asia, we arriued and wintered in Mesopotamia, and remouing thence in the Spring with all the Mussulman hoste (alwaies victorious) we went to Van, from which place vntill we came to Tauris, the Mussulman army went on alwaies sacking and destroying all those places and townes of the Persians which we met with all by the way in those parts, where were burnt, pillaged, and ruined, some thousands of villages, and tormenting all those people that came to hand. And when we were come neere to Tauris, the Generall of the Persian forces (of peruerse religion) called* Carelgai Han *(the accursed) retired himselfe into the said Tauris, where beating vp his drums in euery quarter, he made a shew that he had a will to fight: so we sent a little before vs some Tartars and others of our army to hearken out and take notice of the enemy; who meeting with seuen or eight hundred Persians of note, put them to the sword, very few escaping, and that with very great difficulty and hazard. By which the said Generall finding himselfe vnable to resist the power and fury of the Mussulman host, or to stay any longer in the said place, the very same day that we arriued there, the said Generall hauing spoiled all the city, fled away; so we tooke the place, ransacked it, and burned all the buildings, towers, gardens, and whatsoeuer else we found within it : And thus the great city Tauris by Diuine fauour and grace became ours. Then forthwith we sent after the enemy, the Tartar with some Beglerbegs, who outrtaking them gaue them battell; and albeit some of ours did fall, yet they which fell on the enemies side were innumerable. And so going forwards towards Erdeuil (their obscure residence) about ten days journy in the country, we went burning and spoyling it, and killing all the Persians that we met; that indeed there was so much glory and honour won, as that all the antient men of the country do affirme, there was neuer seene the like; insomuch, that from the confines vnto Erdeuill twenty daies journey of the country was on that manner by vs destroied. Thus afterward the King caused to empty the said place of Erdeuill, and fled into a place called Hulchal, and caused his army to go to the top of a high mountaine, from whence hauing sent three or foure times men of quality vnto vs, seeking and entreating for peace, with promise to giue yearely vnto our Emperor a hundred Somes of silke, and all such places as are vpon the confines gotten in the time of Sultan* Solyman, *except Der Ne and Der Tink; wherewith we weare contented with the peace, and his Embassador is vpon the way comming toward vs. And so we returning the same way againe (alwaies spoiling) we came to Erzirum. And this our present Letter is written vnto you for the respect and preseruation of our friendship : and euen as our amity hath euer beene hitherto sincere and firme, so likewise by the Grace of God at our arriuall in the happy Port, it shall be in like manner maintained and continued; that more cannot possible be. And so God keepe you in health.*

The

1619. The wars growing hot in Bohemia against the Protestants, and the Emperour raising what forces he could to suppresse them, the directors or Gouernors of the country wrote their letters to *Bethlem Gabor* prince of Transyluania, to acquaint him with the estate of their affaires. To whom he made answer, That his country standing euen in the very jawes of the Turks, whose councels were neuer quiet, but euer working like to the waues of the vast ocean, and alwaies watchfull to embrace all occasions vpon any discord of the Christians, especially now when they had pacified all quarrels with the Persian, and had no rebels in Asia, against whom they might employ their forces; he had propounded to himself to attend the consent and faruor of the *Othoman* Emperour, whereby he might take from him all occasion to make any iruption into the neighbour countries, and haue the better means to imploy his best means to reconcile the discords among the Christians; wherefore hauing sent to Constantinople to acquaint the Grand Seignior with his intent, and to craue his fauour, he receiued letters from thence the 17 of August, whereby he was assured of the Grand Seniors consent and fauour. Wherupon he resolued (notwithstanding the opposition of the house of Austria, the Pope of Rome, and others of that faction) to take arms in defence of the Bohemians; promising to be in September following vpon the confines of Morauia vnlesse he found some stay in Hungary. Being aduertised of the state of Bohemia and Morauia, he leuied an army at Clausenburg, and entered into the vpper Hungary, whereas most of the Barons submitted themselues vnto him; only *Humanoie* a great man in that country opposed himselfe: but not able to make his party good, he fled into Polonia. After which he sent his army (being 18000 strong) and took Filek, Ternan, Vacci, Nouigrade, and others; after which he seised vpon Neuheusall, the Gouernour being deliuered bound vnto him. The Palatine of Hungary wrote letter to *Redei* Generall of the Prince of Transyluania's army, wishing him to consider what the forces of the Kings of Spaine and France were, with the house of Austria and their allies, and that the Electors of the Empire (some excepted) would send aid vnto the Emperor. Who answered, that he doubted not of the power of those Kings, and that the Electors would send supplies vnto the Emperour; yet hoped that before they came, all should be ended, and their dinners should be prouided.

Bethlem Gabor taketh many townes in Hungary.

Soone after, the Prince of Transyluania came to Presburg with his vrmy, a towne of note in Hungary, whereas their Kings are vsually crowned. The newes thereof comming to Vienna, they sent 3000 souldiers with three pieces of ordnance downe the riuer of Danow, who entred the suburbs on the 13 of October, the night was very stormy and rainy, and the Transyluanians taking this opportunity charged them, and slew the greatest part, their Commander flying away with some few. The suburbs being taken, *Bethlem Gabor* sent to the Palatine, to know whether he would yeeld the town and castle without force, giuing him some time to resolue; who after consultation with some noblemen, they resolued to yeeld, and so the towne was deliuered into his hands. After which he sent part of his army vnder good Commanders into Austria, to the gates of Vienna, where they committed great spoile, the particular relation whereof I leaue to the History of the Emperours liues, to which it doth properly belong.

In Nouember *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of Transyluania, and the Estates of Hungary, sent Embassadors to Prague, where they propounded diuers articles vnto the Counsell, and amongst others, That they should joyntly send Embassadors to the Grand Seignior, & that the prince of Transyluania should negotiate the businesse. And for that the kingdome of Hungary was much exhausted, whatsoeuer should be taken in Stiria, Carinthia, and Carniola, should be vnited vnto it, to the end it might be the better able to resist the Turke: all which tended to the prejudice and ruine of the house of Austria. The Prince of Transyluania hauing taken diuers townes in Hungary, belonging to the Emperor as King of Hungary, and entred Austria in hostile manner in fauor of the Bohemians; knowing that hee had thereby much insenced the Emperor, and the whole house of Austria, and that if he should preuaile ouer the Bohemians, the whole burthen of the war would lie vpon him, he therefore in the end of this yeare sent an Embassador with presents to Constantinople, to craue assurance of the Grand Seniors aid and support (vpon whose fauour he had alwaies depended) in case the Emperor should inuade Transyluania: where being countenanced by many of the chiefe Bassaes, he had assurance of Sultan *Osmans* support and protection, the which he confirmed by a solemne oath vnder his hand, as followeth.

The

The Great Turks oath to *Bethlem Gabor*, Prince of Transyluania.

Sultan Osman,

By the grace of God vnconquerable Turkish Emperour, sweares by the Highest, Almightiest, and Almighty Gods Holinesse, by his Kingdome, by the substance of the Heauens, the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, by the earth, and by all vnder the earth, by the braines and all the hairy scalpe of my mother, by my head, and all the strength of my soule and body, by the holy Great Mahomet, *and by my Circumcision, That I thee my brother and son* Bethlem Gabor, *succeeding King of Hungary, in no manner of way, in thy great and weighty affaires will leaue, though it be to the ouerthrow of my Kingdome, to be brought to nothing, vntill there shall be no more left but my selfe, or foure or fiue Turks at the most, yet will I be still obliged to defend thee, and all those that do any waies appertaine vnto thee. And if thou shalt haue need of me, I will be alwaies ready to goe with thee. And in case this my promise shall in any wise be frustrated, then let Gods justice fall vpon my head and destroy me and my posterity, and wipe away whatsoeuer belongeth vnto me, and gather it together into a rocke of stone, or substance of earth, and that the earth may cleaue asunder and swallow me vp body and soule.*

Dated at Constantinople the fifth of Ianuary, 1619.

Bethlem Gabor being assured by this oath, of protection made by the Grand Seigniour, in the beginning of the yeare 1620, he called an assembly of the Estates of Hungary at Presburg, whither Embassadours were sent from the King of Bohemia, and the States of that countrey, with the incorporate Prouinces, where a perpetuall league was concluded betwixt them, and afterwards concluded at Prague; where among other articles, it was concluded, that forasmuch as necessity did chiefely require, that a peace should be concluded and inuiolably kept with the Turke, therefore a new Embassie should be sent to the Grand Seigniour from all the confederate Kingdomes and Prouinces; and that *Bethlem Gabor* should take vpon him the chiefe care of that businesse; but yet in such sort, as the Bohemians and incorporated Prouinces should send their Embassadours with the Hungarians, and beare their shares of all that should be disbursed, as well for the Presents, as for the Embassadours charges. 1620. *A League between the Bohemians, Transyluanians and Hungarians.*

In Iune following, *Bethlem Gabor* went to an assembly of the Estates of Hungary at Neuheusall, where he propounded diuers heads vnto the States: That he desired nothing more than to restore the Kingdome of Hungary, so miserably afflicted, to liberty; and that they might enjoy their religion and priuiledges: That hee had spared no cost for the lawfull defence of the country; and for a testimony that he desired peace, he had refused the Crowne which the Estates offered him at Presburg: that the ground of peace was to maintaine the league which they had begun with the Bohemians: that hee had alwaies desired peace with the helpe of other Princes, so as it were sincere and without fraud or deceit, for the obtaining whereof hee had assisted his confederats miserably afflicted: That he knew for certaine the Emperour desired not peace but war, hauing suffered the Cossackes to enter into Hungary, and to spoyle many places with fire and sword, and denied passage for the Embassadours of Bohemia and Austria; for this cause they were not now to treat of peace but of warre, and to consult how it might be begun and maintained: for the leuying of money which is the sinewes of war: for the furnishing of their forts vpon the frontiers, and for the speedy sending of Embassadors to the Turkish Emperor, lest being ingaged in an intestine war, there might be some attempts made vpon these bordering forts. Hauing deliuered his minde vnto the Estates, there came diuers Embassadours thither from Bohemia, Austria, Silesia, and Lusatia, Venice, Poland, and Turky: The Venetian Embassadour was content their Commonwealth should enter into the league, and the Turke made offer to conclude a perpetuall league with them.

On

Bethlem Gabor proclaimed King of Hungary.

On the fiue and twentieth day of August *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of Transyluania was proclaimed King of Hungary by the Palatine, at the instance of the Turkish Embassadour, and with the consent and applause of most part of the Estates of the country: after which he leuied a great army of thirty (some say fifty) thousand horse and foot, and made many Ensignes with diuers Emblemes and deuices; which being knowne, the Protestants of Vienna, with the consent of the Emperour, wrote vnto him, humbly entreating him to spare the city and country, for their innocent wiues and childrens sake: but in the meane time all the citizens were commanded to make prouision of victuals for six moneths.

A vision seene at Medina Talnabi.

There came newes to Constantinople of a strange apparition or vision, which was seene at Medina Talnabi in Arabia, whereas *Mahomet* their great Prophet was buried: to visit whose tombe the Turks vse to goe in pilgrimage, but they must first goe to Mecha, which is some few daies journey off, and there they take a ticket from the Grand Seignioirs Beglerbeg, else they are not allowed to goe to Medina. This vision continued three weekes together, which terrified the whole country, for that no man could discouer the truth thereof. About the twentieth of September, there fell so great a tempest, and so fearefull a thunder about midnight, as the heauens were darkened, and those that were awake, almost distracted; but the vapours being dispersed, and the element cleare, the people might reade in Arabian Characters these words in the firmament, *O why will yee beleeue in lies!* Between two and three in the morning, there was seene a woman in white compassed about with the Sunne, hauing a cheerefull countenance, and holding in her hand a Booke: comming from the Northwest, opposite against her were armies of Turkes, Persians, Arabians, and other Mahometans, ranged in order of battell, and ready to charge her; but she kept her standing, and only opened the Booke, at the sight whereof these armies fled: and presently all the lamps about *Mahomets* tombe went out; for as soone as euer the vision vanished (which was commonly an houre before sunne rising) a murmuring winde was heard, whereunto they imputed the extinguishing of the lampes. The antient pilgrims of *Mahomets* race, who after they haue visited this place neuer vse to cut their haire, were much amased, for that they could not conceiue the meaning of this vision: onely one of the Deruices (which is a strict religious order amongst the Turks, like vnto the Capuchins amongst the Papists, and liue in contemplation) stepped vp very boldly, and made a speech vnto the company, which insenced them much against him, so as this poore priest for his plaine dealing lost his life, as you shall heare.

A Deruice speech vnto the Turkes.

„ The summe of his speech was this: That the World had neuer but three true Religions,
„ euery one of which had a Prophet; first God chose the Iewes, and did wonders for them in
„ Ægypt, and brought them forth by their Prophet *Moses*, who prescribed them a Law, where-
„ in he would haue maintained them, if they had not beene obstinate and rebellious, and fal-
„ len to Idolatry: whereupon hee gaue them ouer, and scattered them vpon the face of the
„ earth. Then presently after hee raised a new Prophet, who taught the Christian Religion.
„ This good man the Iewes condemned and crucified for a seducer of the people, nor moued
„ with the piety of his life, his great miracles, nor his doctrine. Yet after his death, the prea-
„ ching of a few fishermen did so moue the hearts of men, as the greatest Monarchs of the world
„ bowed to his very title, and yeelded to the command of his Ministers. But it seemes they
„ grew as corrupt as the Iewes, their Church being dismembred with the distinction of the East
„ and West, committing Idolatry againe by setting vp of Images, with many other idle cere-
„ monies, besides the corruption of their liues, so as God was weary of them too, and not onely
„ sent diuisions among them, but forsooke them, dispossessing them of their chiefest Cities Ie-
„ rusalem and Constantinople: yet God is still the Gouernor of the World, and prouides him-
„ selfe of another Prophet and people, raising our Great *Mahomet*, and giuing way to our natio-
„ on, so as no doubt we shall be happy for euer, if we can seruе this God aright, and take ex-
„ ample by the fall of others. But alas! I tremble to speake it, we haue erred in euery point,
„ and wilfully broken our first institutions, so as God hath manifested his wrath by euident
„ signes and tokens, keeping our Prophet from vs, who presigned a time to returne with all
„ happinesse to his people, so as there are now forty yeares past by our account: Wherefore
„ this strange and fearefull vision is a prediction of some great troubles and alterations.

For

A For either the opening of this booke in the womans hand, doth foretell our falling away from « the first intent of our law, whereat these armed men departed as confounded with the guilt of « their owne consciences; or else it signifies some other booke wherein we haue not yet read, « and against which no power shall preuaile: so as I feare our religion will be proued corrupt, « and our Prophet an Impostor, and then this *Christ* whom they talke of shall shine like the sun, « and set vp his name euerlastingly. Hitherto the company were silent; but hearing him speak so boldly, they charged him with blasphemy; and knowing their law, which makes all blasphemy capitall, they presently condemned him, and hauing the Beglerbegs consent and warrant, they put him to death.

The Deruice put to death for his speech.

As their rage against him was violent, so their execution was extraordinary, for they neither cut off his head nor strangled him, as they vsually doe to malefactors, but they tortured B him by degrees: for stripping him first naked, they gaue him a hundred blowes on the soles of his feet with a flat cudgell, vntill the bloud issued forth, the poore priest crying continually on the woman that opened the booke. After which they tooke a bulls pizzle, and beat all his body vntil the sinues crackt, and in the end they laid him vpon a wheele, and with an Indian sword made of sinews, they brake his bones to pieces, the poor man crying to the last gaspe, *O thou woman with the booke, saue me*, and so he died: At which time there was a fearefull tempest. The Beglerbeg sent certain Spahies to the port of Sidon to imbarke for Constantinople, to the end they might aduertise the Emperor of these tidings.

Sultan *Osman* from the first enterance into his reigne was freed from all cares of forraine C war, or intestine combustions; for hee had that happinesse (being himselfe young, and not able to gouerne so potent an estate) as by the counsell and assistance of *Halil Bassa* his grand Visier, he had forced the King of Persia to demand a peace, and to pay the tribute which had been formerly promised. His rebels in Asia were all pacified, and the truce with the Emperour (which had been somewhat interrupted by misinterpretation, or the practise of bad ministers) was newly confirmed a little before his comming to the crowne, onely Moldauia had beene the theatre of war for some yeares, where his father had exercised his armes, and imployed his forces, to aduance whom he pleased to be Vayuod of that countrey, against another party that was supported by the Polonians, as you haue formerly heard. *Michna* Prince of Valachia, being made Vayuod of Moldauia by *Achmat*, and the Polonian party wholly D ouerthrowne in the yeare 1616, hee enjoyed it not long: but whether hee died of a naturall death, or fell into disgrace with the Grand Seignior, I do not reade: yet I finde that after him there was another Vayuod or Prince of Moldauia, who is yet liuing, but in disgrace with the Sultan, his name is *Gasparo Gratiani*: and to the end you may vnderstand, that the Turks neuer respect the birth and quality of any man in their aduancements, I will relate what this man was, from the mouth of him that knew him very well.

This *Gasparo* was borne at Gretz (a towne of great strength belonging vnto the Archdukes of Austria, by the which a branch of that house is distinguished from the rest, and whereof the Emperour now reigning is the head) but being a man of small fortune, and little expectance in his owne country, he went to Constantinople, and put himselfe in seruice with Sir E *Thomas Glouer*, before that he was Embassadour for his Majesty to the Grand Seignior, vnder whom he learned both to write and reade the Turkish tongue. After which he came with him into England, and there by his recommendation was employed to Constantinople for the redeeming of young Sir *Thomas Sherley*, who was then a prisoner among the Turks. Hauing performed his charge orderly, and being come to Venice with the young Knight, hearing that Sir *Thomas Glouer* was sent Embassadour to the Grand Seignior, he left Sir *Thomas Sherley*, and went to Constantinople to his old master, where he was emploied yearely to buy or exchange Christians for Turks, carrying the Christians into Italy, and so returning Turks for them. About the end of *Achmats* reigne arriuing at Constantinople with a ship full of Turks, which he had exchanged, he acquainted the Visier Bassa with the good seruice he had F done vnto the Grand Seigniour; who demanding of what countrey hee was, and his breeding, asked him if he would vndertake a seruice which should be for his aduancement, which was to go vnto the Emperour to reconcile all difficulties concerning the peace, wherein he

carried himselfe so discreetly, as Commissioners were appointed, who concluded all difficul- G
ties, as you haue heard. But before his returne home, the Grand Seigniour was dead; yet he
pressed the Bassa for the performance of his promise, desiring him, that he might be made
Gasparo made Vayuod of Moldauia. Vayuod of Moldauia, which the Bassa effected: but the presents he gaue aduanced him more
than his merits. Since hee grew into some disgrace; so as the Grand Seigniour making
choice of another Vayuod, gaue charge to certaine Capigies, to go into Moldauia to strangle
Gasparo, and that they should take foure hundred Turks vpon the frontiers to assist them. But
Gasparo hauing good spies at Constantinople, who aduertised him of their designe, resolued
to preuent them; wherefore taking some troups with him, he met them vpon the way, and cut
them all in pieces; then returning to Yas, hee slew a thousand Turks. After which he fled
into Poland with two thousand horse; from whence they write that he hath made diuers in- H
cursions into Moldauia, and committed great spoiles vpon the Turks, being assisted by the
Cossackes, and keepes possession of the conntry, although there be another Vayuod made by
the Turke.

The Turks preparation to armes. Sultan *Osman* seemes to be much insenced against the Polonians, as well for this support, as
for former quarrels, making it his colour for the leuying of the greatest army that hath beene
seene since that *Solyman* went vnto the siege of Agria, consisting, as it is said, of three hundred
thousand men, hauing drawne downe all his forces out of Asia. God knowes where he will
imploy it, but it is much to be feared that he will make vse of this diuision betwixt Christi-
an Princes, who should vnite their wills and forces, to oppose them against the common ene-
my of Christendome, who watcheth only to get an aduantage, little regarding his word and I
promise.

The Turke hauing no imployment for his forces by land, sent threescore gallies by Sea,
to make some enterprise vpon the Christians. They came into the Mediterranean Sea, and
hauing coasted the Island of Sicilie, they sent twenty gallies to land in the Kingdome of
Naples, where they surprised the Towne of Manfredonia, and spoiled it, carrying away foure-
teene or fifteene hundred captiues, and so retyred againe to Sea. The rest of their fleet lay
about Vellona in the gulfe, which made the Spaniards jealous that the Venetian had beene
acquainted with this enterprise. And since there is newes, that the Gallions and Galliots of
Algiers, haue taken Iuisa, a small Island of foure miles compasse, neere vnto Majorca: It is a
place of great importance, for that it hath a hauen able to containe much shipping; for the K
guard whereof the King of Spaine entertaines a great garrison, and it did much annoy them
of Algiers. They tooke the towne; but it is not yet certaine whether they haue taken the
castle.

The greatnesse of the Turks Empire. This is all I could learne of the Turks affaires since the yeare 1609 vntill this present.
The Reader may obserue, that since the reigne of *Ottoman* their first Emperor, this great Em-
pire of the Turks is proudly built vpon the foure Monarchies of the World; that is to say,
of the Assirian, Persian, Greeke, and Romane. For they enjoy Babylon, and all Chaldæ,
with the country of the Medes: We haue seene them in Tauris the capitall city of Persia,
Greece is subject to the yoke of their command; Constantinople, sometimes called New
Rome, by the transport of the Imperial seat, is now made their Throne, and so many prouinces L
and realmes which in former times depended vpon the Romane Empire, do now acknowledge
their power: they are Masters of the Realmes of Ægypt and Cyprus; the Islands of Rhodes,
Mitylene, Negrepont, Chio, and many others acknowledge them, the Empire of Trebi-
sond is theirs; the Realme of Colchos, now called Mingrelia, payes them tribute: they of
Tunes and Algiers in Affrica obey them; Dalmatia, the Illyrians, Triballiens, the coun-
tries of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia do them homage, and we see them command
euen in the chiefe townes of the Realmes of Hungary: But all this power of the *Ottomans* had
neuer bene so great nor so fearefull, but by the discord, diuision, and bad intelligence betwixt
Christian Princes, as you may reade in the course of this History, as well in Greece, at
Constantinople as in other parts of Europe, whereas these Princes contending one with M
another, haue furnished matter and meanes to the Turke to dispossesse them of the chiefe
peeces of their Monarchies. They measure the continuance of their Empire by the
discord

A discord betwixt the Princes of the beleefe of the name of Iesus, and they confesse truely, that
this diuision is the onely cause of their greatnesse, the which hath made them beleeue, that
among Christians there was a bad Angell enemy to peace, which they call, *The strong or pow-
erfull Spirit*, which kindling the fire of reuenge and ambition in the hearts of great men,
drawes from their affections the good of their beleefe, to entertaine them in perpetuall dis-
cord; during the which, they promise vnto themselues a firme and an assured reigne. So the
Mufti, and the Talismans praying on Friday in their Mosques, demand of their Prophet the
circumstance of this bad intelligence betwixt Christian Princes, to the end they may enjoy
the Empire which they haue vnjustly vsurped. Yet their prophecies doe not promise them a
perpetuall possession; behold one in their owne tongue, which hath alwaies made them feare
B the vnion of Christians:

*Patissahomomos ghelur, caiferun menleker alur kenzul almai alur kapze iler ie di yla-
degh Giaur Keleci csikmasse on ikigladegh on laron Begbhgheder. Ensi japar, baghi diker
bathesai baglar, ogli kesi olar 3onichi ylddensora Hristianon-keleci csechar, al Turkei ghere-
sine Tuschure.* *A Turkish Prophesie.*

That is to say;

C *Our Emperour shall come, he shall possesse the Realme of an Infidell Prince, he shall take the red apple,
and make it subject to his power: if at the seuenth yeare of his command the Christians sword doth not
aduance, he shall rule vnto the twelfth yeare, he shall build houses, plant vines, compasse in gardens with
hedges, and beget children: but after the twelfth yeare that he hath held the red apple, the Christians
sword shall appeare and put the Turks to flight.*

By the *Infidell Prince* they vnderstand a Christian Prince (for so they call them) and by the *The exposition of their Prophesie.*
Red Apple an Imperiall towne strong and important; in the which, and elsewhere the Turks
shall *build houses*: that is to say, conuert holy temples to the vse of the Mahometan impiety;
D for by this word *to build*, they that haue commented vpon this prophesie, vnderstand vsurpa-
tion of the houses of God: *Plant vines*, by these words they signifie the extent of the Turkish
Empire, and the setling of their colonies, as we see in Hungary and Transyluania: *Compassing
in Gardens*, that is to say, they shall fortifie the townes which they haue taken from their ene-
mies: *Beget Children*, extend the Mahometan religion far in the Christians countries. *But af-
ter the twelfth yeare, &c.* within a certaine time best knowne to God, his diuine Majesty, ope-
ning the eies of his clemency vpon the Christians, will vnite the wills of their Princes, kindle
their affections with a holy zeale, and blessing their armes, will make them victorious ouer
the Turke, whom he will banish out of the East, and chase into Scythia, from whence they
came to be a scourge vnto Christendome. These are my wishes, wherein I hope all good
E Christians do concurre.

Hauing runne ouer the occurrents which haue happened in the Turks estate for the space *The beginning of the Turkish Empire.*
of eleuen yeares, I must according to Master *Knolles* his method, conclude the worke with
a description of the Grand Seigniours Port or Court, of his Gouernment, Officers, Riches,
Force, and Religion. The Turks (a people of Scythia) hauing like a violent deluge ouer-
throwne a great part of the East, and taken diuers Prouinces, being expelled from Ierusalem
by *Godfrey* of Bouillon, and the Christians, their remainder retired to Nicea where they liued
without any head or souereigne commander, vntill that *Ottoman* about the yeare of our Re-
deemer 1300, by practise made himselfe sole and absolute Monarch. His sonne conque-
ring diuers Prouinces, remoued his Imperiall seat to Prusia, now called Bursia, the chiefe
F abode of the Kings of Bythinia. *Amurath* the first (being drawne in by the Emperour of Con-
stantinople to succour him, and allured with the wealth of Europe) turned his armes against
him, taking diuers prouinces and townes from him, amongst others Adrianopolis, which he
made the seat and residence of the Turkish Emperours, in the yeare 1363. But *Mahomet* the

second

second hauing taken the city of Constantinople, and expelled the Emperour in the yeare 1453, he made it the royall seat of the *Othomans*, for which he had great reason, being one of the fairest and sweetest seats of the World. G

Description of Constantinople

Constantinople hath in circuit by the opinion of some Writers fifteene or sixteene miles, and is called by the Turks themselues Stambull or Stambolda, the sea beating vpon it vpon the North and South sides: Towards the East it is diuided from Asia by a large channell, which runneth from the one sea to the other, and is about seuen miles in length, The City is built vpon the declining of a hill, in which there are many rare singularities which I omit being described elsewhere. There are in this City seuen little hils, vpon the which are built seuen principall Mosques or Churches, by seuerall Emperours, where of the fairest and most stately is that of Sultan *Solyman*. Vpon the North side of the City standeth H the Grand Seignioirs Palace or Seraglio, commonly called by the name of the Port: The which hath on the one side thereof the Sea, and of the other side of it the hauen, the other two being towards the City, being about three miles in compasse, some write of foure. It is walled about, and within it are many gardens, orchards, medowes, and woods. Being entred into the first Port (which hath double gates of yron) into a large Court, on the left hand there stands a building like vnto a Turkish Mosque, which now the Grand Seignioir vseth for a store-house, wherein are great store of armes which are for the defence of his Seraglio. And on the other side of this Court are seuerall gardens walled in, from which they passe to another Court with a gate like vnto the former, where are targuets and scimitars hanging, and many Porters attending, as at the former. After this, they passe into another large I Court which is planted with Cypresse trees, and full of grasse, where deere feed; but round about it is a cloister which is in length about six hundred and fourescore foot, and aboue fiue hundred in bredth, paued with stone, and couered with lead, it being supported with one hundred and forty pillars of white and gray marble, standing vpon basses of copper, with capitals of the same; vpon the North side whereof stands the Diuano, whereas the Visier Bassa and the other Bassaes sit in Councell, and heare causes of importance, whereof we will speake hereafter. In this Seraglio the Grand Seignioir hath many chambers which are richly appointed, wherein hee remaines, and there he hath six young men which attend his person, and the seruice of his chamber, whereof two wait dayly, and at night they watch when hee sleepes, the one of them at his head, and the other at his feet, with two torches K burning in their hands. In the morning (as *Sanzouino* Writes) when the Grand Seignioir attires himselfe, they put into one of his pockets a thousand aspers, and into the other pocket twenty duckats of gold, the which if he giue not away that day, is their fee at night, neither (as they say) doth hee euer put on the same cloathes; and whensoeuer hee goes to hunting, or to any other exercise (besides the money which hee hath with him) his Casnadar Bassa or chiefe Treasurour still followes him with great store of money to giue away. The office of these six young men (who are changed as it pleaseth the Grand Seignioir) is distinct, for the one carries his shooes, the second his bow and arrowes, the third his vest, the fourth a vessell with water, the fifth carries a seat, and the sixth called *Oda Bassa* is head of the chamber. L

Attendants vpon the Grand Seignioir.

The chiefe officers of his house

He hath dayly a great number of persons resident in his palace, imployed in their seuerall charges, some in one place, some in another, vnder their seuerall commanders. But among all the great men in the Court these are of chiefest eminency and note.

First the *Capi Aga*, that is to say, the mouth of the Grand Seignioir, by whom the Sultan speaketh to such as haue any great suit vnto him: for no Embassadour is admitted vnto him, but at his first arriuall when he deliuers his letters of credit and his presents, and when he hath any businesse to treat of, he repaires to the Visier Bassa or his Aga.

The second is *Casnadar Bassa*, the chiefe Treasurour of the houshold, or superintendent of the Treasuror.

The third *Chilergi Bassa*, chiefe cupbearer. M

The fourth is *Seraglio Agasi*, steward or master of the houshold.

The fifth is *Chiller Agasi*, or *Saraidar Bassa*, Ouerseer of his Seraglio of concubines, who is alwaies an Eunuch as the rest be.

The

A The sixth and last is *Bostangi Bassa*, chiefe Gardener, and ouerseer of all his gardens, Captaine of his Iamoglans, and steerer of his Barge whensoeuer he goeth by water. He hath a Protogero or Lieutenant, and many gardeners vnder him, which are called Bostangi, who when they come out of the Seraglio, become Ianizaries, Solacci, or Capigi, according to their qualities.

These six Officers of the Sultans house aboue mentioned haue no authority out of his palace, yet the greatest Bassaes stand in awe of them, and feare them, for that they haue free access vnto the Sultan, and haue dayly opportunity to insence him against them: for by their secret suggestions and false informations, many of the greatest Bassaes are many times suddenly and vndeseruedly cut off in the height of all their pompe and glory.

B Hee hath many mutes or dumbe men attending about him, whereof eight be his dayly companions and play-fellowes in the Seraglio, in whose company hee takes great delight: besides many others to the number of forty, which attend vpon him as pages. They are all borne deafe and dumbe, yet by long practise they grow so perfect, as they will vnderstand any thing that shall be acted vnto them by signes and gestures; and will themselues by the gesture of their eyes, bodies, hands, and feet, deliuer matters of great difficulty, to the great admiration of strangers.

The Sultans dumbe men.

The Grand Seignioir hath within his palace a Seraglio of young men to the number of fiue hundred, from eight yeares of age to twenty: these are the well-fououred st and best proportioned of all the tribute children which hee draweth from Græcia and Natolia, and they C are chosen out of his Seraglio's at Pera, Adrianopolis, and other places, and brought to this to be bred vp, where they are instructed in diuers Arts, according to their disposition, but especially to reade and write, and in the doctrine of their Law, and to ride, there being a great number of horses kept within this Seraglio for their exercises, and for the Eunuches. They neuer goe out of the Seraglio till the Sultan thinkes them to be of fit age to vndergoe some charge, and then he makes them Spacoglani, or Silichtary, and to some he giues greater places, according to their valour, or the fauour they haue gotten with him.

A Seraglio of young men.

He hath in like manner about fourescore Mutaferache, that is to say, Launce-bearers to the Grand Seignioir: which carry his Lance whensoeuer he goeth to field, and acknowledge no other commander, and in time by his fauour or their merits, are made Captaines.

They that carry his Launce.

D He hath alwaies aboue one thousand Eunuches entertained in seuerall places, whereof some of them are in very great credit with him, and can preuaile much: they are called Hudurni, many of them are employed to attend his Concubines and Virgines in his Seraglio. They are not only depriued of their genitors, but in their youth they haue their whole priuities smoothed off by their bellies, and in their turbants they beare short quils of siluer, thorow which they make water. This inhumane custome wes first inuented by Sultan *Solyman*, who seeing a Gelding make offer to couer a mare, grew suspitious that they were able to do some small thing, notwithstanding the losse of their genitors.

The Sultans Eunuchs.

The Grand Seignior hath a Seraglio for his women without his palace, in the which there are alwaies foure or fiue hundred young Virgines, the fairest of the Christians children, which E be gathered vp out of Græcia for tribute. The Sultan repaires sometime thither to make choice of such as he shall like best for his pleasure; whereof they are aduertised the day before by the Eunuches, that they may prepare themselues in their best habits to giue him content. Being all in a roome, and standing vpon either side, the Sultan enters, attended by an Eunuch or two, and viewes them; to her that hee likes, he casts a handkercher, (whereof he hath many hanging at his girdle) and in this maner it may be he makes choice of halfe a dozen, the which his Eunuches obseruing, they put them presently into a Coach, and are carried into another little Seraglio within his palace. In this Seraglio they haue good entertainement and are apparelled in silke twice a yeare, and are taught to make diuers works by ancient matrons, and attended on by the younger sort. They haue many Eunuches with their Aga or Cap- F taine, and they haue one hundred Capigi's and Ianizaries, which keepe their gates. When as the number of these Virgine slaues decreaseth, and they haue not wherewithall to supply them with their tributary children, they send to the market in Constantinople, where they say there are dayly ten thousand slaues of all ages and sexes to be sold: and there they buy the

The Sultans Seraglio of women.

fairest

faireſt they can get, but they will not haue them aboue eight yeares old, leſt they ſhould be corrupted before they come into the Turks Seraglio. G

The eſtate of his concubines.

As for the other Seraglio within the Sultans palace, there remaines the Sultanaes with their children, and ſuch other Concubines as he hath made choice of for his delight. He neuer marries, but when any one is brought vnto him, he giues her an attire for her head of gold, and ten thouſand aſpers, cauſing her to liue in a chamber apart, encreaſing her dayly maintenance. The firſt that beares him a childe, is called Sultana, and is miſtreſſe of all the reſt, and moſt fauoured by him, as the chiefeſt of all his women, the reſt as they are fauoured by the Prince, are brought vnto him to haue his pleaſure, and then returned backe againe: if they chance to be with childe, they are put into the number of the Sultanaes, and are much reſpected by him. Such as the Prince hath had the vſe of, but no children by them, are giuen in marriage to his ſlaues, who are aduanced to dignities, and made Gouernors of countries. H

His guard, footmen, & porters.

He hath three hundred Sollacchi, which march continually about his perſon, and make as it were his guard, being vnder the command of the Aga of Ianizaries; they are richly attired, hauing lawne garments hanging downe beneath their knees, and ouer it a quilted waſtcoat with halfe ſleeues of taffata, damaske, or ſatten, and on their heads, caps and feathers like vnto the Captaine of the Ianizaries, and they attend on him with bowes and arrowes. He hath alſo ſtill about him when he rides abroad forty Peichi, that is to ſay, footmen or poſtes which runne wonderfull ſwiftly, and are ſtill at hand to attend his commandements, where hee ſhall pleaſe to employ them they weare long coats of cloth of gold, with a broad girdle of the ſame, and caps like vnto womens thimbles, with a horne of ſiluer and gilt ſtanding vp before. There are about foure thouſand Capigi's or Porters which continually attend his palace and Seraglioes, they are attired like vnto the Ianizaries, and haue ouer them three Capigi Baſſaes. I
Theſe men are many times employed to execute the Grand Seigniors commandements, when he will haue any great mans head, or his throat cut, as we haue ſeene of late yeares in *Gambolat Baſſa*, and in *Naſſuf Baſſa*, who was Grand Viſier to *Achmat*.

The Turks gouernment.

The Grand Seigniors gouernment is ſo abſolute, as they all tearme themſelues his ſlaues, and no man how great ſoeuer can aſſure himſelfe of his eſtate, no not of his life, but by the Great Turks ſpeciall fauour. He commits the mannaging of his eſtate to ſuch as haue abjured the Chriſtian religion, and haue been brought by way of tything in their infancies from Greece and Natolia, and afterwards for their merits are aduanced to great dignities, as Baſſaes, Beglerbegs, and ſuch other. K
The Prince hath a court or Councell which they call Diuano, and this is held within the Seraglio foure daies in the weeke; that is to ſay, Saturday, Sunday, Munday, and Tueſday, where they treat of matters of State, and afterwards of the affaires of priuate men. To this councell are admitted the Grand Viſier, eight or nine Baſſaes who are called Viſiers, and are continually reſident at Conſtantinople, (for there are many more which are employed abroad in the conduct of armies or gouernment of Countries) the Beglerbegs and others. At the riſing of the court or councell, the Grand Viſier informes the Sultan of all the proceedings in particular; wherein he dares not diſſemble, for that the Prince hath a window joyning to the Diuano, where he may heare and ſee any thing and not be ſeene. He ſeldome impugnes what they haue reſolued, vnleſſe it be to moderate ſome ri- L
gorous ſentence, or to giue anſwer to ſome Embaſſadour, and what he himſelfe concludes is irreuokeable.

The Turks Iuſtice.

Their ſuits are very ſhort, for they haue no aduocats to breed delaies, as they haue in Chriſtendome; yet commonly he that bribes moſt ſpeeds beſt; for the Turks are the moſt couetous and corrupt Nation in the World, neither will they do any man a kindeneſſe without a fee; and yet they are not ſure to enjoy any thing they get no longer than it ſhall pleaſe the Prince. They puniſh crimes with great ſeuerity, and ſpeedily, the fact being prooued, which doth ſo turrifie them, as by the report of ſuch as haue conuerſed long there, you ſhall ſeldome ſee a murder or a theft committed by any Turke; and if any foule fact be committed, it is moſt commonly done by the Græcians. M

The Grand Viſier.

The chiefe of the Grand Seigniors Councell is the Grand Viſier, who weares the Princes ſignet, and is as it were the Lieutenant Generall of the whole Monarchy: he hath authority ouer the other Baſſaes, and they are bound to yeeld him an account of their imployments.

He

A He is ſtill about the Prince his perſon, and is not ſent abroad for any employment, vnleſſe it be for an important war, as they haue done of late yeares againſt the Perſian. When the Viſier is ſent abroad, he makes choice of one of the Baſſaes to be his Lieutenant and to execute his authority, and he is called Chimacham.

The Beglerbegs and Sanzackes.

Next vnto the Baſſa (which is as much to ſay as great Lord) follow the Beglerbegs, and haue their places in court next vnto them. They are men of great authority, and haue the command of great kingdomes and armies, vnder whoſe obedience are diuers Sanzacks which are ſent as Gouernors into Prouinces during the Princes pleaſure. Theſe are men of great experience, and haue command ouer the Spahi, and Timariots, the Turks chiefe forces on horſebacke, whom they call continually to exerciſe their armes. There is one Beglerbeg of Greece, B which hath all the countries in Europe in the Turks dominions vnder his charge, and this is the firſt of all the Beglerbegs, who hath vnder him aboue thirty Sanzackes. There are ſix other Beglerbegs in Aſia, whereof the firſt is he of Natolia or Aſia the leſſe. He hath the gouernment of Pontus, Bythinia, and other Kingdomes, and hath vnder him twelue Sanzackes. The Beglerbeg of Caramania with ſeuen Sanzackes. The Beglerbeg of Aladuley, vnder whoſe command are ſeuen Sanzackes. The Beglerbeg of Amazia and Toccato, hauing foure Sanzackes. There is alſo one in Meſopotamia, and vnder his command twelue Sanzackes or Gouernours of Prouinces. There is likewiſe a Beglerbeg of Damas, Suria, and Iudæa, who hath vnder him twelue Sanzackes. And there is one of Caire, who commands ouer ſixteene Sanzacks, his charge extends to the Arabians, but they are not ſo obedient as the Turks other C countries.

The great Turks forces.

As for the Turks forces, they conſiſt of horſemen, footmen, and fleets at Sea. His horſemen conſiſt of Spahi, Timari, Spachoglani, Silictari and Olofagi, who haue aſſignations of lands for the entertainment of them and their horſes. For no man can enjoy any poſſeſſions, but he is enjoyned to entertaine a certaine number of ſouldiers proportionable to the reuenues of the land: ſo as the Gouernour or Baſſa is alwaies bound to haue this number ready to march when they are called. Of theſe Timariots they are able to raiſe about an hundred and *The Timariots.* fifty thouſand horſe alwaies ready at the firſt call, for the which the Prince diſburſeth not a penny; for in regard of the land which is alotted them, they are bound to maintaine themſelues, their horſe and armes in the war. Wherſoeuer the Turke conquereth any country, he D diuides it among his ſoldiers; aſſigning 4000 aſpers yerely (which is little aboue ten pound ſterling) to euery one for himſelfe and his horſe, and ſo proportionably if he haue more land. Theſe horſemen are much peſtered with armes when they go to war: for they haue a jacke, a ſpeare with a little white banner, a caliuer hanging vnder his left arme, a ciminter, a bow and arrowes at his girdle, and a battleaxe at his ſaddle bow. And of theſe kinde of horſemen they ſay there are 80000 in Greece, beſides an infinite number in his other countries. This Turkiſh Cauallery worke two great effects, for they ſerue as a ſupport to his eſtate, to ſuppreſſe all ſeditions, and they are ready to vndertake any enterpriſe. Beſides theſe, he entertaines many horſemen about his perſon, whereof ſome are Spahi, and theſe are Chriſtian ſlaues bred vp *The Spahi.* yong in the Princes Seraglio, who by their merits attaine to that degree, and afterwards to E greater dignities. They are alwaies attending about the Princes perſon wherſoeuer he goes, being commonly thirteene hundred.

The Caripices & Spachoglans.

The *Caripices* are held for the flower of all his horſemen, being in number about eight hundred, who march ſtill about the Princes perſon during the wars. The *Spachoglans* which is as much to ſay as young men on horſebacke, are aboue three thouſand, who haue yerely penſions in mony, which they are bound to receiue yearely at Conſtantinople, or elſe they are held as dead men. In the wars they march on the right hand of the Grand Seigniour, and are knowne from the Spahies by the banners of their launces, which haue two points and of diuers colours, the others being painted and all white, but they are armed alike. They are men at armes of a good faſhion, and are commonly aduanced by the Sultan to higher places. They haue F a Captaine or Aga of great eſteeme, with a Lieutenant, and euery twenty haue a Boluch Baſſa.

The Salichtars.

The *Salichtari* are alſo horſemen, and lodge vpon the left hand of the Prince, being in number about three thouſand: Their breeding is like to the Spahi, and there is no difference be-

twixt

twixt them but in their march, the one hauing the right hand, and the other the left, which is the more honourable among the Turks. G

The Olofagi. There is yet another sort of horsemen, which they cal *Olofagi*, being about 2000 in number, and they march on the right and left hand of the Prince. These seuerall troupes are as it were a nursery for all the chiefe officers of that Empire; out of which they doe commonly chuse their great commanders. Besides, they haue their mercenary soldiers called *Alcanzijs*, which come to serue the Turks from Tartaria, Valachia, and Moldauia.

The Ianizaries and their breeding. As for his foot forces they consist chiefely in Ianizaries, into which number they haue not vsed to enroll many of Asia, whom they haue held faint hearted, but those of Europe, who haue alwaies had the reputation to be valiant. Their manner to entertaine this discipline, is, to send euery three yeares into all the Prouinces of Europe, from whence they bring ten or twelue thousand Christian children as a tribute, making choice of such as haue any shew of magnanimity, agility, or courage, which are parts fit for a souldier. These children being brought to Constantinople and visited, some of them are sent into Natolia, Caramania, and other Prouinces, to dig and weed the ground, where they forget their parents, countrey, and faith, and learne the language and vices of them with whom they conuerse, and so become Mahometans. They continue in those places three or foure yeares, without any charge to the Prince, being entertained by them for whom they labour; after which time they are called home, and put into the Sultans Seraglio's at Pera, Adrianopolis, and other places. But they that haue the best faces and are most actiue, are reserued for their Princes seruice. H

The Aiamoglani These children being brought into the Princes Seraglio's, are of two sorts; the one are called *Aiamoglani*, that is to say, simple Boy: they are instructed by seuere masters in diuers manuall and painefull exercises, as shoomakers, gardeners, and such like base trades. Their feeding and apparell is very meane; and for the most part they lie in great and spacious roomes, like vnto religious men, hauing a light continually burning, and guards about them. These haue liberty to goe abroad, who after the age of twenty yeares are dismissed; whereof some are sent into the Sultans gardens, which are many and great; others are emploied as car-men to carry wood, hay, water, and other prouision for the palace, and some are sent to the kitchens and stables; yet when places fall they are preferred to be Ianizaries, and haue competent pensions to mainetaine them during their liues. The least hath fiue aspers a day, and none aboue eight, and the Spahies ten. They are attired in long blew gownes girt with a broad girdle, and on their heads they haue long yellow caps without brims, and sharpe like vnto sugarloues: and of these *Aiamoglanes* there are alwaies aboue twenty thousand which serue to supply his armies. I K

The Ich Oglani The other sort of youths, which are bred vp in the Turks Seraglio's or nurseries, are called *Ich-Oglani*, that is to say, chamber pages, being the choice of all the Christians children for proportion and fauour, and these are better bred vp than the *Aiamoglani*, and come to better preferment, of whom we haue formerly made mention; for the meanest places these yong men attaine vnto at the first is to be Spahies, or to attend vpon the grand Seignior as his chamberlaines and pages. And many of them hauing extraordinary parts are suddenly aduanced to places of great dignity. Of these the Prince hath euer 5000, who vntill they come vnto the age of twenty yeares are neuer suffered to goe out of their Seraglio, nor to see any person but such as instruct them and attend vpon them. L

The Ianizaries. The Ianizaries (who are the grand Seigniors chiefe strength on foot) are raised out of Christians children, bred vp in these nurseries, as we haue said, where they are taught to shoot with their bowes and arrowes, to vse the harquebuse, and all other weapons fit for seruice; and are at length enrolled among the Ianizaries, and are held the most valiant and resolute souldiers among all the Turks. There are commonly resident at Constantinople and thereabouts twenty foure thousand of these Ianizaries when as the Grand Seigniour is there, (for in his whole estate he hath a far greater number) vnder their Aga or Captaine Generall, which is a place of great credit, but not like vnto any of their Bassaes; the great Turke fearing to joyne power and authority together. Being once Ianizaries, they are either sent to the wars, or put in garrison, or else they remaine at the Sultans court (which they call port) where they haue certaine spacious places for their dwelling, like to religious houses, where they liue vnder their commanders: M

A commanders: and the younger serue the antient with great respect. All the Ianizaries of one squadron eat together at one table, and sleep in certaine long halls, and if any one chance to be absent all night, he shall (the next night) be beaten with a cudgell, which he takes so patiently as he kisseth his hand that hath thus corrected him. They are much respected and feared of all men, and are diuersly imploied in the city; as to see the peace and good orders kept, to looke to the prices of things, to arrest malefectors, and to guard the gates. If they buy any thing they will haue it at their owne rate; they cannot be judged but by their Aga or Captaine. There is seldome any one punished with death by the course of justice, without danger of a mutiny; and therefore they execute them very secretly. They haue many meanes to get mony; for some attend vpon Embassadours and keep their houses; others go with trauel-
B lers, to guard them safely through the Turks estate. They haue a great power in their Princes election; so as to win their loues euery new Emperour at his first comming to the Crowne giues them a donatiue and encreaseth their pay, presuming vpon their valour and multitude. They many times commit strange insolencies vpon any discontents; as in firing of houses, brauing the Bassaes, and sometimes bearding the Sultan himselfe: as you may reade in this History.

The chiefe strength of the Turks forces consist in the Ianizaries; and yet there are other sorts of footmen, whereof some are called *Acouizes*, which is a forlorne hope, and receiue no pay, but march before the army, and haue leaue to spoile; so as they giue the fifth part of their booty to the Prince. There is another kinde called *Azapi*: these are souldiers of small effect, *Acouizes.* *Azapi.*
C and serue rather with the pickaxe and spade than with the sword: they are fitter to tire an enemy with their numbers, than to vanquish them with their valour; and they are accustomed to fill vp ditches with their dead bodies to make a passage for the Ianizaries to ascend vnto a breach. The Grand Seignior hath euer six thousand Gunners in pay whom they call *Topegi*. And for the guard of the pouder and shot when the army marcheth, there is alwaies 12000 men in pay, whom they call *Iebegi*. *Topegi and Iebegi.*

The Grand Seignior hath also certaine officers attending on him to the number of 3000, whom they call *Chiaus*, which are as it were sergeant at armes. These are men well esteemed, and are often employed in Embassies to forreine Princes: They also carry letters and com- *The Chiaus.*
mendations from the Prince or his chiefe Visier, and they apprehend offenders. These never
D goe to the warre but when the Sultan is there in person. They are commanded by a Chiaus Bassa, who is of so great credit with all men (as *Sanzouino* writes) that when he is sent by the Grand Seigniour to any Bassa, Sanzacke, or Cadi, with order to haue any mans head cut off, he is obeyed, although hee haue no warrant in writing, as if the Prince were there himselfe, and commanded it.

Thus we haue set downe the Grand Seigniors forces at land, whose numbers are so great, as in shew they should breed confusion, and ruine themselues; but they keepe very good order *The Turks discipline in their armies.*
and discipline, so as in that point they yeeld not to any. They liue of a little bread baked in the ashes, with rice, and the pouder of flesh dried in the sunne: They may not drinke wine, and there are no women seene in their armies: they obserue a wonderfull silence, and all the soul-
E diers are gouerned by the becke of the hand or any shew of the countenance. Quarrels and thefts are seuerely punished. When they march they dare not enter into any corne fields nor vines. The valiant are assured of preferments, and cowards of punishment.

Hauing spoken sufficiently of their land forces, let vs see what strength he hath at sea: they haue great store of forests for the building of ships; neither want they good shipwrites, for that couetousnesse hath drawne many Christian carpenters into the grand Seigniors arsenal: And he hath great numbers of men trained vp in marine affaires, in regard of the gallies which he hath at Mitilene, Rhodes, Cyprus, and Alexandria, and for the retreat hee giues pyrats at Tunes, Bona, Bugia and Algiers, from whence he drawes commanders and his best mariners, as hath beene seene by experience in the enterprises of Malta, Guletta, and elsewhere.

F To maintaine these great forces, it is requisite he should haue the sinews of war; yet his ordinary reuenues (considering the large dominions) are not so great, as in reason they should *The Turks reuenues.*
be: for some are of opinion, that hee hath not aboue eight millions of gold for his ordinary reuenue; for which they giue diuers reasons: first, that the Turks haue no care but of armes, the

the which doe rather ruine than inrich a country: secondly, they consume so many men in their enterprises, as they scarce leaue sufficient to manure their land, so as the subjects (despairing to enjoy their wealth and necessary commodities, which they might get by their labour and industy) imploy not themselues to worke nor trafficke, no more than necessity shall constraine them: for to what purpose is it, say they, to sow that another man must reape? or to reape that which another will consume? And for this reason you shall see in the Turks estate whole countries lie wast, and many times great dearth, which growes by the want of men to manure their land; for that the counrry men for the most part either die in the voyages which they make, or in carrying victuals and other necessary things for their armies; for of 10000 which they draw from their houses to row in their gallies, scarce the fourth part returnes to their houses, by reason of the great toyles they endure. Another reason why the Sultans reuenues be no greater, is, for that when he conquers any country, he assignes the lands to his Timarri, who are bound to maintaine so many men, and so many horses, according to the proportion of land which he giues them, reseruing no rent.

But although his ordinary reuenues be no greater than we haue spoken, yet he drawes great profit by his extraordinaries, especially by confiscations and presents; for being all his slaues, no man enjoyeth any thing longer than it pleaseth him: yea, the Bassaes and greatest officers of that crowne, which oppresse his subjects, and gather together inestimable wealth, in the end for the most part, it comes into the Turks Casna or Treasury. It is not strange there to send for any subjects head, vpon any suggestion whatsoeuer, which no man dare contradict: after which execution, his slaues and goods are sold in the market at Constantinople, and the mony applied to the Princes coffers. His presents also amount to great summes, for no Embassador may come before him without a present, neither may any man expect any office or dignity without mony: no gouernor being returned from his prouince, dares present himselfe to the Sultan empty handed, neither are their presents of small price. The Sultans exchequer is gouerned by two Treasurers called *Deftardari*, who are more rightly gouernors of the reuenues, for that they keep an account of the Princes Casna or Treasure, the one hath charge of the reuenues which are raised in Natolia, and the other in Europe. Also they draw great profits from their tributary prouinces, especially from Valachia, Moldauia, and Transyluania, where the Princes maintaine themselues by presents and gifts; so as they change dayly, for that they that offer most are aduanced, wherby they are forced to ruine the country, to performe what they haue promised.

The lawes wherebyby the Turks are gouerned.

But hauing spoken of the Turks forces and reuenues, whereby they maintaine their armies to inuade their neighbours, we must now speake somthing of their lawes, wherby the subjects are gouerned, which are institutions and answers of wise men, the which they hold as an interpretation of their Alcaron, which is the ground of their law. These institutions are conteined in twelue volumes, treating of all things belonging to ciuill conuersation. Some prouinces of Turkie are gouerned by customes, and enjoy their priuiledges, and their wise Iudges supply many things which are not written. The Sultan makes choice of the wisest and worthiest person that can be found, of a sincere life according to their law, & he is called Mufti, that is, Interpreter of their Alcaron; he is (as it were) their high priest, attending only matters of religion and faith: he is head of the church among the Turks, and decideth all questions of their law. He is of such eminency, as all the Bassaes are subject to his direction: he abaseth not himselfe so much as to sit in the Diuano, onely passeth through it when he is sent for by the Sultan, who (so soone as he seeth him) riseth from his seat as it were to honour him, and then they both sit downe face to face, and so confer together.

The Mufti.

The Cadilesquiri.

They make triall of the sufficientest of their Iudges, before they chuse any, for which there are two *Cadilesquiri Talismani*, that is, Doctors of the law, and Examiners at Constantinople, or wheresoeuer the Prince remaines; These examine the Iudges or Cadi's of diuers prouinces. The one hath his charge ouer Europe, and is called *Cadilesquirie Romly*, before whom (after good information of his life, and sufficiencie) he sweares that he will do justice to all men, and yeeld an account of his charge when he shall be called. The othe *Cadilesquirie* is for Natolia: they are souereigne judges in all causes, and as it were Patriarks. They are of great authority, and haue place in the Diuano with the Bassaes to consult of weighty matters.

There

A There is a third degree of their churchmen, belonging to their law, called *Mulli*, which are bishops and chiefe gouernors vnder the Mufty; and their office is to place and displace churchmen at their discretion. Next are the *Nuderisi*, who are suffragans to the Bishops, and their charge is to see the Cadies doe their duties. Next come the *Cadi's* who are Iudges to punish offendors, of which there is one in euery city vnder the Seigniors command.

The Nuderisi, Muderisi, and Cadi.

Vnder these are another kind of yong Doctors of the law called *Naipi*, who are not so well read as to be absolute Iudges, but yet supply their places in their absence.

The Naipi.

After these are the *Hogi*, who write their bookes, for that they allow no Printing: and inferior vnto them are the *Calfi*, who reade vnto them that write. And the yongest of all are called *Sosti*, who are yong students or nouices in their law.

The Hogi, Calfi, and Sosti.

B These are their seuerall degrees of lawyers or churchmen: for the Turks are gouerned by a kinde of Ecclesiasticall law, according to their Alcaron. They haue colledges (called Medressæ) at Constantinople, and in other places, where they liue and study their law and diuinity, and so they ascend by degrees to the highest dignity of their profession.

As for their religion, it began in the time of the Emperour *Heraclius*, when as the Empire was much dismembred by the heresies of *Arrius* and *Nestorius*. *Mahomet* borne in Arabia imbraced this opportunity, seeking to ouerthrow the Diuinity of *Iesus Christ*, which was opposed by the Iewes and Arabians: he was assisted by two hereticks, the one was *Iohn* a Nestorian, and the other *Sergius* an Arrian. After which (being assisted by many slaues, to whom he allowed all that was pleasing to the sence and flesh, if they should receiue this law) he obtained many victories. By *Mahomets* law they make a distinction of cleane and vncleane meats to content the Iewes, and also it maintaines circumcision, but not at the eight day of their birth, as the Iewes vse it, but after the eight yeare, when the infant is able to make confession of his faith, where lifting vp his finger he speakes these words, which are grauen in their temples in the Arabian tongue: *There is but one God whose Prophet* Mahomet *is, one God and equall Prophets.* The circumcision being ended, they feast three daies together, and then they carry the circumcised to a bath with great pompe; after which the guests conduct him to his house, and present him with gifts. The women are not circumcised, but only speake the words. If any Christian abjure his faith and indure circumcision (as they often doe by reason of their tributes and vexations) they are led through the towne with great honor and rejoycing of the people, who do also giue vnto them, and they pay no tributes. *Mahomets* law denies the Diuinity of *Iesus Christ*, to please the Arrians who were then powerfull: It is full of fables to please Idolaters, and it giues liberty to the flesh which is pleasing to most men.

The Turkisc religion.

They confesse one God, and honor *Iesus Christ*, not as the sonne of God, but as a Prophet borne of the Virgin *Mary*. They neither honor nor allow images. Friday is their Sabbath, as Sunday is ours. They obserue a Lent of thirty daies, which they call Ramadan; during which they eate nothing in the day time, but when night comes all meats are indifferent, but swines flesh; yet they abstaine from wine and women. They haue their Easter called Bayran, which continues three daies, in which they enjoy all pleasures: but this feast is not alwaies prefixed, for that they account not the day according to the course of the Sun, but of the Moone; and therefore they do carefully obserue the new Moone and salute it.

They haue no bels in their Mosques, neither do they suffer the Christians which liue there to haue any. They put off their shooes when they go into their Mosques, and take them again at their comming forth. Wheresoeuer they sit in their churches or houses, they haue tapestry couerlets or mats vnder them: they are not much giuen to contemplation or learning, yet the Turkish women being married and hauing issue, are carefull to breed vp their children, and to be instructed; for the which there are many schooles, where they reade their lawes, to the end they may serue in their Mosques, and be able to gouerne the common weale.

The Turks by *Mahomets* law haue leaue to marry as many wiues as they can maintaine; and a Turkish woman being once with childe, her husband neuer toucheth her vntill she be deliuered, but lies with his slaues out of the house where his wife remaines. They haue a certaine kind of marriage made at pleasure, which they call Kebin the which is many times practised by strangers, who being out of their country contract with women, whom they are to enjoy during their pleasure, and when they cast them off, they giue them a certaine summe

of

of mony, and keepe the children. The Cadi's or Iudges allow not this kinde of contract, especially amongst Christians, vnlesse it be with an oath of marriage. A Turke hauing had the G
vse of a Christian woman, they are both condemned to die, vnlesse she will adjure her faith: the like is obserued betwixt a Christian and a Turkish woman, if they haue been found together. Diuorce is allowed among them in case of barrennesse and incontinency.

There are foure orders of religious-men among the Turks which differ in their liuing, habit, and ceremonies. These be the *Terlaques*, *Deruis*, *Kalenders*, and *Huquiewales*, and these last are very vicious, and wicked imposters, deceiuing of the common people. The Deruis is a strict order liuing in contemplation, much like vnto the Capuchins among the Romish Papists. The Turks forbeare to blaspheme either God, Christ, or *Mahomet*, or any other Saint whatsoeuer, and they punish blasphemy seuerely. They conuerse with Christians, and eat and H
traffique with them freely; yea, somtimes they marry their daughters, and suffer them to liue after their owne religion. But they hate the Iewes, and despise them as the basest people in the World. They haue an assured confidence, that he that shall duely obserue the lawes of *Mahomet*, shall haue eternall life, and a Paradise full of delights: and contrariwise they that shall breake the lawes of their Alcaron are threatned with hell and eternall death; yet they haue an opinion that hee that beleeues in the Alcaron when hee dies, shall be vndoubtedly saued.

The disposition of the Turks. To conclude this relation with some few lines of their humors and dispotions; they write of them, that they are grosse witted, idle and vnfit for labour. They are exceeding couetous and corrupt, aboue all other Nations; for justice is sold to him that offers most. They are I
humble among themselues, and obey their superiours with great silence. They are proud and insupportable to strangers, thinking none fit to be compared with them. They are giuen to gluttony and drunkennesse, and will spend whole daies together in feasting, and will drinke with excesse if it be in priuate, for that it is forbidden by their law. They are vain-glorious, proud and deceitfull, neuer keeping their words, but when it may be to their profit. They are much inclined to venery, and are for the most part all Sodomites. They are very superstitious, giuing credit to dreames and diuinations; and they hold that euery mans destiny is written in his forehead, which cannot be altered or auoided.

Thus I haue continued this History for eleuen yeares, hauing informed my selfe out of the best authors and intelligencers I could fide that concerne this subject: I should haue beene K
glad that some which haue resided at Constantinople most part of this time, would haue assisted mee with their obseruations, which should haue beene for the generall good of our Nation; but I hope notwithstanding the Reader shall finde contens and satisfaction.

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A

A CONTINVATION OF THE TVRKISH HISTORY, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE YEARE OF OVR LORD 1620, VNTILL THE ENDING OF THE YEARE OF OVR LORD 1628.

COLLECTED OVT OF THE PAPERS and Dispatches of Sr THOMAS ROWE, Knight, his *Maiesties Embassador with the grand Signior during that time.*

And since by Him re-viewed and corrected.

E

BEfore we come to speak of the great preparations made by the grand Signior in the yeare 1621, to inuade the kingdom of Poland; and those by that king to resist him: I hold it necessarie, briefly to set down the causes and reasons of the insuing war. 1620.

The Chrim Tartar, confining vpon the dukedome of Russia and borders of Poland, had made many incursions, and did great spoile vpon the Cossackes within that prouince of Russia, and other parts belonging to the Kingdom of Poland, and carrying away the people of all ages and sexes, made sale of them within the Turkes empire. Now *Ican beagh Ghiray Han* Prince of the Tartars, being wholly dependant on the *Ottoman* Emp rors, his Maiesty of Poland sent many seuerall Embassadors to complain at that Port; That notwithstanding the antient league betweene him and the *Ottoman* Family, the Tartars greatly spoiled his Countries, which was both vniust and against the treaties. Howsoeuer the complaints were many and great, yet the king of Polands ministers found no redresse for those their alledged
F wrongs; but were answered, That the Tartars were absolute lords ouer themselues, and that they pretended to haue an annual tribute of 40000 Dollars from the king of Poland; which being denied them, they had reason so to do: and that the grand Seignior could only intreat, but not command them to surcease. The Tartars seeing the Polacke thus sleighted at the Port, grew more insolent and outragious: wherewith the Turkes were well content, for the

great benefit they receiued by slaues which were continually brought to be sould in their do- G
minions, finding for the most part that those men had able bodies, and fit to be applied to the
oare. It is true that the Chrim Tartars in antient time beeing so neere neighbours, were
woont to receiue such a Pension from the Crowne of Poland, for the which they were ob-
liged to seaue in euery occasion of Warre: but of later yeares that payment hath discontin-
ued; because they rather receiued hurt, than any assistance from that vagabond and predato-
ry people.

When the Cossacks saw that after so many complaints they could not liue at rest, nor pro-
cure restitution of their wrongs, nor take their reuenge vpon the Tartars, being a flitting and
fugitiue nation, who had no certain place of abode; they resolued to fall into the dominions
of the grand Signior, who seemed, if not to protect, yet to conniue at injuries they receiued H
from these their neighbors. The Cossacks then that inhabited vpon the banks of the riuer Bo-
risthenes (which emptieth it selfe into the blacke sea) were coniectured to bee fittest for the
execution of this reuenge: and therfore they prepared a number of wel armed Barques, & fal-
ling down the riuer, did very great dammage, by robbing, spoiling, and burning diuers townes
and villages bordering vpon the black sea.

This news being brought to Constantinople, the grand Signior took it in great scorne, that
such a base and rude people should come and afront him so neer his doores. Therfore he cau-
sed some gallies to be armed forth with speed to suppresse them: but his forces were foure or
fiue times valiantly repulsed, and stil the Cossack went safely home with his prey. Now the
tide of affairs was turned, and this great Emperor who was formerly petitioned by the Polack, I
is now become a suitor to him, & finds his Ministers measured by the answer the grand Sig-
nior had giuen concerning the wrongs don by the Tartars: That though the Cossacks adhere
to the Crown of Poland, yet are they a free people of themselues: but when the Tartar shall
cease from his hostilitie, it is like enough the Pole will intreat the Cossacke to do the same;
and that is all the authoritie he can exercise ouer them.

The grand Signiors preparation for warre with the King of Poland.

Affairs standing thus, no accommodation for wrongs on either side could be made; and
the grand Signior, although he was now but fifteen years of age, yet was hee strong, vigorous,
and of a high spirit, and more than desirous of a war, but especially with the King of Poland,
from whom he looked for better satisfaction. This desire was nourished in him by the coun-
sels of *Ali Bassa* great Vizier; and notwithstanding it was vtterly disliked by al the rest of the K
Ministers of state, and officers of war in that Empire, a war was neuertheless thereupon pro-
claimed throughout all the Turks Dominions; which did in generall displease the common
soldier also.

1621. The grand Signior the foure and twentieth of Aprill commanded paiment to be made to
all the Soldierie; and the day following caused all his tents and pauilions, with those of his
Viziers and other officers, to be solemnly pitched without the City, with all trades that were
to attend his Royal camp. Who hauing now gathered of foot and horse three hundred thou-
sand (though reported to be twice the number) set forward together with his court and train
out of Constantinople the 29 of April, with three hundred field pieces, beside a hundred can-
non sent vnto the frontiers by sea; leauing *Achmat Bassa* and the Bostangi Bassa gouernors of L
the city til his return.

When he was arriued at the confines of Poland, he first attempted the fortresse of Chotyn
in the prouince of Moldauia, lately giuen by *Gasparo Gratiani* to the Polacks. The which be-
ing strong of scituation, and well furnished for defence, the Turke finding it difficult to carry
in few daies, left it besieged; and passing the riuer of Boristhene, found there the Chancellor
of Poland intrencht vpon the borders, in a strong place and of good aduantage, with forty
thousand Polacks and Cossacks, and eight thousand high Dutch, sent by the Emperor in aid
of the King of Poland. The Prince was incamped at Caminitza, and strongly intrenched
with sixty thousand souldiers; the King abiding in Cracovia, with the Nobilitie and his
Court. The grand Signior facing the Trenches vpon Boristhene, with the multitude of his M
army inclosed them round, and shut vp all the passages; sending presently the prince of the
Tartars, *Iean-beagh-Ghiray-Han*, with thirty thousand light horse to make incursions within
the heart of Poland: who did great spoile, and brought away captiues twenty fiue thousand
soules of all sorts; which dammage did not so much proceed from the will of the Prince, as
from

A from a Captaine of his, a Nobleman of Tartarie called *Kante-Emir-Emirze*, in great fauor at
that time with the Emperour: for it was thought that betweene the King of Poland, and the
Prince of Tartarie, there was some secret intelligence by the vertue of money.

During the space of foure and thirty dayes that the Grand Seignior held these Trenches
besieged, almost euery other day he gaue them terrible assaults, but was alway forced to re-
tyre with losse. The Polacke in brauerie making some sallies, were also glad to recouer their
strength; onely once they so farre aduanced in the euening with their shot vpon the quarter
of the Ianizaries, that they made a great execution, and almost put the whole camp into dis-
order; and as the Turks themselues did confesse, if this sally had been giuen in the night, it
had hazarded the confusion of the whole army: All which being seen by the Grand Signior,
B and little hope of aduancing further, for diuers reasons he was inforced to treat a cessation of
Armes with the Chancellor. The first was, That he had spent so much time without any ad-
uantage, and the Winter approched, whereby his army suffered great extremities of cold and
other miseries, by reason of terrible raines which had carried away diuers tents, horses, and o-
ther cattell, and some part of his cannons. Secondly, the prouision of fodder was become so
deare, that diuers forsooke their horses for want of means to feed them: besides the great mor-
talitie of men, of fluxes, Feuers, & colds, and the horses of Asia not vsed to such a climat, that
many men of quality that came out with ten & 12, were compelled to return on foot. Third-
ly, the army either for wearinesse, or for discontent receiued from the Emperour himselfe, for
his narrownesse and auarice shewed to the soldier, contrary to the glorious example of his an-
C cestors in like enterprises not only refused to fight, but were little lesse than mutined. Fourth-
ly, this attempt from the beginning proceeding meerely from the obstinacie of the Grand
Signior, contrary to the counsell of most of his Visiers, who desired generally a peace: at their
solicitation and by the mediation of *Radula* Prince of Valachia, both parts were easily indu-
ced to treaty, and the Chancellor was drawn to send a Secretarie to the Grand Signior; where
it was agreed, as followeth.

*First, That the Emperor should raise his army, and retyre from the confines of Poland; and the Tartars as the occasioners of this war should send an Emirze to reside as a pledge from ensuing incursions. The Chancellor promising in the name of the King of Poland, to keep another in the court of the Prince of Tar-
tarie, with condition to pay yearely as aforesaid forty thousand florins (an antient pretention of the Tar-
D tars) as a donatiue from the King of Poland; promising moreouer, for the better confirmation of the fu-
ture peace, to maintain a Resident in the Port of the* Ottoman *Court; and vpon the arriuall of euery such
Embassador, to send a Present conformable to the Ledgiers of other Christian Princes. And as the Grand
Signior was obliged for the Tartars that they should forbeare all inuasions vpon the Polacke; so the Po-
lacks should bind themselues in behalfe of the Cossacks, that they should commit no robberies in the domi-
nion of the Grand Signior. And further couenanting in the name of the Polish Merchants for the Pri-
uiledge of free traffike, to make a Present of an hundred thousand chequines in plate, sables, and Bulgary
hides; alway intended with this reseruation, that this treaty should not prejudice or bind, vntill the Grand
Signior did send a Chiaus to the King of Poland with these ouertures, that he might haue time to assem-
ble his Parliament, and there to resolue to send an Embassador with ample authoritie to treat and conclude
E a finall peace in the Port.* Whereupon the Grand Signior being satisfied with these conditions,
did dispatch presently his Nuntio into Poland, and suddenly to the great content of all his
army, he raised his camp, and returned to Adrianople.

The losse in the Turkish & Polish armie.

By relation of diuers present in that war, it was reported, That there died in the Turkes
camp, by the sword, famin, sicknesse and cold, about eighty thousand men, and aboue an hun-
dred thousand horse; and the remaine at their returne, appearing so naked, sickely, and poore,
made euident demonstration of the great losse and miserie sustained. The Polacks in their
trenches lost aboue twenty thousand by the famine suffered in their besieging: so that if the
winter and other wants had not constrained the grand Signior to rise with some pretence of
honor, and that he had staid a few daies longer, they had bin forced to render or perish: which
F is euident, for that they were glad and prompt to accept of any agreement, although as yet
there was nothing fully concluded.

The grand Signior being informed that the Emperour of Germany had sent aid of eight
thousand Dutch to the King of Poland, and inraged that hee had so little aduanced in that

1621. *The grand Signior inraged at the Emperour for aiding the Polk.*

attempt, pretending that the Emperour by giuing succors had broken the peace; to vent his choler, contrary to the aduice of his Councell, presently vpon his arising from the confines of Poland, in his camp proclaimed war against Germany for the next Spring; commanding vpon great penaltie, all his souldiers and slaues to be ready for that inuasion. Which gaue great discontent to the army, insomuch as they did almost publiquely professe, that they neither could nor would follow him. And conformable to this his rash resolution, hee gaue order to *Kante-Emir-Emirze*, a Tartarian captain then Bassa of Silistra, to winter with 20000 of his soldiers in the frontier. Presently hereupon *Cæsar Gallo* the Emperours Embassadour was stayed at Buda; the Grand Signior pretending, that hee had promised vpon his life, that the Emperor would giue no aid to the King of Poland. Not considering that he himself contrary to the peace, the summer before had surprised Vatz a town of Hungary, and had permitted many of his souldiers to follow the prince of Transylvania, as Voluntiers against the Emperor.

The King of Poland hearing of this resolution against the Emperour, called the Chiaus sent about the Treaty, before him, and told him, That if the grand Signior should proceed to make war vpon the Emperour for his occasion, that he could conclude no peace with him, being obliged to take part with the Emperor as his deare brother and Confederate. Which message the Chiaus sent to the grand Signior when hee was yet at Adrianople, where hee either purposed to Winter to affright the Emperour, or to quicken the Polacke to a conclusion of peace; cold in his sudden pretence, by the persuasions of the Visiers and Mufti hee changed his resolution, and tooke his way to Constantinople, where hee arriued the last of December.

Now it being giuen out, That the Emir of Syria or Sidon was in rebellion, and that hee had possessed himself of the city and castle of Tripolie, the grand Signior pretended to go in person against him, and gaue out 60000 Checquines to prepare his carriages and pauilions; and tooke order to prouide his palace in Aleppo, determining to passe that way, to amuse and raise suspition in the Persian: and likewise commanded the army of Asia to be in readiness by the end of the month of April; and gaue out commission for victuals, munition, and other necessaries. The Mufti, Hoja, and other the Visiers who knew not the mistery, misliking this counsel, with great instances and reasons dissuaded him, as being a course very dangerous to his estate. First, that his Maiesty should go in person, leauing all Greece desolate, and commit the care and gouernment of his Imperial seat to a poor Chimacham or lieutenant, it not being probable, that the Emir of Sidon would stay to oppose himself against the force of his royal army, but rather make an escape, and retyre himself to some part of Christendom: and that a Generall by land, and the Captain Bassa Admirall of the sea, with his fleet of Gallies, would sufficie to punish and destroy him. Besides, if his Maiestie vndertooke the journey in person, it was necessary that all his soldiers should attend him, which were a charge superfluous and aboue the enterprise, and almost impossible for them, hauing bin so harrassed and distressed in the late inuasion of Poland; who did euen publiquely murmure that they would not go. For which reasons the King seemed to change his resolution, and was contented to make a General by land, with the army of Asia: to which charge was named the Bassa of Cairo. The next day after, the grand Signior comming to the Arsenal, he called the Visier Bassa, the Admiral, and the great Treasurer before him; where it was concluded, to make ready at least an hundred gallies: for the preparation wherof sixty thousand Checquines were then deliuered; the Visier promising to furnish the rest of the whole charge with expedition, of his own purse, and to take it vp vpon the Kings Assignations. Wherupon the grand Signior with great content did vest them as a mark of fauor, and gaue present commission to the Admiral to be ready and to depart by the midst of Aprill following: and for his better strength he gaue a command to send for aids to Tunes and Algier. Which was thought requisite, because it was reported that the prince *Philibert* of Savoy, then Viceroy of Sicilie, had in readinesse sixty Gallies and six Gallions at Messina; which force was doubted would be imploied to giue succor to the Emir of Sidon, or to reuenge the attempt and late sacke of Manfredonia. So that they were with all expedition rigging and preparing the Armado in the Arsenall: and for prouision and preuention of the worst, there was ordained twelue small Gallies and

and the ordinary fleet of frigots to keep the black sea from the incursion of the Cossacks: and though it was giuen out that this army was only prepared against the Emir, yet many that vnderstood the secrets of that empire, knowing it to be too great, did beleeue it should bee sent to preuent a generall reuolt, which was then murmured and suspected in Asia. 1621.

About this time, contrary to the counsel and wil of all his ministers, the grand Signior married the grand child of a Sultana wife to *Pertau Bassa*, only for her beauty, without any pompe: which was ill interpreted in that court; his ancestors of late yeares not vsually taking wiues, especially of a Turkish race, in respect of kindred. This and other inconstancies, with extream auarice, made him odious to the souldier; and his daily haunting the streets on foot, somtimes disguised with a page or two, prying into houses and tauernes like a petty Officer, increased his contempt euen in the city. *The grand Signior married.*

Secret order was giuen about the same time to *Diac-Mahomet* Bassa of Canisia, and to *Gelut-Emirze* a Tartarian, to vnite themselues with *Bethlem Gabor* against the Emperour of Germanie. But the Bassa of Buda did aduertise the graund Signior, That *Gabor* had concluded peace with the Emperour; which news did greatly displease him, beeing ardent in the desire of war.

The peace between the grand Signior and the king of Poland was not yet fully concluded; but Embassadors weekly expected at the Port from Poland and other places, to hasten a full consummation therof. Among which, Sr *Thomas Rowe* Knight, Embassador in ordinary from his Majesty of great Brittain to the grand Signior, arriued there the first of Ianuary, and had his audience speedily, when he made this speech vnto him in English: *The King of great Brittaine Embassadour arriueth at the Port.*

Most high and mighty Emperor, his sacred Maiestie the King of great Brittaine, France, and Ireland, my most gratious Lord and Soueraign, according to the antient league of friendship and amitie, of long time begun and continued between the most noble Ancestors of your Maiesties, and in his royall person confirmed by his sundry Embassadors and Letters, both to your renowned father, and to your Imperiall Maiesty; being fully determined on his part, to maintain and inuiolably to hold a fair and good peace and correspondencie with your Maiesty; hath commanded and sent mee with his Letters of credence and friendly present, to reside as his Embassador in your royall Court. Not doubting but your Imperiall Maiesty will accept them, and receiue me his vnworthy seruant with your wonted honor and fauour: and that you will giue credit vnto me in diuers matters of importance which hee hath commanded me to deliuer in his name; comprehended in fiue articles written in this Memoriall: And that you would be pleased to do therin according to the royall friendship of his Maiesty and your princely wisedom and justice. The particulars wherof I desire your Maiesty to reade and consider at your ease and leisure, and to affoord mee your royall answer; his Maiesty resting assured he shall receiue content and satisfaction worthy his Royall friendship.

The Letter of Credence sent by Sr *Thomas Rowe.*

IAmes *by the grace of God, King of great Brittain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, against all those that falsly professe the name of* Iesus, *&c. To the most high and mighty Prince Sultan* Osman Han, *chiefe Lord and Commander of the* Ottoman *kingdom and Empire of the East, sendeth health and greeting.*

WE *doubt not but you receiued our Letters sent by our subiect* Iohn Chapman; *whereby we signified vnto you our royall pleasure, to recall and discharge our Embassador Sir* Iohn Ayre *from his imployment and residence in your Court; whom wee desired you in your princely fauor to dismisse for our especiall seruice, and to receiue the bearer of our said Letters as Agent, to remaine in your protection, for the better support and maintenance of our subiects which do trade and abide in your dominions, and for the aduancement and continuance of the mutuall commerce and friendship which hath bin a long time contracted between your predecessors and ours, vntill the arriuall of Sir* Thomas Rowe, *of whom as then we made choice to send vnto your Port as our Embassadour; as well to propound vnto you diuers things*

things necessary for the generall peace, as to reside in your court for our particular seruice. Notwithstanding lest the said letters should not come safely to your royall hands, wee haue thought fit again to make known our purpose of recalling our former Embassador Sir Iohn Ayre, and to desire you to discharge and dismisse him from your Port, and to receiue and admit in his roome our trusty and welbeloued Seruant Sir Thomas Rowe, one of the principall Gentlemen of our Court, and of our Priuy Chamber; whom wee haue expressly sent, and whom we authorise vnder our great Seal of England, as our Embassador to reside at your Port, and to negotiate in our name, and in the behalfe of our subiects abiding within your Kingdomes. Of whose fidelitie and discretion as we are well assured so we doubt not but he will giue you good content in his demeanor and negotiation with you. Wee haue also thought fit to put you in minde of those common Rouers vpon the seas, who are enemies to the Lawes of Nations, and spoilers of the quiet & peaceable Merchant, by whom amitie and friendship is maintained betweene Kings and Princes: That you would please to exercise your great and mighty power to chastise and destroy them, as Traitors to your honour, and infringers of the sacred and publique peace. In full assurance that you will extend the same good respect vnto vs, as your royall Ancestours haue don vnto our most renowned predecessours, whereby that antient Leagus and commerce may be inviolably maintained beiween both our Kingdomes, which on our part we shall be very loth to infringe or dissolue. We doe by these our Letters recommend vnto your princely fauour this our said trusty seruant and Embassadour, to reside and remaine in your Port, on our behalfe to treat with you in all affaires for the publique weale of our Dominions, and for the generall peace of vs both, and our Allyes and friends, as also for the support and aid of all our subiects which doe liue and trade within your Estates and Countries: To whose good discretion we commend their affaires, and by whose industry and mediation we conceiue our people may bee relieued in their iust and reasonable demands, to the perfect maintenance and assurance of that mutuall crmmerce which hath so long time beene continued betweene our royall progenitors. And as we haue great cause to professe our grateful acknowledgement for many fauors which our former Embassadors and all other our subiects haue and doe receiue from your Royall hands, so in our princely loue we do intreat you to take knowledge of, and to command redresse for diuers oppressions and wrongs done vnto some of our said subiects persons and goods that liue vnder the assurance of your friendship with vs; which we haue formerly signified to our Residents at your Port, but as we verely beleeue, they haue neuer come vnto your eares, which are open to the iust complaints of all strangers: wherof we haue now giuen charge to our seruant and Embassadour to acquaint you with more at large. Vnto whom we desire you to giue protection and credit in what soeuer he shall moue or propound, for the establishing, confirmation, and inlargement in all occasions, of those liberties and priuiledges which our subiects haue antiently enioyed, by the benignitie of your self and of your royall Ancestors; and in all other things and occasions, wherin he hath or shall receiue our commands, as if our self did communicate them with you, which wee doubt not shall redound vnto the great vtilitie and honor of both our Empires. And so we wish you health and true felicitie.

Dated at our royall city of London the sixth day of September, Anno Dom. 1621, *and of our reign of great Brittain, France, and Ireland, the nineteenth.*

Articles propounded by the Embassador to the grand Signior.

First, his sacred Maiestie of great Brittaine, according to the most noble and renowned League of Amitie betweene your Maiesties, and your Crownes and Dominions, hath commaunded me to renew the antient Capitulations and Priuiledges granted by your Imperiall Maiestie and your royall Ancestours, and therein to mooue your Maiestie, That you will be pleased to inlarge and extend your fauour vnto our Nation that liue vnder your protection, and to giue remedie to diuers iniuries done vnto them by the Customers of this royall Port, Aleppo, Smyrna, Scio, Patras, and other places, contrary to the iustice and honour of your Maiestie: And to giue order for seuerall commaunds in these places, in all our iust occasions; that both the fame of your justice may bee renowned, and the friendship of your Maiesties confirmed, and the correspondence and commerce betweene your Dominions established and increased.

Secondly, His Maiestie hath commaunded me to offer himselfe as a Mediatour of peace; to accommodate

commodate the late breach with the kingdom of Poland: the King of Poland hauing sent his Embassador expresse into England to desire his aid, he hath thought it more agreeable to his honor, and to the antient league of friendship, to vse his credit with your Maiestie, to procure the generall quiet and peace of the princes of Christendom; desiring your Maiesty to consider his interest in the publique cause, and not to despise the forces of so many as may partake in the quarrell: which if your Maiesty shal hearken vnto the rather for his sake, as your royall Ancestor hath done in the like occasion, his Maiesty will accept it as a respect of your loue, which will assure and increase the commerce and friendship of your Dominions; in which his Maiestie hath giuen me more particular and full Instructions to treat and mediate in this businesse.

Thirdly, his Maiestie hath commanded me to moue your Imperiall Maiesty for the release of diuers of the Polish Nobilitie, now your captiues; and for one Scottish gentleman, a subiect of his Maiesty my royall Master. III.

Fourthly, his Maiestie desires that you will take some order with the pyrats of Tunes and Algiers who shelter themselues vnder your royall protection (to the great dishonour of your Maiestie) and doe many robberies vpon the subiects of Kings and princes in amitie and league with your Empire, and take euen the ships sent vnto your royall Port. Admonishing your Maiestie to consider, that if they be suffered to continue, they will occasion the dissolution of all commerce and trade; being common enemies to all honest Merchants, by whom the friendship of these kingdoms are maintained and increased. And that if your Imperiall Maiestie please not to exercise your Royall power and authoritie to bridle or destroy them; that then you will not take it in ill part, that his Maiestie with other Princes his Allyes, shall make an army to punish both him and all others that receiue and cherish them: which hath hitherto bin forborne onely in respect of your Maiestie; and that the towns where they harbor themselues are or ought to bee vnder your Imperiall command. IV.

Fiftly, his Maiestie hath commanded me to require justice and restitution of a great sum of money taken from Arthur Garaway, here imprisoned by force and iniurie in the time of Achmet Bassa: wherof his Maiesties former Embassadors haue complained to Sultan Achmat your Maiesties renowned father, and to Mehemet Bassa Vizier, to Hussen Bassa, to the Hoja of the King, and to the Mufti; wherin your Maiesties most noble father gaue commaund for our satisfaction. All the said great Officers hauing heard the cause, vpon examination giuing their testimonies, of the great wrong don vnto him: Mehemet Bassa also writing a letter, by the order of your Maiesties royall father, promising justice and restitution: which his Maiestie doth yet expect, and again demand. And hauing so often written in this cause, his Maiestie will not beleeue, but that in justice and honor this royall court would do right; imputing the fault to his own Ministers and Embassadors, that they neuer complained to your Imperiall Maiesty, according to his Highnesse command. Also his Maiestie hath commaunded mee to require and desire your Maiestie to giue me your Royall answer in all these particulars, by your letters in writing, as shall be fit for your own honor, and conformable to the antient league of amitie and friendship between your Royall Majesties. V.

His Maiesties Embassador not many daies after sent to the Vizier, who had promised him an answer vnto these articles: Who returned him this that followeth.

The grand Signiors answer.

To the first he said, That the Emperor his Master had giuen him order to renew the Capitulations, and to make any such additions as should be requisit, agreeable to their law, & conformable to their antient league; and that therin the Embassador should finde no difficultie: for they honored his Maiestie, and were resolued to giue him assurance of their will to maintain a true friendship; and therfore desired the Embassador to draw and prepare the Capitulations, and send them to him and the Chancellor, who would consider them, and being such as were fit to be granted, he should haue speedy order.

To the second the Vizier answered with great subtilty; First, iustifying the occasion of the war, and imputing the fault to the Cossackes, maintained by the Pole to rob euen at the port of Constantinople: therfore that the Emperor could not in honor but chasten and destroy them, hauing first by message demanded justice against them; and now his Master beeing ingaged with great charge, and in his honor, he could make no peace with them who had beguiled him: pretending that they had no other intention but the war, because hauing raised his Camp, and dissolued his Army, the Polacks now scorned him, and kept no faith, neither sending Embassadour nor messenger, no not any letter since their returne. That therefore they could

could not hearken to any condition: and that his Maiestie of great Brittain did not value the grand Signiors honor in this motion. G

To the third he replied, That the motion for the prisoners was vnseasonable, because in order it should follow the general treaty and making peace; which if finished, his Maiestie of great Brittain should finde, that for his sake all those mentioned in the Memorial should be free, except only the prince *Coresky*, who had bin the cause of many troubles, and had made escape from prison formerly.

To the fourth he made protestation in the grand Signiors name against the pirats, offring that his Maiesties Embassador should haue what commands, what message he would desire, in company of any Englishman.

To the fifth hee replied, That it was an old obsolete quarrell, and that the Embassador did him injurie to presse him, when in the time of three former Viziers his predecessors could obtaine no reliefe. Therefore he would not looke backe vpon the actions of other men, nor rake among the bones of the dead; but he desired the Embassador should rest satisfied, That while he had the honor to gouerne, there should no wrong be done vnto the English Nation; and that he would heare all complaints, so as no man should need to looke backe vpon his actions. H

This perfunctory answer did not much satisfie his Maiesties Embassador, but that hee desired some other of effect, being loth to accept of generalities; and therfore required a direct reply for his own discharge. Which was promised after much pressing, by the Visier who had first vndertaken the same.

1622. The long stay of the Duke of Sbaraskie (chosen extraordinarie Embassadour by the King of Poland, to consummate the peace between him and the grand Signior) did much trouble the Emperors court, and especially the Visier, who procured a cessation of arms, but that a letter was writ by the King of Poland, which did a little prolong their hopes. In the mean time the Emperor divulged a pretence to visit Mecha, the tombe of *Mahomet* his great Prophet; contrary to the counsell and instance of all his Visiers that knew not the secret, and euen to the hasard of a generall reuolt; for they were jealous, that vnder colour of that voyage he had some other designe; and it was feared, the duke would not proceed to follow him at random, nor treat with his Deputies left at the Port. For the Polacks seemed in performing and assuring the peace, a little too glorious of their good successe; and the Nobilitie not so obedient to the King as that he could absolutely command. Which did both trouble their agents at the Port, and discontent the Turkes: so that a little motion of the Cossackes or Tartars at that time (spoil being both their liuelyhoods) had kindled new fires, and had disturbed or quite broken off the treaty. I K

In the mean space the grand Signior writ his letter to his Maiesty of great Brittaine, in answer to his royal letter by his Embassador; wherin was contained a satisfactorie reply to all the particulars of those fiue articles deliuered to him: & the grand Signior had such demonstration of great care to giue his Maiesty all content and satisfaction, that his letter was presented to his Embassador with ceremonies of honor, requiring that it should bee sent by an expresse messenger, and gaue command for a safe conduct for that purpose. The true translated copy wherof doth immediatly follow. L

Prince *Osman*, euer victorious.

The grand Signiors letter to his Maiesty of great Brittain.

TO the mightie Prince, renowned amongst the Maiesties of the Princes of the Law of Iesus, *obeyed of the great Potentates followers of the Messia, the onely Director of the important affaires of the Nazaren people; Soueraigne of the limits of power and honour; Lord of aduancement and authoritie the most glorious* Iames, *King of great Brittain, France, and Ireland; to whose last dayes We wish all felicitie.* M

THis our Imperiall arriuing you shall know, That your honourable and famous Embassadour Sir Thomas Rowe *is with your Royall and acceptable Letter come vnto our happy Port, the refuge of the Princes and Commanders of the world. Wherof the sincere contents and substance was, That our antient Capitulations should be renewed, and diuers Articles therein reformed and explained, and some*

A *some other inserted. And whereas certaine Customers and other officers of our Empire, haue often transgressed our Royall agreements, and done many violences and injuries to the Merchants your subjects, that for the time to come they may be secured from all oppression: and concerning the affaires of the Polacks, that the enmity and war lightly begun betweene vs and them, might be conuerted into peace and friendship; and that there should be established a sincere league and amity, as in the time of our Ancestors. And that diuers Noblemen of Poland, and one of your Majesties Subjects now detained in our captiuity, should be set at liberty. Complaining also against the Inhabitants of Tunes and Algier, That they who haue violated our Imperiall Capitulations, Amity, and League, ought to be duely punished. And lastly, That whereas one of your subjects named* Arthur Garraway, *from whom vpon a pretension there was a great fine taken, and other wrong done vnto his person, you desire that his cause may be with justice*
B *reuewed: All which being made knowne vnto vs, with prudent and mature deliberation we haue both duely weighed and perfectly conceiued them. Wherefore by the fauour of the great and prosperous God we do promise, that in all these matters propounded, we will apply our Imperiall care and diligence: And we haue already giuen our high and expresse command, that our antient Capitulations shall be renewed and confirmed. And such conditions as are correspondent to the peace, amity, and league betweene vs, shall in due time be granted. And there shall be sent with all expedition, our Royall Edicts to all our (a) Beglerbegs, (b) Beghs (c) Cadees Gouernors, Customers, Farmors, Superintendents and Commissioners of our Reuenues, that from henceforth none of them shall giue any molestation to any of your Merchants or other Subjects. And insomuch as our happy gates are euer open to any, who with sincerity seeke our friendship, good will, and fauour; and the table of our liuely Graces is alwaies prepared for all men:*
C *Therefore whensoeuer on the behalfe of the Polacks, an Embassadour shall arriue at our high Court, and kisse the hemme of our vesture, and repent of their former errors, and present vnto vs a good friendship and sincere league, and shall desire our fauour and amity, by the mediation of your Resident now in our Imperiall Port, all matters shall be pacified and ended, and with a pen we will blot out all former differences. And the peace being so established your instances and desires for them shall haue gratefull acceptance with vs, and we will giue fit order for the prisoners.*

(a) Viceroys. (b) Presidents. (c) Iudges.

To the Beglerbeghs of Tunes and Algiers, and to all other our slaues in those parts, we will presently send our expresse and high commands, and other orders, that they shall euer hereafter trasgresse the tenor of our Imperiall Capitulations, nor commit any injustice, nor do any violence to the Subjects of your Majesty. And concerning the business of the Merchant Arthur Garraway, *wherein you haue informed vs,*
D *that there hath beene taken from him by oppression a great estate and faculty, in the time of our father* Achmat Han *of happy memory (the Vizier* Achmat Bassa *being then Deputy here) vpon pretence that diuers Mussulmens goods were found in his hands: which cause being now ouerpassed many yeares, you require a new hearing and inquisition. By the grace of the great God it shall be reuiewed and examined with all Iustice: in the processe and issue whereof you shall be assured to receiue a right and fit answer from your Embassador now remaining in our Court. And in our time we shall euer permit, that any the least injury or injustice shall be done to any. Giuing you assurance on our behalfe, that the foundation and nerues of peace, friendship and league betweene vs, are of vs streightly preserued, continued, and encreased: and your amity, correspondency, and loue, is euer respected, esteemed, and pretious with vs. Therefore in the meane time, while our capitulations are making perfect, and that the full conclusion may*
E *be certified vnto you; your Embassadour hauing solicited vs for an answer to the propositions made by you; by an expresse Messenger,* Robert Rowe, *this our Imperiall letter is written and sent vnto you. Which arriuing, we hope that as in times past, the antient, perfect, and acceptable course of friendship, amity, and league, adorned with aboundant sincerity, resplendant loue, and benigne correspondency on your part, hath beene alway obserued and maintained; so it is now also requisite, that you preserue the same affections, with all pure, firme, and constant good will, grace, and goodnesse: or rather that you aduance and encrease therein, as we shall euer do by all sincere waies of loyall friendship and holy peace, nourishing it with our perfect intention and affectionate diligence, neuer admitting any occasion that may be thereunto prejudiciall.*

F *Giuen in our Imperiall City of Constantinople, the first day of the Moneth Gemaziel Achir (or Aprill) in the yeare of the departure of our Prophet* Mahomet 1031; *that is,* Anno Christi Dei pari, 1622.

The Grand Signior discontented since his disgrace in Poland, as soone as he came to Constantinople, meditating reuenge vpon his souldiers, and finding that his pretence for Sidon did not relish, gaue out that he would passe into Asia to visit Mecha the tombe of his false Prophet; but hauing secret intelligence with *Delauir Bassa*, he prepared a select army of his followers to be ready in Asia, to execute his secret designe. G

The Grand Signior desirous of peace with the Polacke.

To make this voyage the more secure in apparance, hee seemed content to accept of any treaty with the Polacks, euen to conditions both of disaduantage and dishonour, for his estates in Hungary, he re-inforced the frontiers with diuers troups; and though he were much troubled at the league betweene the Emperour of Germany and *Bethlem Gabor*, yet he dissembled it so, as that he would not displease the Transyluanian, but rather offered new succours, and forbearance of his tribute. From the incursions of the Cossackes he hoped to assure himselfe by the treaty of the Poles; and in occasion of breach, he had the Tartars ready to requite them; and for more security, he added to the number of his gallies appointed to keepe the Blacke Sea. The common people and Visiers of the Port which loued rest, and knew not the designe, were much troubled and discontent at this journy; and made many remonstances to him of the inconuenience and danger, to leaue the seat of his Empire to the trust of a Deputy, in a time when *Bethlem Gabor* was newly reconciled to the Germane Emperour, and therefore not to be trusted; and the Polackes scarcely reconciled to him, and therefore to be mistrusted. Diuers other reasons were made to him, many petitions deliuered from the Church-men, Lawyers, and from all Estates. But melancholy reuenge had wholly possessed him, so that by no meanes he could be persuaded to desist. The souldierie passed so far as to threaten publiquely, and to protest they would not follow, but rather set vp another King in his absence, that should stay among them. In conclusion, carried by his owne fate to destruction, hauing first commanded away his Armado to the Leuant, and thereby disposed many of his souldiers, vpon Wednesday the seuenth of May, he began to passe ouer his tents and Pauilions to Asia side, with great quantities of treasure. The Ianizaries and Spahies, who had also secret intelligence vpon the King; his owne words and actions betraying some further project than a Pilgrimage (for he made preparations to carry away all his jewels and treasure euen defacing his palace, and taking from Churches, and his Ward-robes whatsoeuer could be conuerted to Bullion) suddenly met at the Hippodrome in the city, vpon a word giuen; and from thence ranne to the Seraglio in tumult, but without armes, and there according to their barbarous mutinies, cryed out for their King (hauing first taken order to stop the passage of any thing vpon the water.) Who appearing to them, asked, What this insolency meant, and what they pretended? They then, by the mouth of a multitude (for they had no head but that of the monster) demanded first, That he should not proceed in his purpose to go to Mecha, nor into Asia; but that he would abide in the city. Secondly, they required to haue deliuered to their fury, the great Visier *Delauir Bassa*, the Hoja or Confessor of the King, the Caslariaga, Gouernour of the women, the Deftardar or Treasurer, the Caddeleschar or chiefe Iustice, and some others, as enemies to the State, and consenting to this voyage, which they pretended would be the ruine of the Empire. The first, after a little dispute, the King granted vnto them, promising to giue ouer his journey; but they not content, exacted it in writing. To the second he replied, That it was dishonour to him to haue his seruants torne from him without order of Iustice: but persuaded them to haue patience, to stay vntill Saturday, the next Diuan or publique Councell, where they should appeare, and if they were found culpable, they should receiue punishment; not meaning to performe any of this, but to get time and allay their present fury. These fellowes not content with this moderate answer, vndertooke to know that these officers were guilty, and therefore that they needed no other witnesse, tryall, nor judge, but themselues; and with extreame clamor called to haue them rendered. But the King refusing to giue them any other satisfaction, and they vnprepared for force, returned into the city, which now was all in feare, euery house and shop shut vp, expecting a generall sacke. But they followed the way of their owne hatred, and first went into the house of the Hoja, which they brake and pillaged: But not finding him, they proceeded to the great Visiers, who made some defence, and they (being vnarmed) beat them off; and so they separated, being now euening, but yet kept a guard in some parts of the town. H I K L M

That night the King made an attempt to send ouer to Asia side, but was preuented; and to fortifie

A fortifie and defend the Seraglio, which was strongly walled about, and had alway in it of houshold seruants about three thousand: but it seemed no man would arme in his cause: for the next morning the Mutiniers assembled againe, and taking their arms, went first to the Mufti, or Arch-priest among them, and inforced him and diuers others to accompany them to the Court, where they anew demanded those officers, but with more instance and fury. In the meane time the Hoja, Cadaleschar, and Tefterdar fled, and were not in long time discouered. The Visier retired to the King, and persuaded him earnestly to go ouer in person in his owne boats (which from his garden he might easily doe) to Asia, and there to take horse, and hee would secure him from all perill; but the King would not moue, bidding him stay, confident and assured that he would punish these Rebels.

The Ianizaries mutiny against the Grand Signior.

B The wise old man seeing this constancy or obstinacy, desired leaue to shift for himselfe, which he tooke or obtained, and so got away to the hermitage of a Saint renowmed among st them; who (like himselfe) betraied him, yet did him the fauour as not to deliuer him to the multitude, but persuaded and carried him backe to the Kings house. At this time it was disputed in the Seraglio about the deliuery of those officers; the Emperour refusing, the Rebels clamouring and threatening; insomuch as he began to feare they would breake in, and in their rage do worse than was yet pretended. Whereupon (whether by the Kings order, or by his owne consent, willing to be the peace offering) the braue Visier went out to them, and with a good assurednesse demanded what they sought of him, and wherein he had offended. At first they were amased; but one insolent villaine breaking the generall modesty, they answered C him with their swords, and suddenly cut him in peeces.

The great Visier slaine by the Ianizaries.

The Emperour seeing their fury so outragious, had now more cause to doubt, and retired himselfe, then too late, when he had lost his faithfull Counsellor; and would haue fled into Asia, but could not, yet he conueyed himselfe into a priuate place prepared by his Bostangi Bassa, or chiefe Gardener. The Rebels continued without in their madnesse, asking for the King, and for more sacrifices. But the seruants protesting they knew not where he was, they said they must haue a King, and if he would not appeare, they would make another: and hauing a while attended, they resolued to enter the Palace (but first tooke a generall oath not to sacke the Imperiall Throne, which they called their House and their Honour) and there seeking for the King, not able to finde him, they extorted by confession the Caslariaga, and slew D him; and then they demanded for *Mustapha*, vncle to *Osman*, by him formerly deposed, a man esteemed rather holy (that is, franticke) than wise, and indeed fitter for a Cell than a Scepter. The King the first day of this tumult had put *Mustapha* into a vault with two Negro women, without bread or drinke; in which estate these new electors found him, almost naked and halfe pined. At first sight he thought they had beene the messengers of death: but that feare passed ouer, and his first request was a cup of water. Whom they tooke vp, and instantly proclaimed him their Emperour; which he was loth to accept, in a manner ashamed to be raised to that dignity. How vnstable are the estates of the greatest Princes! for he that was but euen now in the jawes of death, naked, starued, and dying for thirst, is become a great Monarch, may drinke gold, or the bloud of innocents.

The Ianizaries crowned Mustapha.

E The souldiers as yet not knowing what was become of *Osman*, and loth to trust *Mustapha* in the palace, carried him in triumph to the old Seraglio, and there left him; departing to the sacke of the Visiers house, and so in the euening to their Rendeuous, where they kept both good guard and good order in the city, from fires and other insolencies. Sultan *Osman* amased with these newes, so soone as they had left the court, came out, and called to councell in the night *Huzein Bassa* late Visier in the Polish war, and the Aga of the Ianizaries, both faithfull to him, and demanded their aduice: first having sent to the old Seraglio, to practise the women there to strangle *Mustapha*; but some of them taking his part, a new vprore began in the house between that Sex; and the soldiers that kept watch hearing the noise, entred in and rescued him, & from thence remoued him to the chambers of the Ianizaries, where they garded him for that night in an ill lodging. All this while, *Osman* consults what course to take. F These two his friends, and some others, tell him that the case was desperat, and could not be cured but by a desperat remedy: and therefore they agreed, that the Aga should go and persuade with the Mufti; and that the King in the morning should suddenly present himselfe to

 the

the souldiers at their owne dore, and make experience what his presence, his submission, and his beneuolence promised, could worke, to moue them to loyalty or compassion. Which counsell early in the morning they put in practise. The King accompanied with the Mufti (who neuer consented to his deposing, though he fauoured the souldiers against the Visier) with *Huzein Bassa*, and about twelue horsmen, went directly to the Ianizaries Colledge, where *Mustapha* was kept, and there in teares made them an oration; offering great recompence, repenting of his errour, and finally inuoked them by the merits of his father and all his Ancestors, to haue some pity vpon their true Master. The multitude *(tam prona in misericordiam quam immodica sæuitia fuerat*; sometime as prone to pitty as they were before to hatred) now knew not what to do; a silent murmure ran among them, and they were halfe conuerted: but the Aga of the Ianizaries thinking to merit of the King, and beginning to plead vnseasonably for him, with some harsh words of vpbraidure *(vt natura maris omni flatu venti turbida*; as the nature of the sea is to swell with euery blast of winde) anew moued their fury, so that they cried out *Treason*, and fell vpon him and *Huzein Bassa* and cut them into peeces, euery man tadrawne by some, for respect to his place, and with difficulty conueied away. Now the poore *Osman* saw his friends slaine; and knew not which way to conuert himselfe, but binding vp his eies with a napkin, expected death as the last of their fury. But they carried him first before *Mustapha*, and accused him as the disturber of the peace of the Empire, and demanded sentence against him *(More vulgi suum quisque flagitium alijs objectans.)* The forsaken Prince pleaded for life, and the new King knew not how to condemne, but nodded and agreed to all that was propounded. At last they consulted with themselues, and put him vpon an horse (an insolent Spahy changing tusbants with him) and sent him away prisoner to the seuen towers, vnder good gard (in his passage begging a draught of water at a fountaine) and then returned to their new master, and placed him in the Seraglio and Imperiall Throne; where he had need to haue good broaths and nourishment to restore his decayed body.

Daout Bassa strangleth Sultan Osman in prison.

The souldiers now thought all was done, and (only sacking the houses of *Huzein Bassa* and some others their conceiued enemies) returned in quiet to their seuerall lodgings, and had no further malice. But the new Visier *Daout Bassa*, made by *Mustapha*, knew well, if *Osman* liued, that this storme might passe ouer, and he would as easily, and by the same means returne to his estate, as he fell from it *(vulgus vt mos est cuiusque noui motus cupidum:)* Therefore he consulted with some few interessed in *Mustapha's* preferment, and thereby obnoxius to *Osman*, to search how many of the Royall bloud were left aliue, and resolued if there remained two, to make an end of *Osman*. Two of his brothers were found, the one about thirteene, the other about nine yeares of age: and thereupon the Visier went himselfe to the prison with a packe of hangmen, and gaue order to strangle the vnfortunate Prince: who now hauing had no rest in two nights, and thinking himselfe secure for a season, was newly falne asleep: but awaked by the comming of these messengers, asked, *What newes?* and blaming their sudden intrusion, they at first stood amazed, and the King made shew to defend himselfe; but a strong knaue stroke him on the head with the battle-axe, and the rest leaping vpon him, strangled him with much ado. Thus one of the greatest Monarchs in the World was first affronted by mutined troups, his owne slaues, almost vnarmed, and few in number, no man taking vp a sword to defend him: and they who began this madnesse, not meaning to hurt him, by the increase of their owne fury, which had no bounds, deposed him against their owne purpose, and at last exposed his life, against their will, to the counsels of other men whom they equally hated. And now they mourned for their dead King as freshly, as they raged vnreasonably; knowing they had stained their honour, being the first of their Emperors they euer betraied, and that they had set vp another that in all likelihood they must change for disability. *Nunquam vilis documentis sors majora quam fragili loco starent superbi.*

This was the last act of the life of Sultan *Osman*; but his intents and great designes, which drew vpon him this fatall blow, will not be vnworthy the communication: the practises, reasons, secrets, and counsels, of all actions, being the soule of History, and *res gestæ* but the bare carkasse: and, as many ages haue not produced so strange an example of the incertainty of humane greatnesse, so in the disposition thereof, and in the waies leading thereunto, there was

A seene euidently the wonderful prouidence of God, in confounding the counsels of the worldly wise, who had laid a foundation of new greatnes, wherby this Prince aspired the vniuersall Monarchy. And the world may see vpon how weake foundations this Monarchy was at first builded, how easily it was now shaken & corrupted; how their Kings are subject to the rage of a few slaues, how Anarchy hath prepared in as easie prey to any able hand that would attempt it. From the inuasion of Poland all these changes tooke their beginning. Sultan *Osman* aduanced to the throne in his youth, full of heat and bloud, being of a great and haughty spirit, very couragious, strong of body, and a mortall hater of Christians, enuious of the glory of his ancestors, and ambitious to raise his name aboue any of theirs, had projected in himselfe the conquest of the remaines of the bordering Europe. But to so great designes,

The Grand Signior his designe to conquer Europe.

B he had one vice that resisted all hope of prosperity, which was extreme auarice; vnnaturall to youth, and a symptome of the decrepit age of Monarchy: *Vbi vires luxu corrumpebantur, contra veterem disciplinam & instituta majorum apud quos virtute quàm pecunia res militaris melius stetit.* His first enterprise was that of Poland, moued by the incursions of the Cossackes; which then he vndertooke of his owne head, without the counsell of any of his Visiers (who in a tyranny grown to a height by ease, and wealth, are euer corrupt and lazie) and against the liking of all the souldiers, who (contrary to their institution, being married and fathers of families, entered into trades, receiuing nothing in war more than in peace, besides danger and trauell) are not easily drawne from their owne chimnies. This action he thought so easie, as he had disposed of his conquest, and diuided the liue lyons skinne. But being met vpon the

C borders with a poore army in comparison, he was first arrested at Chotyn, a little fortresse, which hee was faine to leaue behinde him vntaken; and then seeking to aduance into the plaine country, by forcing the trenches of the Chancellor of Poland opposed against him, he could neuer procure his Ianizaries to fight, though ingaging his person once or twice beyond the regard of his quality, and his owne troupes ready to mutine against him, or to forsake him; hee was at last enforced shamefully to raise his campe, and to accept of any treaty to saue his outward honour. In this attempt hee lost aboue a hundred thousand horses for want of fodder, and eighty thousand men for want of fighting: for they would rather die running, or pillaging, or eating, than in the face of the enemy. For this disgrace he conceiued so inward, and rooted an indignation against the Ianizaries, and so justly, that he often lamented

D himselfe, and complained, that he was no King that was subject to his own slaues, vpon whom he spent great treasures, and yet they would neither fight in war, nor obey in peace, without exacting new bounties and priuiledges. *Delauir Bassa*, a man of great wit and courage, lately called from the Easterne parts, where he had long gouerned with honor, who came in though late, yet in a very braue and warlike equipage, aboue all other his captains, was suddenly made great Visier, the former *Huzein Bassa* being in the same disgrace common with the souldier, though not in the same fault. This man was neuer bred at Court, but had liued many yeares in action, and so had neither faction nor dependance at the Port, but stood vpon himselfe and his owne merit: and being now vnexpectedly aduanced to this high dignity, he wrought vpon the Kings discontent, and nourished it: and in conclusion brake with him, That it was

E true he was no Emperor, nor could be safely aliue, while the Ianizaries had the power which they lately vsurped. Informing him, That they were corrupted from their antient institution, and were lazie cowards, giuen ouer to ease and lust: *Et animi per libidines corrupti nihil honestum remanet.* But if his Majesty would pull vp his spirits, and follow his aduice, hee would prouide him a new soldiery about Damascus, of the Coords, men euer bred in the frontier, with hardnesse and warre, of great courage and experience; and that of them he should erect a new *Militia*, that should wholly depend of him, entertaining forty thousand in pay, which should alway be his guard: and that in the distribution of euery Prouince, he should constitute that the Begler-begh in his gouernment should traine some of the inhabitants, who in all occasions of making a great army, should be in readinesse, and thereby he should spare

F infinite treasures spent vpon these drones that eate vp his estate; and with men of new spirits and hopes, he should be enabled to do greater matters than any of his ancestors: but withall he desired the King to communicate this counsell to no man; nor to trust his life vpon anothers secrecy. *Delauir Bassa* neuer reuealing himselfe to any but the King, who extremely

pleased with this aduice, that flattered his owne humour, consented, and remitted all to the G
Visiers direction, who was a true souldier, and a very wise man, able by his credit in Asia, to
performe all he had vndertaken: for he was exceedingly beloued in those parts, very rich, and
had kept Damascus, whereof he was Gouernour, for himselfe in a late rebellion. Vpon this
conclusion betweene them, it was first agreed, That the King should pretend to go in person
either to visit Mecha, or against the *Emir de Sidon*, who was moued to take armes really to
assist in the designe; but they vsed it to colour the departure of the Emperour: which when
it was well weighed, was found, that then the army of the Ianizaries must be kept together,
which could not agree with their ends. Hereupon the journey of the pilgrimage was di-
vulged, That the King might vnder the shadow of an holy deuotion goe out with a small
traine, and disperse those who were suspected to him. And for this, preparation was made, H
but somewhat too grossely, by melting of all the Plate, Saddles, furniture of house, Lampes
of Churches, and whatsoeuer could more easily be conueied away in mettall, with all the
jewels and treasury. This gaue the first suspition, which was confirmed by diuers vnaduised
words let fall from the King; of disdaine against the cowardise of the Ianizaries, and that he
would shortly finde himselfe souldiers that should whip them: and lastly, dismissing all his
household, except some few select; the discontented sort obserued this and betraied him.
Delauir Bassa kept his owne secret, and in the mean time prepared by his friends in Asia twen-
ty thousand men; about Damascus ten thousand, from the Coords as many, besides those in
readinesse of the *Emir de Sidon*; and all vpon pretence of defending the borders of Persia, who
might take some aduantage of the changes in those parts: and gaue order, That all these I
should meet the King at Damascus, where hee would presently cut off his guard and stay
there, vntill he had regulated his new army and discipline, and then to returne triumphant to
Constantinople, and vtterly root out the order of Ianizaries, Spahies, and Timariots, and to
exauctorate all their captaines and officers, to settle a new Gouernment, and to change the
name of the city. And these things succeeding, hee then resolued with his new souldiers to
attempt the recouery of his honour in Christendome; in the meane time to hold a dissem-
bled friendship there in all parts. Certainely, this was a braue and well grounded designe,
and of great consequence for renewing of that decaied Empire, languishing vnder the inso-
lencies of lazie slaues, if God had not destroied it: it being very true, That the Turkish Em-
perour stands at the deuotion of his owne troupes for peace, or war, life, or death, and is in ef-
fect nothing but the Steward or Treasurer of the Ianizaries. If this project had taken effect, K
what euents it might haue produced by a ciuill war, is not easie to judge. For doubtlesse the
souldiery would haue set vp another King, and maintained him as well as they could; and
the Europeian part had beene in danger to haue beene to rne away by the diuision. Besides,
Delauir Bassa hauing the King and the treasury in his possession, and his owne credit so great,
and his inclination *velle imperare*, so willing to beare rule, once discouered, it might well be
thought that hee had some ends of his owne to share a part of this mighty estate: if on the
other side the Visier had proued true and faithfull, the reformation and new erection of the
discipline of war, and the encrease of treasure consequent to the dismission of the old *Militia*,
would haue beene fearefull to all Christendome; but *Vbi est sapiens? vbi disquisitor sæculi hu-* L
jus? Perdam sapientiam sapientum, & vanam reddam intelligentiam intelligentium. It is a great
question whether then were the wiser wish, That these counsels had succeeded, or not: for
either diuision or subuersion, or a new prosperity and enlargement of their dominion had ne-
cessarily followed.

Obseruations vpon Sultan Osman.

Some obseruations vpon this occasion, will not bee impertinent, to those that desire to
know as well the disposition and vse, as the things themselues. First in the purpose of the
souldier, not at all to violate or hurt the King, much lesse to depose and murder him; but
only to take away those about him whom they thought assistants in this project: yet the fury
once on foot, they proceeded by insensible steps, to the vttermost of outrage, against many
innocents in that businesse (though otherwise obnoxious) and against the throne and life of M
their owne Emperour, *Vbi furor ingruat, innocentes ac noxios juxta cadêre*; where rage and fury
hath got the vpper hand, there the innocent and nocent fare alike. Secondly, in the degrees;
that yet the King had not fallen thus low, if first he had not lost that awe and reuerence which
alway

A alway attendeth vpon Majesty, if it be kept vp; by vnseemly offices done by him in the streets
and Tauernes, apprehending many soldiers for petty faults; like a Constable, making his per-
son common, cheape, and despised amongst them; which was wont only to be seene and tea-
red, as somewhat aboue humane greatnesse. And this he did also in hatred and disdaine of
those that had in the warre forsaken him. And now in this last act, if his owne obstinacy had
not plunged him into destruction, but that he had softened them by a reasonable yeelding to
time, he had preuailed onely by time. Thirdly in the order, that these mutiniers hauing no
head or direction, kept that reglement, that they tooke oath in their fury, in hot bloud, in the
Kings yard, not to dishonour, spoile, nor sacke the Imperiall Throne; neither committed not
suffered any insolence nor violence in the city to the Neutrals, but rather proclaimed peace
B and justice. Fourthly in the consequents, that at the third daies end all was quiet and all men
in their trade, as if no such thing had hapned; only the Ianizaries suffered no Diuan nor
Councell vntill they had receiued a Donatiue as guerdon of their iniquity. In which also
the infinite waste of treasure is worthy your consideration, which was exceedingly exhausted
by three changes in foure yeares, and by the late warres in Persia and Poland; for euery Iani-
zary, absent or present (whose rolle was about forty thousand) receiued twenty fiue Chec-
quines of gold; besides the Spahies, Iamoglans, and other Orders, at euery alteration: which
amounts in all neer to two millions. And now those fellows that had tasted the sweet of pros-
perous mutinies (*haud ignari summa scelera incipi cum periculo peragi cum præmio*) tooke such a
head as could not safely be suffered on, nor securely be taken off. Fifthly, of certaine presages
C that fore ran: for *Osman* dreamed in the night, *That he rid a Camell, and being mounted, he could*
not force him to goe by faire meanes nor stripes: and that then descending in a rage to reuenge it
with his sword, the body of the beast vanished, and left the bridle and head in the Kings hand. Who
next day troubled at this fancy, sent to a learned man familiar with him, for the interpretati-
on. He excused himselfe, as vnfit to giue opinion in a matter of that consequence; but persua-
ded *Osman* to enquire of the Mufti. He also craued pardon; but withall said, there was none so
fit to interpret it as *Mustapha* the Kings vncle, who was esteemed a holy man, that had visions
and Angel-like speculations (in plaine tearmes, betweene a mad man and a foole.) The King
repaired to *Mustapha*, who briefely told him, *The* Camell *signified his Empire: his* riding, *abuse*
in gouernment: his descention *or* alighting, *his deposing: the* vanishing of his Body, *the reuolt of*
D *his Subjects: the* Head remaining in his hand, *only a bare title; and that he should shortly die within*
a few moneths, and lose his kingdome, onely the empty name of Emperour should accompany him to his
graue. A second of lesse consequence in the Visier *Delauir Bassa*; with whom his Majesties
Embassadour hauing contracted particular friendship, about six daies before this vprore, he
went to visit; and hauing no other businesse but to persuade him to stay the King from this
intended pilgrimage, the Embassadour gaue him many reasons in the present estate of their
owne affaires; especially, the Treaty of Poland yet depending. To which the Bassa replied
very grauely. Then the Embassadour vrged the feare of some tumult, collected from the li-
centious speeches rumoured in the towne: And he was bold to deale plainely, sincerely, and
friendly, That if any such thing should happen, the fault would be imputed to the Bassa, as
E being of authority to persuade the King; whom his quality and youth would excuse, but all
the fury would be discharged vpon the greatest Minister: desiring him to consider the euent,
at least to take his affection in the best part.

The English Embassadors aduice to Delauir Bassa.

The old *Reinard* staied a while from reply: at last, smiling to himselfe, that he should be
persuaded against that which was his owne counsell, he gaue a finall answer, That there was
no remedy, he durst not hazard himselfe to oppose the Kings resolution: but assured him he
would so order the matter, as this journey should not proceed so farre as was expected. The
Embassadour concluded for himselfe, desiring then that he would leaue him a particular re-
commendation to the Chimacham or Deputy as his friend. To which he suddenly replied,
Trouble not your selfe, nor feare; I will neuer remoue so farre but that I will leaue one of my legges in
F *this city to serue you.* Which the poore man fulfilled; for being murthered within few daies
after, one of his legs whole and entire was hanged in the Hippodrome, the most publike place
of the city.

The Bassas reply.

The reading of History, to know what is done and past, hauing in it no recompence but
delight,

delight, vnlesse it looke foreward to vse and action, either to correct errours, or by that light to gather aduantage in future, it will not be an vnprofitable degression to obserue what was like to succeed these monstrous alterations. It was feared, by contemplatiue men, that the souldiers in Asia, who had lost their hope, would not sit downe with this afront, but rather attempt some reuenge for the death of the King, who was their martyr: or that some great Bassa, farre remoued from Court, might apprehend this occasion, not to obey an vsurper, set vp by treason; and vnder that colour to hide his owne ambition: or lastly, that the whole State would fall into combustion, and intestine warre. This they themselues foresaw, and it came to passe, as will appeare in the story; for within few moneths *Abassa Bassa* of Arzirum declared himselfe reuenger of his Princes bloud, and troubled, and almost hazarded the whole Empire. The Persian apprehended the opportunity, and recouered the Prouince and City of Babylon: and the same soldiers that had betraied their Prince, were neuer quiet vntill they had made some satisfaction, by restoring his brother and right heire: only it pleased not God to open the eies of Christian Princes to see the inconuenience of their owne vnciuill quarrels, while the distractions of this mighty Empire did inuite to conquer it, and to diuide it as a prostituted prey.

A practise to stir her the [illegible] of Sultan Osman.

On Saturday euening the first of Iune following, the Capi-Aga or Major Domo of the Seraglio, hauing receiued a secret order to remoue the brethren of *Osman* from their lodgings, and in the night to strangle them; as he was performing his command, aided with a few of his carnifices to carry away the Princes, they cryed out: the Pages running to the noise, and incouraged by the Caslariaga, who had some suspition, without further examination killed the Capi-Aga, now almost euery Order hauing risen against his owne head. That night they sent secretly to the Ianizaries and Spahies, to enforme them what they had done; and in the morning early hanged his body in the Hippodrome for a publike spectacle. The souldiers returned in fury to the Court, in fauour of the Pages, and demanded justice against those that had consented to this wicked order, which had made an end of all the *Ottoman* race; only this *Mustapha* being left aliue, who was so holy a Saint, that he would not people the World with sinners, nor endure any woman neere him. The innocent King protested he knew nothing of this purpose: and if such command were procured, it was gotten by subreption; and he was easily beleeued. But his mother, another *Liuia*, and the new Visier, *Daout Bassa*, who had her daughter to wife, were vehemently suspected. It was a day of Diuan or Councell; but the soldiers would suffer none, vntill they had an account of this treason. The Visier denied all; the mother was a woman, and hidden in the house: yet it is very likely they both were guilty, to vphold and secure their owne authority; it being rumoured, that the Visier determined to place subditiously in the roome of the elder Prince his owne sonne, and very like him, and so to gouerne *Mustapha* for a time, and by his remoue to establish himselfe and his race for euer. But now somewhat must be done to appease the people; therefore *Daout Bassa* was degraded from his office, and one *Huzein Bassa*, newly arriued from the gouernment of Cairo, aduanced to his place, with promise of further examination. But the fury once ouer, there was no great search not discouery made, for perhaps the Sultana's Chequines quieted the matter. The new Visier was a man without friends, yet very rich, of a stubborne and obstinate nature, reported just in his waies, but peremptory and vnflexible (*Audax ferox, ac prout animum intendit, pravus aut industrius eadem vi*) one from whom all men might expect much good, or much ill: he began his gouernment roughly, and vndertooke to punish insolencies early, and professed a reformation, or to be a sacrifice: A man fit for those times that were desperate: for the worst was, that he must at last endure their fury. In the meane time he procured a little awe, and restored the face of justice: yet it was thought it could not last long, the Ghost of *Osman* would not be at rest vntill there were some *parentalia* made vnto him. The nature of the Visier was vnsupportable; but if he preuailed, and were once setled, he resolued anew to change the King, and lay an obligation vpon the brethren of *Osman*; for he did neuer thinke himselfe secure vnder a man gouerned by an insolent woman, *dominandi auide*, desirous to rule. And what assurance could hee haue in that Prince, in whom there was no judgement, neither loue, nor hatred, but as it was infused? and though the particulars could not be foreseene, nor where the sore would breake out, yet the whole body was sicke, their King

King being *mentis inops*, an Ideot; and the next in expectation a child vnfit for action, and all the great men and soldiers decayed, mutined, and corrupted.

In the mean time the Duke of Sbarasky came neer vnto the borders of the Turkish empire, and ignorant of those great changes which had happened, sent a seruant with a Letter to the dead Visier *Delauir Bassa*, with whom only the Poles had treaty. The contents were, That the King of Poland had sent him to conclude a peace, vpon such conditions as were agreed vpon by the Visier and the Commissioners of Poland, signed on both parts; but that it was reported vpon the death of the grand Signior, That the new Gouernment had varied from some of them: That he had no other instructions to intreat anew, but if he would giue his word to the English Embassador, that there was no alteration in the intents of peace, he was ready to set forward on his Journey. This letter receiued by the new Visier was Greek to him, who was lately come from Cairo, and vnderstood no article nor piece of the businesse: Which was so secretly carried by *Delauir Bassa*, that Sultan *Osman* and he being dead, there was no man had so much as a copy, or knew the substance of that agreement. So that the Visier giuing good words, ashamed to confesse his ignorance, promised all things, but knew not what to write in particular answer, and therfore was at a stand. The messenger neuertheless importuned a dispatch, the which he had in general terms, and so returned again to the Duke his Master vpon the confines.

With this Nuntio the Duke wrot to Sr *Thomas Rowe*, and being very doubtfull to intangle himselfe in this vnsetled gouernment, desired him both to counsell him, and to tel the Visier that he would not aduance, vnlesse hee might receiue such assurance of safety and publique faith, as that he might ingage his credit to him: hoping therby to haue both assistance & witnes in all his proceeding. Which gaue the Visier occasion to intreat the English Embassador, both to promise for the good vsage of the Duke, and to hasten him, and also to informe himselfe by him, of the substance of the Treaty of Chotyn. Which being by him vndertaken, it turned to the great aduantage of both, especially of the peace it self.

Prince Coresky strangled in prison.

The 17 of Iune in the morning, the Prince *Coresky* one of the Lords of Poland, taken prisoner in the late war, recommended by his Maiestie of great Britaine, who had formerly made an escape from the Turks captiuitie, was strangled in prison after two years of durance. This put all into murmur and deep consideration, for what politique end this should be don, euen when they themselues desired a peace with the Pole, and yet neuertheless did that which might vtterly breake it. But it seemed they were at that time either caried with a brutish furie, or that the Prince was betrayed from home, by intimation, that his remuant nature would neuer suffer the peace long to continue between the Crowne of Poland and the Grand Signior.

The Visier attempts to depose Mustapha.

The Visier (who caused this Polack prince to be strangled) vpon some spleene towards the Aga or chief captain of the Ianizaries, took this occasion to cast the fault on him, and to cassier him, and sent him to the Islands to be strangled; & gaue order to murder some other Bassa's and officers, that therby way being made to depose the Emperor *Mustapha*, to set vp *Morat* the child, and brother of *Osman*, many being of his party. Wherupon the soldiers rose all in arms at the Seraglio, taking the alarm at the medling with their Aga, rescued their Captaine and the rest, and demanded the head of the Visier. Wherupon he fled, and order was giuen to kil him where he could first be found. The soldiers also required the life of *Morat* Aga customer, and diuers others: but for feare of other complices they durst search no further into the conspiracie; only the Visiers house was sacked and infinit treasure taken; so as the soldier was quieted for a day or two, by making a new Visier, *Mustapha Bassa*, who was of a soft nature, and scarce durst do justice for feare of offending any man. Now a new faction was made betweene *Mustapha* and *Morat*, and it was expected hourly when there should be some great slaughter or massacre in the city; for of necessitie one side must fall.

There was then no securitie for any man, when the King and Visiers and all Officers held their liues and dignities at the courtesie of the mutined souldier, who had tasted the sweet of rebellion, and cast off all awe and reuerence, and could not easily be reduced to order, without much bloud and hasard of the whole. Therfore the wiser men retired from Office and imployment, and the insufficient did cause their owne daily change and ruine. The souldier adhered

adhered to the King of their own creation, and hee was in effect their creature, for they did wholly gouern him. But the lawyers and church-men made secret conuentions, and still practised some great alteration; and feared not to say openly, That the foundation of their State was dissolued, the king vnlawful, and all that had adhered vnto him lapsed into heresie, hauing despised the institutions of *Mahomet*. They wrought by wise counsels, and held a large correspondencie with those of their own coat, and spread their confederacie to all parts of the Empire, to procure a faction, and kindle a greater fire than that of the soldiers: for at Bagdat the captain of the Ianizaries rose and slew the Bassa, burnt the Mufti and all his kin, and gaue his daughter in mariage to one *Asian Begh*, a pretender to the antient inheritance of a bordering prouince, to cantonize that part. All Asia was in doubt whom to obey, and Cairo was eaten vp with oppression: and that which was most dangerous, they had no sence of the sicknes in the court, wherby to cure it, nor any of them so wise as to dissemble it.

The Prince of Transylvania's Embassador arriueth at the Port.

The 22 of August the extraordinary Embassador of *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of Transylvania ariued at Constantinople; who amongst other instructions had order to excuse his Master, and to declare the reasons why he had made peace with the Emperor without the knowledge of the Port: which were, That the war had continued three years in the kingdom of Hungarie, and had so consumed and desolated the country, that it was impossible for him to stay longer in the field and to maintain an army, for the great famin and scarcitie of all things which the soldiery suffered, and could from no place be supplied: so that if he had not accepted of peace offered, he had bin forced to quit the country of necessitie, and by his seeming flight haue left the enemy victor. Therfore he was constrained to win time, and to return into Transylvania to refresh his men of war, and to re-inforce them: as also his own pressing affaires calling him back, his brother whom he had left Gouernour in his absence, hauing aduised him, That the king of Poland, by the instigation of the emperor, by intelligence with some of the principal Lords, did practise a reuolt, and promised aid to make a new prince that should wholy depend vpon the Empire and Poland. Lastly, seeing the grand Signior had suddenly concluded a peace with the Poles, he feared he should be left alone to the burthen of the war, in which the King of Poland being at ease might assist the Emperor, which he was not able to sustain: therfore he was content to take the opportunitie to accept of that at the instance of the emperor, which he should haue bin forced to do by necessitie.

Yet afterward, although he made this apologie for his master for concluding a peace, hee assured the Port, that his master meant not long to keep the same: informing them, That the Emperour had made a league (being at that time quiet in Germany) to inuade the *Ottoman* Empire; persuading the Port to grant a Commission, with full power and authoritie to him and the Bassa of Buda (who had bin twenty years in that charge, and knew all the borders) if they saw it fit, to preuent the Enemy, and to inuade the Empire, or the kingdome of Poland. This demand was made by *Gabor* to insinuate with the state of Turky, and to get a power dormant into his hands, to aduance into Hungarie if he saw aduantage, or to oblige the Emperour; and to assure the peace, by hauing means not to care if it were broken. But the grand Signior finding himselfe, by reason of Ciuile distractions at home, vnfit for a Warre abroad, and that they saw *Bethlem Gabor* had no other thing in recommendation than his owne designes and fortune, his Embassadors Propositions began to be altogether sleighted and neglected.

The Poland Embassador arriueth at the Port.

The Duke of Sbarasky, who came to conclude the peace betweene his Master the King of Poland, and the grand Signior, after long delay vpon the confines did at length arriue at the Port, but they made him stay fiue weekes before he could haue audience, forcing him to giue a Present, contrary to his Instructions. Notwithstanding he could not get them to enter into a Treaty, finding nothing but falsehood and vncertaintie amongst them, no promise nor faith kept, no prisoners deliuered, nor indeed any thing at all performed: for now that they had him within their liberties, they hoped to worke their owne ends, and to wearie him out, who had twelue hundred of his ordinary traine. They threatened to keepe him, and to denounce a War against his Master: yet by the mediation of the English Embassadour, the Ministers of the Port and he were pieced again, and the peace concluded, as shall be hereafter set down at large.

After

After many difficulties to obtaine admission to the presence of the grand Signior, caused by the forwardnesse of the old Eunuch *Georgi Mehemet Bassa*, then in the place of *Mustapha* deposed (who discouering that the duke would complain against *Tomsha* Vayuod of Valachia, and his creature, endeauored by al fraud, cunning, threatning, and fastidious delayes, to diuert him from that purpose, being loth that the actions of him whom hee had fostered and maintained in many tyrannies, especially in the occasion of the last Warre, should be examined or layd open to justice) when hee saw that nothing could preuail, but that he must hazard a direct breach, by the discontent of the duke; and that the people began to murmur, and the English Embassador to protest him; he was admitted, and nobly receiued according to the pompous custom of that court; who with his letter of Credence spake these following words:

The Oration of the Duke of Sbarasky to the grand Signior.

SIgismund by the grace of God, King of Poland, Sweden, Gothia, Vandalia, great Duke of Lituania; and of many other prouinces Prince and Lord: To your most renowned Maiesty, most mighty emperor of Asia and Europ, and King of many kingdoms and prouinces, euer most happy, wisheth health; and by me his great Embassador salutes you with all conuenient reuerence and honor: desirsing to your Maiestie from the most high God, fulnesse of all prosperitie, happinesse, long life, triumph aboue your Ancestours, Princes worthy of all memorie.

HIs high Maiesty of Poland, considering the depth and highth of the Decrees of the great God, marueling with all the world, and praising his high name, doth comfort and ioy himselfe, beeing more than certaine, That that Eternall power which hath preserued your Maiestie from all euill destinies of men, and from the bowels of the earth, and hath placed you in this shining Throne, hath not done it but for the publique good. And like a wise Gardener, who hath weeded out all venomous and noysom plants, that he hath placed your Maiestie in their roome, as a noble and sweet smelling floure, full of vertue, clemencie, and peace, desired of all the world. His Maiesty my Lord and Soueraigne hath alwaies wished, That not onely the actions of later yeares, but of many Ages past, might haue beene forgotten; and that that friendship and peace begun with the renowned Ottoman *Kings two hundred and more yeares since, might haue beene without interruption continued. But seeing that the great God hath beene pleased to chastise the people of both parts, by the meanes of wicked men, that must be accepted for good, which commeth from his Diuine will. And therefore blotting out of memory what soeuer is past, doth now returne to desire the continuance of the first antient peace, and doth offer himselfe vnto your high Maiestie to keepe it inuiolable, as it was maintained in the time of Sultan* Amurath *of happy memorie. In witnesse of which his sinceritie, he hath not apprehended the opportunitie of the breach begun by the Persian, the expiration of the truce with the German Emperour, nor the many reuolts and troubles in Asia, nor hearkned to the instigations of many Christian Princes his friends and allyes, nor to the Tartar discontented: but rather hauing refused all other wayes, hath with the bloud of his own subiects, and the charge of his purse, regained from the Rebell Valachia, Moldauia, and a part of Transyluania, and rendered those Prouinces into the hands of your Maiesties father, and suffered no man at any time to disturbe on that side the friends of your Empire; giuing intelligence like a good friend and neighbour to your Ancestours, of all your Enemies designes and machinations, and in as much as was possible, endeauoured to preserue a good peace and friendship; which he offereth vnto your serene Maiesty; contenting himselfe with the Capitulations which were treated at Chotyn, and those of your most happy father and brother; praying your Maiesty that they may be confirmed and maintained. And not doubting but your Maiestie will restraine the Tartars, as he will do the Cossackes, and that you will suffer no occasion of kindling new fires, he beseecheth your Maiestie to doe what justice you thinke meet, vpon* Cantemir *and* Tomsha, *who contrary to the agreements and publique faith, hath made spoile and new incursions into Poland, euen since my departure from thence, and with many deceits and false deuices haue desired to disturbe the happie beginnings of accommodation. And seeing that by the antient Capitulations made with the most warlike Sultan* Solyman, *and his successors the father and brother of your Maiesty, the prouinces of Moldauia,*

dauia, the Bassaes of Silistria, and the Beghes of Ackirman ought to keepe the passages of the Riuers to restraine the Tartars; and that those now in possession of those Gouernments are already knowne, and growne old in their rapine and spoile, the King my Lord desireth your renowmed Majesty, that they may be dismissed, and their Prouinces giuen to some others more enclined in peace. For Cantemir, *it is a true rule obserued, That one Tartar can hardly gouerne another, where both liue vpon spoile: and how easily vpon any occasion new troubles are apprehended by those who are antient enemies, I leaue to your Highnesse wisedome; in which his Majesty is so assured, that he doubteth not, that for the publike good, and for the complaints, and teares of both subjects, you will also vouchsafe to accept the request of your friend, and a King your neighbor. And if all the World, and the people thereof rejoyce, and praise God of the friendship and peace betweene your Majesty and the King my Master begun and concluded, he hopeth that the poore and miserable prisoner shall participate of your clemency, that they may joyne in the general care to pray to the eternall God for encrease of your greatnesse. The King my Master doth therefore desire your Majesty to grant liberty to those who are in your captiuity, as he bindeth himselfe to set free all such of your Majesties subjects, as are now his prisoners; and I do promise on the behalfe of my Master, that he shall be a friend to your friends, and an enemy to your enemies. In conclusion, he desireth all happinesse and prosperity to your Majesty from a cleere heart; in signe and testimony whereof, and of the friendship begun on his part, he honoureth you with a Present, which you may be pleased to receiue with your accustomed benignity; and shutting your eares to such enformers, enemies of peace, as are found at your Port, that you will esteeme him a friend and neighbour of the most royall and antient Kings of your most Princely Family.*

The souldiers continued still in their mutinous disposition, euen in Constantinople the head city of the Turkish Empire, and grew to that height of insolency, that going in troups to the court, they demanded all offices of gaine; to be Stewards to the reuenues of the Churches, which are great; to take the Farmes of customes; and there committed many other outrages which were vnsufferable. The Visiers durst deny them nothing; they drunke wine in the streets without prohibition, contrary to their law; and stood in companies in the open day exacting mony of all Christians to pay for their wine; and being denied it, stabbed and murthered without any punishment: and when complaint was made to the Visier or Magistrate, they answered, None durst meddle with them, who had murthered their own King; and the Bassaes themselues desired the Complainants patience, and that they would beare a part with the generall sufferance.

The Ianizaries assault the houses of the Christian Consuls at Smirna.

About the same time, the Ianizaries in the gallies which rid before Smirna, commanded by the captaine *Halil Bassa*, assaulted against his will the houses of all the Christian Consuls there. The English with all those of the Nation, were forced to runne naked from their lodgings, and to swimme to the Admirals galley to saue their liues: they ransacked the lower part of the house, and carried away to the value of two thousand dollars; the French sustained more losse; and the Venetians at least ten thousand, and one of the subjects of that State cut in peeces. The Generall had much adoe to appease them by threats or persuasions, or to saue the liues of all; insomuch as they miscalled and threatened him, because he would not consent to their madnesse. In conclusion, he was faine presently to put to sea, or else they had finished the Trade at that place.

In Asia there was then three open rebellions; one at Babylon, another at Arzirum vpon the borders of Persia neere Tauris, and the third in Mesopotamia. The Visiers at the Port dissembled all this, and durst take no knowledge thereof, nor so much as to send a command thither, for feare of blowing the fire, which would haue put all into combustion: whereupon they held a secret counsell and consented to remooue themselues, to proue, if they could recouer the desperate estate of that Empire, and tooke resolution to make *Halil Bassa* (the best souldier and most beloued) great Visier; and in his roome *Daout Bassa*, captaine of the Sea; and the present Visier, Chimacham or Lieutenant at the Port; and in the Spring following, they resolued to send the Visier into Asia, with all the force they could make: to which end they sent into Greece, to warne all the souldiery to be ready at Adrianople, not daring to make a rendesuous at the Port, for feare of new trouble; and so to passe the Hellespont, wide of the city, to appease (if they could) those reuolts, and by that way to draw the mutiniers from the

the Court into action, and to reduce them vnto obedience. And notwithstanding that there was no other symptome or prediction but such as threatned the destruction of that Empire, yet were they neuer prouder, nor more seeming not to distrust themselues, their only securitie being, That they had no enemie but themselues.

The treasurie was far exhausted, the reuenue abated, by the oppression of euery Bassa in his gouernment: the souldier increased both in pay and number, and so impatient of delay, that at euery quarter, (besides borrowing, and taking vp the farmes of the Customes before hand) there were so many intollerable exactions to raise monies, that the apparance of domestique quiet could not long endure betweene two extreames; for meanes could not be found, and the Ianizaries would not be retrenched nor deferred. And this was their general estate at that time.

While the Polish Embassadour was treating the peace at the Port (whereof there was no great doubt, because neither side was fit for war) there arriued an Embassador from the great Duke of Muscovia, which gaue some interruption therin, pressing the grand Signior to continue the war seuen years against Poland, according to the promise of Sultan *Osman*: offering that his Master should enter into Poland with an army, and that they would diuide the country between them. But his proposition was reiected, because they had had sufficient triall of his Masters cunning proceedings in the last war; for the Muscouite hauing made peace with Poland (before the inuasion of *Osman*) for fourteen years, and being inuited by him to break it, and to inuade that country, vpon promise that he would continue the war for seuen yeares, & make no agreement without their comprehension; first answered, That he could not break the peace, thinking that the other was but a flash of a yong prince. But so soon as he saw the Turks in the field and borders of Poland, then he began to hope he might make aduantage; and therfore promised Sultan *Osman*, on those conditions mentioned to enter into the quarrel. And to that end dispeeded his Embassadour to Poland, with instructions to demand three things. First, That the prince of Poland should renounce the title of elect Duke of Muscouy. The second, That the Poles should restore a territory in the border of Lituania, taken in the late wars. Lastly, That the peace should be perpetuall: threatning, That if they refused those conditions, he would enter into the country with an army and get what he could. This Embassador being arriued in the confines, heard news that the Poles had repulsed the Turke at Chotyn, that he was retyred, and a peace treated. Wherupon he feigned himself sick, and sent back a post with this aduice, and his old instructions, desiring in this alteration some new order from home. The gouernor of the town where he lay, suspecting somwhat, intercepted the messenger and his packet, and sent it presently to the King. The man returned to his Master the Embassador as robbed, and was again dispeeded the second time, and sent backe with another stile, to wit, with letters of congratulation, joy, and offers of all help and continuance of the peace: with these the Embassador went forward to the court, and hauing audience, the King answered him, That if his message were sincere it had bin very acceptable; but he knew it to be a sugred treason, and no faith intended by the Muscouite, and therfore commaunded him to depart.

The Embassador protested, vowed, and vsed all meanes to assure the integritie of his message; vntill hee was confronted by the Chancellour, with his owne Letter, and his Masters instructions. Hereupon was this other dispatched to the Port to hinder the peace, and to offer their concurrence to continue an inuasion. In the meane time the Muscouite neglected no means to secure himself, & by renuing two embassadors obtained a peace with Poland, which was then again confirmed. To which the Poles were the willinger to agree, not knowing what effects the negotiations of the duke of Sbarasky might produce at the Port: and now the Muscouite was forced to dissemble again with the Turk, and make his preparation to depart.

The great Visier plots the death of Daout Bassa.

The great Visier *Georgi* enuying the authoritie of *Daout Bassa* the beloued sonne in law of the Queene mother, and brother in law to the Emperour *Mustapha* (who had formerly been deposed) who had bin both the instrument and the counsellor to murther Sultan *Osman*, scorning that he should vnder hand gouerne in his reigne, especially because hee countenanced in opposition the Duke of Sbaraskies businesse, he therefore practised to put him to death: but not daring to do it by his owne authoritie, and in vain to procure it from the Court, he stirred

stirred vp the Spahies to demand justice of him for the death of their last king. This looked farther than the first assent; for the subtil Visier, who was faithful to his true lord, & knowing the rage of an vnguided multitude aimed at a by-reuenge vpon others, whom he hoped would be involved and accused of the murther: and the soldier soon raised and mutined in the Seraglio, they demanded *Daout*, who instantly fled: but now that the busines was on foot, if hee were not found, the Visier himself was in danger: but the poore man was brought to the Divan, and there being called to publique justice, hee must excuse himselfe vpon some greater person; wherin the Emperor and his mother ran a new hasard, which was the secret end. Therefore both of them forsook him and left him to the law, and without any trial he was brought before the soldiers, stripped, his turbant taken off, and on his knees ready to receiue the stroke of death. But suddenly the Ianizaries came to his rescue, and carried him away to their chambers. The Spahies who began this action took it in ill part, and followed with great outcries, That they would haue him die; the others demanded that he might be heard in publique justice. Thus those two mutined factions were ready to come to blowes. *Daout Bassa* now in some hope of life, bribed the Ianizaries, and that day distributed 40000 Chequines of gold, and they promised to protect him. Who did not now think but hee was taken away for safety? But the Spahies followed their first resolution, and to appease the fear of that dissention it was agreed he should die. They that meant to saue him could not, but preserued him for a greater example of justice. They would not now let him lose his head in the Court, for that death was too honorable for him that had murdered his prince. Then the Ianizaries sent him secretly in the same coach wherin he had sent Sultan *Osman* to execution: twice in the way being dry with sorrow, he drank at the same fountains where his late master begged drink, and so was conueyed into the same chamber where he had murthered him. The executioners beginning to tie him, himself shewed the very corner where hee had committed that foule fact, and desired that there he might, if possible, expiate it: and so he was at last miserably strangled. Thus he had his reward, and God was iust also euen for the wicked.

About the 20 of February, the peace after many rubs between the grand Signior and the King of Poland, by the mediation of the English Embassador (who was chosen by the Visiers as Arbitter of all differences) after many meetings with *Diac Mahomet Bassa* Commissioner for the Treaty, was concluded; the Duke hauing first been forced to send this following remonstrance for his expedition; which much mooued the Visier, and quickened the conclusion.

The Duke of Sbaraskies remonstrance to the great Visiers.

Your Excellencie may be pleased to remember the happy and honorable treaty made before Chotyn: in which a peace was concluded between the Ottoman *Empire and the kingdom of Poland, signed by Commissioners on both parts; wherin (with reference to other antient Treaties) it was agreed, That a great Embassador should come to the Imperiall Port, as well to confirm and swear the peace, as to set in order some other incident circumstances, as then not fully taken into consideration. Since which, the King and Republique of Poland hauing elected me for that imployment, his Maiesty and my self haue receiued many letters from* Delauir, Daout, Huzein *and* Mustapha, *Bassa's, all great Visiers; not only promising a speedy end and dispatch of the conclusion of peace which on both parts is so much desired, but also a release of our captiues, and all other effects of loue and friendship, according to the antient honor of the Imperiall Port; desiring me vpon that assurance to proceed with alacritie and expedition. And further, it hauing pleased his Maiesty of great Brittain (a friend to both) to mediate in this pious office, by his Embassador resident and sent to that end; who hath giuen me by his letters great incouragement and hopes of a reall and true proceeding in this businesse, agreeable to diuers promises made vnto him, which he accordingly hath informed his own Master; I was very glad of this honorable function, and hoped to haue found as ready performance as is by his Maiesty and all the world expected.*

To this end I am come to the Port, with full power and instructions from his Maiestie and the Republique of Poland, to conclude and finish a full and perpetuall peace, with all sinceritie and heartinesse, and in his Maiesties name to swear the same; offering to be friend to the friends, and enemie to the enemies of this Imperiall Port reciprocally, and to be ready to treat and accommodate all or any other circumstances incident to a busines of so great consequence.

Since my arriuall, notwithstanding that I haue produced both the mentioned treaty at Chotyn, and Letters, how little I haue aduanced in the main affairs, and the doubtfull consequences of a long protraction, I desire you to consider; hauing as yet proceeded no further in substance, than the deliuery of my letters and presents; and to that end there may neuer be imputed to the King and republique of Poland any slacknes in present, or any breach in future; out of a sincere and good desire to establish this treaty sure and firm, and to open a clear and true heart, I am inforced to make this true declaration, and desire your Excellency to weigh maturely the motiues following.

I do not repine at myne own stay at this Imperiall Port, where I receiue all honour; I do not doult of the sincere and faithfull meaning of the Emperor to conclude the peace; but the deferring hereof may against our wills breed three inconuenientces.

First, your Excellencie doth know, that the Cossacks are a people not easily to be restrained, if they hee once at libertie, and that they liue vpon their arms. They haue ready eight hundred boats to make an inuasion into the black sea: in the winter they canot moue; they attend onely the aduice of the conclusion of peace: therfore now is the season to finish and publish it; for if by long delaies it shal be deferred vnto the Spring, and that jealousie or their own desire set them free, your Excellencie doth know in wisedome how difficult it is, to reduce into order a people of that condition; which for our parts we are now able and readie to preuent; the State hauing ordained to satisfie them, and to buy their boats vpon the first intimation of a conclusion.

Secondly, It is the order of our Nation euery Spring, to call a parliament for the reglement of all publique affairs; of which assembly I am a member: if I shall be staied here, and not able to render a reason therof, it will breed great suspition and disturbance in the general resolution: you may consider that in all parts there are some vnaduised men, friends of sedition and war; and many that make aduantage of others troubles, who may do ill offices, such as the innosent may be sorry for, but canot help

Thirdly, The eies of all princes are set vpon the honor and faith kept on both parts in this treaty, and accordingly will gouern their own occasions.

For these reasons I do in his Maiesties name desire your Excellencie to giue me a Dispatch, such as may bring ioy and content to all, by auoiding the miseries of war; and in such time, that the snows and commodities of winter shut me not vp, but that I may return, as well to satisfie his Maiestie and the Republique in our generall assembly, as to retain those who may be cause of much trouble, without our consents.

There is no difficultie that I vnderstand, I am content to accept the antient and honorable treaties made with the famous Emperor Solyman *and his successors; and now lastly at Chotyn: if there be any other difference, I haue power and am ready to accommodate it.*

My desire then only is, That a present end and conclusion be made of a peace, firme and perpetuall: and that the Emperor will be pleased, according to many promises, to deliuer and set free the captiues taken in the last wars: as I do in his Maiesties name giue my word that all others taken on our part shall haue libertie and pasport to return. And if there haue bin any difficultie made by occasion of my pressure for the reiection of Tomsha *and* Cante-Emir-Emirze, *I doe make this true protestation, That as it is the request of his Maiestie my King in friendship, so there is no other end nor cause of that desire, but only to remoue all occasion of offence and breach with this Imperiall Port, which those ill neighbours are euer ready to minister. But if that be any inconuenience to this Imperiall Port, I onely then seeke that better order may be taken with them for the future, that they may liue quietly, without offence of the publique peace.*

I desire your Excellencie to weigh and consider these my reasons and protestations, which proceed only from a good and sincere heart, to promoue and maintain an inuiolable and good friendship with this Imperiall Port.

Within two dayes after, the Duke of Sbaraskie tooke his leaue of the Emperour, to the great joy of himselfe and his traine, who thereby saw themselues deliuered out of captiuitie.

The

The three great and noble prisoners were set free, and did make a publique acknowledgment of his Maiestie of great Britains fauor; to whom both the Embassadour and they attributed the best part of their good successe, and gaue particular thanks by letter.

Articles contracted between the grand Signior and the King of Poland.

HIs Maiesty of Poland hauing sent into our happy Port his well deseruing and famous great Embassador the most illustrous Duke of Sbaraskie, to offer vs sincere peace, loyal friendship, and good correspondence, and to seeke that the antient peace and friendship should be of vs anew confirmed, and the old Capitulations renewed, and that for the time to come there might be established an eternal peace and friendship: his kingly friendship hath bin most pleasing to vs, and the peace and friendship by vs accepted: and wee haue ordained, That all the antient treaties shall be renewed; and at the present haue giuen this our Capitulation with the following Articles.

I. *FIrst, That neuer vpon our part, nor of any of our Viziers, Beglerbeghs, Beghs, Cadees, Officers, nor soldiers, any harm shall be done to the Prouinces, Cities, Castles, Towns, villages, and other places pertaining to the King and State of Poland. And likewise vpon the part of his Maiesty of Poland, That by his Princes, Ministers, or Cossackes, nor any other his subiects, there shall be no wrong don in any part of our Empire, city, castle, towne, or village, but that both parties shall alwaies remain friends to friends, and enemies to enemies.*

II. *And seeing that the Tartars of Dobrirza, Biaolograd, Keil, Ozu, and Silistra, and the people of Moldavia, do enter, inuade, and damnifie the State of Poland: We command, that for the time to come, our Beglerbeghs of Silistra, and all other Beglerbeghs of Bender, shall take care to keepe all those passages and riuers, to the end that herafter the said Nations shall haue no passage by those waies to damnifie the state of Poland. And whensoeuer it shall be known that the said Ministers haue vsed negligence in keeping those passages, according to the treatie with Sultan* Solyman, *of happy memory, that such Ministers bee degraded and seuerely punished.*

III. *The Vayuod of Moldauia likewise shall neuer grant any passage to the said Nations. And whensoeuer it shall be known that the said Vayuod hath transgressed in this our will, he shall be degraded and seuerely punished.*

IV. *And whensoeuer the said Tartars and others, contrary to this our will, shall make any invasion or spoyl in the state of Poland, all our ministers and gouernors shall apprehend and seuerely punish them: and as it is set down in the agreements with Sultan* Solyman, *all the slaues and prisoners which shall by such malefactors be brought into our dominions, shall bee set at liberty, and their goods restored to them again, and the malefactors punished for hauing transgressed our Imperiall Capitulations.*

V. *And if any of our Subiects shall buy any person or Polish goods, vniustly taken by such malefactors, and it shall be made knowne vnto vs by the king of Poland; the buyers for hauing bought vnlawfull goods their estate shall be confiscate, and they themselues seuerely punished.*

VI. *The Prince* Chrim *Tartar shall be obedient vnto vs, and all the Tartarian Nation vnder his commaund.* Kalgha *Sultan, and other Emirs and Princes of his bloud, from henceforth shall neuer enter into nor inuade any part of the State of Poland, nor euer do any damage*

mage, either by the way of Moldauia, the open field or desart, nor shall euer enter into or inuade any part or jurisdiction of the same. And at all times that his Majesty of Poland shall giue notice, That the said Prince or others aboue mentioned haue broken this our will and capitulations, and entered and damnified his State; for their disobedience, the said Prince as well as the others, shall be by vs punished and chastised; and we command that neuer any one, in any part of our Dominion, shall sell either people or goods robbed from the State of Poland; and finding that there be any one that hath dared to buy men, or goods, robbed from them, such shall be immediately punished with confiscation. And as before mentioned, the Beglerbeghs of Silistria, with all diligence shall keepe the streights of Osu, and neuer suffer the said people to passe; and if it shall be knowne they haue trangressed they shall be punished with losse of their charge and office.

VII. *And whensoeuer the said Prince* Crim *Tartar, or his Kalka, Emirze, or others shall by our order be called and commanded in their proper persons, to go to any part of the war in our seruice, if by chance they should passe by the confines of Poland, as it is set downe in the capitulations of my father of happy memory, They shall not enter into any Village, Borough, Castle, or City of Polonia, or do any kinde of dammage to the people thereof; and finding that they haue giuen any molestation or hurt, they shall be corrected, as is aforesaid.*

VIII. *And in conformity of my my fathers said capitulation, euery time that his Majesty of Poland shall inuite and call the said Prince* Crim *Tartar in his occasion of war whiles he giueth him his annuall stipend, the said Prince with all his forces and army, shall go, helpe, and assist his Majesty in euery such occasion, and shew all friendpshi and sincerity: to which effect we haue giuen order, that our Imperiall Letters be written to the said Prince, in this particular, who shall obserue all according to our will and pleasure.*

IX. *And for the better establishing of this our peace and amity according to the antient capitulations and obseruance, his Majesty of Poland promiseth to send his great Embassador to the said Prince of Tartars; and (beginning from this present, the foure and twentied of the moneth of Iune) to pay yearely to the said Prince his accustomed stipend in this forme following. Euery yeare his Majesty shall send the said stipend into the Castle of Choryn in Moldauia, and the Vayuod thereof shall certifie the said Prince* Crim, *who shall presently send his Embassadour to receiue the same, by the hands of the Vayuod. The which Prince shall alwaies obserue this forme, and shall be alwaies obedient to this our Imperiall Will.*

X. *And in case that his Majesty of Poland should faile in any yeare to send the said stipend, the Prince Tartar shall not suddenly rise with his army and inuade Poland; but, according to the agreement of Sultan* Solyman, *continuing still in his obedience, he shall certifie vs, and we will procure and recouer his right.*

XI. *His Majesty of Poland doth promise that from henceforward, the Cossackes should not enter nor come into any part of our Empire by the riuers of Osu or any other, nor make any spoile therein: and if the said Coßackes do enter into any part of our Dominions and doe any hurt, we certifying his Majesty by our Imperiall Letters, he promiseth to correct them seuerely, and to put to death the malefactors for breaking the capitulations, and violating the peace and amity.*

XII. *And all our subjects which shall be made slaues, and imprisoned by the said Cossackes, shall be immediately set at liberty; and the ministers of his Majesty shall alwaies be diligent to punish the transgressors, and wholly restore those persons and goods, which they shall haue taken from our said subjects, and that neuer any subject of the King of Poland shall buy any stollen*

stollen goods: and if any haue presumed and bought, that he be seuerely punished: and in generall, all that which we haue promised concerning the Tartars and Moldauians, so his Majesty also doth promise to vs for the Cossackes and other his subjects. G

XIII. *After the conclusion of this Peace, if vpon the confines or open fields, fishers or hunters on either part meeting together, shall happen to fall out or be at difference by their owne occasion, it shall be no disturbance to this our peace and amity.*

XIV. *Alwaies according to the antient agreements, the Princes or Vayuods of Moldauia, shall shew to his Majesty of Poland all due reuerence and respect, good amity and neighbourhood: and seeing that the said Vayuods haue euer beene as it were instruments of preseruation, or of the breach of the Peace; therefore we command, that for the time to come, neither the said Vayuods, nor other of our Beglerbeghs or ministers, shall build in those confines any new Castle, Fort, or Bridge; and that in those Castles or Forts of those frontiers which are already built, there shall neuer any other garrisons be kept but Moldauians: and according to the antient Capitulations, the Tartars shall not inhabit, dwell, or till within those confines, of both nations.* H

XV. *And to the end this peace and amity may be alwaies kept betweene vs, we sweare by the name of God, and assure by this our Imperiall Article, that all the Embassadors, great or inferiour, which shall be sent from vs to his Majesti, or those great or lesse which shall be sent from his Majesty to vs, shall alwaies be safe and secure, as well in their comming, as their returne; and that there shall neuer be need of any other pasport, but that they shall be of vs by all waies honoured and well receiued.* I

XVI. *Concerning merchants, passengers, and other Polacke negotiators, they shall alwaies come safely and securely by sea and land into all the parts of our Empire; and for customes, tolles, and other duties of their merchandise, and in case of debt, credit, suretiship, and such other like accidents concerning the course of Iustice and Law, we command that it shall be alwaies obobserued according to the agreements with our father of happy memory, Sultan* Achmat. *Which Articles we at this present accept and confirme, ratifie, and command that they be of all our subjects for euer punctually obeyed and obserued.* K

XVII. *Furthermore we promise, and in the name of God sweare, to obserue and maintaine for euer, all those couenants and Articles agreed vpon and written in our Capitulations, by our great grandfather, grandfather, and father, and neuer to disanull any of them.*

XVIII. *And whereas to shew greater desire of sincerity concerning this peace, his Majesty of Poland hath sought of vs by his said great Embassador, that the subjects of Poland may safely and securely come by the riuer of Turla with diuers merchandise, and sell, buy, and trafficke in Ackirman, which trafficke being vsed will be of great benefit to both Estates; We ordaine and command from henceforward, that the said Nation may come and negotiate safely and securely in the said Ackirman. And to the end that this businesse be established and concluded in a good manner, we will giue order to our Embassador, whom we intend to send shortly to his Majesty for the ratification thereof.* L

XIX. *Which present Articles, Capitulations, Peace, Amity, League, and Correspondency, by the grace of God we promise vndoubtedly to maintaine so long as we liue in this World: and do hereby conclude betweene vs and our posterity, and the Kings and State of Polonia, an euerlasting Peace; Sealing it and confirming it with these words,* Friends to Frends, and enemies to Enemies. M

Notwithstanding all this, after the Duke was departed one daies journey, where he staied to

A to receiue the treaty signed, they altered some of the articles to their own aduantage, without his knowledge. Which when he heard, he complained anew by his letters to the Port of the abuse offered vnto him, and made haste rather to escape than returne. But the Cossacks at the same time being stirring about the Blacke sea, the Visier and State (hauing nothing more in care than to shut vp that backe Port, whereby they suffered much losse and dishonour, and could not reuenge it vpon a fugitiue people; which diuided their nauall army, being forced to send a portion of gallies to defend the trade, the best part of reliefe of the city of Constantinople comming from those coasts) resolued to giue content to the Poles, and to assure the Peace; that they might with more security attend their affaires in Asia and Hungary; which action was fauoured vehemently by the present Visier. To which end, hee sent answer into

B Poland, with promises of faith, and reparation for the injuries committed by the Tartars; laying the fault of miswriting the treaty vpon the Chancellor, which though they amended not, yet they did explaine and interpret: and for better establishment and security on their behalfs of the peace, they resolued to depose *Ishan-Begh* Prince of Tartaria, and to send *Mechmet Gheray* his cousin german and first of the bloud, late prisoner in the Rhodes, to take possession of his dominion; who vndertooke to quiet and restraine that people: which he caused to be signified to Poland, that the King might see, these alterations were only for the full security of the peace of their side, that the Pole might take the like course with the Cossackes, who were not as yet reclaimed.

The soldiers continued still in their height of fury and madnesse, and those that were to 1623

C go vpon the gallies for the defence of the Blacke sea, and other designes, being ready to depart, robbed, slew, brake houses in the face of the Magistrate in the open day: What was it not lawfull for them to do that had slaine their King, and made and destroied their great Ministers at their will and pleasure, as their Stewards and seruants? and God did so blinde them, that they should not see, that they digged vp their own roots, and were made by his permission the blind instruments of their own ruine. The mint also was remoued into the Seraglio, where was brought forth all the saddles, bridles, stirrops, that had any gold or siluer vpon them, with all old plate, to make money to patch vp a quiet, and to satisfie and content the soldiers, and all little enough for the present, to saue the city from a totall sacke. *The souldiers still continue in their fury.*

The Embassador of the Prince of Transyluania, hauing changed their stile of excusing a *The Embassadours of the Prince of Transyluania departed from the Port.*

D firme peace with the Emperor finding the opportunity of a friend now made great Visier in place to aid their Prince, they negotiated new matter, assuring the Port, that by the troubles of Germany, a faire occasion was giuen to recouer Hungary, and to set the crowne vpon their Masters head; and that therefore if the Grand Signior would be pleased to grant vnto their Prince the aid of the Græcian army, that he would make another attempt to weaken the greatest enemy of that Empire; which they easily obtaining (the ignorance and auarice of the Turke opening a way to credulity, which was the constant aduantage of *Gabor*, who could conuert both ther vnderstandings and forces to his owne ends) being in all fully satisfied, they departed the 20 of Aprill. Which resolution of the Port was much wondred at by all wise men, who knew how vnfit the Turke was at that present for a warre. The Prince was then at

E Cassouia, expecting the issue of his Embassage, and in hope of Turkish aid; which beeing granted and gathered vpon his frontier, and joyned at last with his owne forces, his whole army was not very great, nor had he any cannon to march withall to besiege any place: his chiefest trust consisting in his intelligence in Hungary, where he expected a generall reuolt, and that all the garrisons would open to him, or at least some diuersion in Silesia (which he was promised) facilitate his waies; and he was not in despaire, that vpon the first appearance of an army, Morauia by the fauour of the Count of Torne, who had assisted his Embassadors in the negotiation of the Port, and his friends would follow the same example; and this was the designe which his Embassadors had so long solicited at the Port, and dissembled at their first comming. Now there was nothing expected but a war: but not long after, there arriued a

F new Embassador from the Prince, without any mention of the affaires of those parts; which made all men inquisitiue, thinking he was either come to hasten the succours, or to change something in the manner and other circumstances depending thereon: but it was found that the States of Transyluania had assembled at Alba-Iulia, and were very loath to entertaine a war, or to breake with the Emperor; and therefore dispeeded two Commissioners towards him

him, who were well receiued and treated at Vienna: and from the Emperor was sent to Transyluania the Bishop of Nitria. Whereupon a new peace was treated, and this Embassador G
sent to procure the recall of the former commands, giuen to the Bassaes to moue with their armies. Whereby it was suspected he neuer had any purpose to make a war, but only to balance by the continuance thereof his cares and last agreement with the Emperor.

The Bassa of Arzirum in rebellion.

All men prophesied (by reason of dayly disorders) the fall of the *Ottoman* Empire. But now *Abassa Bassa* the Bassa of Arzirum who was joyned with diuers others, and had made a great army, was in his march towards Angria, the direct way to Constantinople (Babylon yet resting in rebellion) with a pretence of reformation; he tooke nothing by force, but the treasure of the Empire. He held a generall Counsell in his campe, and sent to the port to require the Mufti, Cadees, Bassaes, and antient Beghs, to take knowledge and to punish the traitors that H
murthered the late King, and to settle a new one lawfully, that should be able to gouerne, to reduce the mutined city souldier to obedience and discipline, and to place about the Emperor some great Visier, chosen by the State, able to direct and apply remedies to the diseases then growne to a desperat height; complaining, that euery three or foure moneths, by the change of the Visier, the Prouinces were destroied (for they placed and displaced the Gouernors according to their owne factions) and so contrary orders were sent abroad dayly, insomuch as no man knew who was King or Visier, nor whom they should obey. These were his pretences, and if the present State would not consent to this assembly, he then resolued to come to the Port, and settle all things at his pleasure by the sword. The great Officers in possession of the Emperor and gouernment, loth to be called to an account by the souldier, I
tooke a worse resolution, To make a war; and made choice of *Cicala Bassa* for Generall: which he refused vpon the same pretence, that in his absence alterations would be so frequent, that he should not please, or at least vncertainely, and according to interpretation. Therefore he required an absolute Dictatorship for the time, equall to that of a great Visier, or else he would not stir. This was granted him, and mony giuen out, and order to passe the water speedily; enrolling for his army fifteen thousand Ianizaries, & thirty thousand Spahies. But those did demur, and alledged it was a war against their owne brethren, and sought any excuses rather than to come to blowes. But the secret was, it was then *Ramazan*, or their holy Lent, at the end of which they were to receiue their pay; and therefore they would not moue, but pretended religion. Next day after their feast, when they should march, they shewed themselues in their colours, (hauing first held many consultations) and would not moue at all, vnlesse the Emperor or great Visier would go in person. So euery day brought forth new subject of trouble, and the Empire to a great deale of hazard and danger. K

Christian Princes at the same time with Morat.

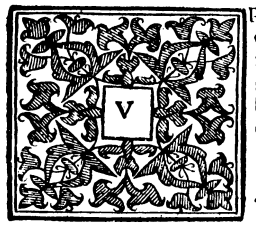
- *Emperours of Germany* — *Ferdinand the second, that now reigneth.*
- *Kings*
  - *Of great Brittain,* — *King Iames.* / *King Charles, that now reigneth.*
  - *Of France* — *Lewis the thirteenth, that now reigneth.*
- *Bishops of Rome* — *Gregory the fifteenth.* / *Vrban the eighth, that now sitteth in the Chaire.*

MORAT

Morat in tender age the Throne ascends,
For wanton lust more apt than Princely ends:
Sporting he lies in a luxurious bed,
Whilest Bagdat is by Persia conquered;
A greater losse than this, who can diuine,
Vnlesse to lose the seat of *Constantine*.
His other Acts, and how he still proceeds,
Shall here ensue in story of his deeds.

THE

THE REIGNE OF *MORAT*, OR *AMVRATH*, THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, ELEVENTH EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS; HE THAT NOW SWAYETH THAT MIGHTY MONARCHIE.



C UPon the last day of August, Sultan *Mustapha*, brother of *Achmat*, who had beene twice Emperor, was deposed; and Sultan *Morat*, son to *Achmat*, and brother to *Osman* murthered the yeare before, placed in the Throne. But it will not be vntimely nor vnprofitable, to discourse of the causes and reasons of those great mutations, which are the intrinsique part and soule of action.

Sultan Mustapha deposed, & Sultan Morat placed in his Throne.

That State for fifteene moneths after the death of *Osman*, was a stage of variety, the Souldiery vsurping all gouernment, placing and displacing as the winde of fauour or disfauour moued them. In that time there were three Emperors, seuen great Visiers, two Captiane Bassaes, fiue Aga's of the Ianizaries, three Treasurers, six Bassaes of Cairo, and in proportion as many changes of Gouernors in all the Prouinces; euery new Visier making D vse of his time, displacing those in possession, and selling their fauour to others: so as the whole Empire was in a manner fined ouer foure or fiue times; such was the exaction for a welcome of euery Bassa to their gouernment. *Huzein Bassa* the last Visier of them (a tyrant hated of all men, and now restored to the dignity by bribing the souldiery) consumed the publique treasure so fast, and exacted mony from priuate men so violently, to maintaine his faction with the Ianizaries, that euen the Receiuers were afraid, and weary, and the wisest of them foresaw their owne ruine in the generall consumption: when there was any murmure against him, he presently silenced it either by gifts or bloud. As soone as he had dispatched away the Generall *Cigala Bassa* with the army for the suppression of the great rebellion in Asia (which vpon the deposition of *Georgi*, and the making of him Visier, was content to E march) which he did rather to disburden himselfe of feares, by sending out of the way the Spahies, who were his opposites, than for any loue to the State: which Army, what insolencies they committed for thirty daies before their passing the water, euen in the face of Iustice, was as incredible as impossible to relate, he sent priuatly to strangle *Halil Bassa*, *Georgi*, and *Mustapha* late Visiers; hoping thereby he had remoued all concurrents. Whether this gaue the occasion, or that his sin was ripe for reuenge, the Spahies suddenly gathered head, and the old Wolfe fled to his trusty guard, the Ianizaries. The city was almost diuided; but the Spahies sent their resolution plainely, being the weaker in number, That they desired not to come to blowes with their Brethren; but if the Ianizaries would protect him, that they should keepe him, Constantinople, and Greece: but they themselues would depart and dis- F pose of Asia. Which was a bold profession, but easie, the forces of the Rebels being of their society. The wisest foresaw the perill, and they all agreed to depose him; and so the Seale was giuen to *Aly Bassa*, a man reputed honest, but melancholy & vntried for so great a charge. Euery one saw those outward wheeles of motion, but the spring within that moued them was not so soon discouered: The army mentioned for Asia, arriuing at Nicomedia, fiue daies

journy

journy from Constantinople, shewed little bedience; many disbanded, and the rest had no
desire to fight with those of the same profession both in religion and in humour. The newes G
came dayly to the Port, of the taking of Forts by *Abassa Bassa* the head of the rebels and of
other defections and combustions in those parts; and that that quarrell was taken vp against
the Ianizaries and the present gouernment, of whom he slew all that fell in his power, as guil-
ty of the bloud of *Osman*. This suddenly wakened and ripened the project of those who had
plotted secretly this alteration to restore *Morat* to the Imperiall crowne. Hereupon the new
Visier *Aly*, with the counsell of the Mufti and some Captaines of the souldiers of both Or-
ders, laied their foundation: they shewed the imminent perill and difficulty to restore or pre-
uent the rebels by armes: the Ianizaries saw that they alone must (as the marke of enuy) beare
the whole burthen; and therefore all resolued, that the easiest and safest way to appease their H
troubles, was to restore the true heire, the present Emperor; hoping that those who pretended
their rising for the loue of his brother, and in reuenge of his cause, would obey that Prince,
and quiet themselues. Vpon this resolution they assembled at the Seraglio without any tu-
mult, and desired to haue Sultan *Mustapha* come forth and speake to the souldiers, and to an-
swer to some questions: which he refusing (as truly vnable) they tooke out Sultan *Morat* and
declared him King, with vniuersall joy and acclamation: insomuch as the Ianizaries (but the
day before his opposites) being shewed the want of treasure and the necessity of the State,
were content to remit their donatiue and encrease of pay, vsuall at euery change: a wonder
that was not like to last long, for many of them did afterwards repent, and demand it freshly.

The new Emperor the next day made his solemne entry into the city, a youth of foureteene I
yeares of age, fat, and of a liuely countenance, and good stature, a Prince of two faire hopes
for such a people; whose actions afterward (though vnder gouernment) shewed that he would
soone know himselfe, and proue of a stirring nature. At the returne of the gallies from the
Blacke sea, who brought some Cossacks prisoners aliue, and some heads of the dead, he would
see them all brought before him, a custome vnusuall. This desire, and some answers he gaue,
made all men judge he would be actiue, and cruell. All seemed then serene and quiet, and
neuer appeared so great a change euen in affections. The most disordered did then assume a
face of obedience (which was once thought to be vanished that city) and chose rather sub-
mission to lawes than threatened destruction. The calme was as violent as the storme. The
first actions shewed peace, but so, as to prepare for necessity of warre. They sought out, and
dayly found the treasure, plate, and jewels giuen and conueied away by *Huzein Bassa*, which K
returned apace, and many voluntarily rendred them. The last Aga of the Ianizaries, who
was but three moneths before Caja or Lieutenant (afterward Bassa of Cairo) did for his part
receiue, and restore, eight hundred thousand dollars, to buy his place and peace: so that euery
day made new discoueries; onely he that had beene the author of all this was fled away, and
could then by no meanes be found: whose apprehension would haue assured many, and haue
brought backe a great treasure.

Asia in that search for mony, and new settlement of affaires, was almost quite forgotten; so
that the army was staied from proceeding; for it was beleeued, *Abassa Bassa* depended vpon
the new Emperor and would submit. But he had aduanced too far to trust to any safe retreat, L
euen although he was the indirect occasion of the raising of the new Emperor. Yet the way
was not warrantable in the rule of Monarchy, nor perhaps sincere in the intent; for Kings sel-
dome pardon those that are able to be traitors, and haue shewed but a will to reuolt; and that
power is neuer secure which is too much. Sometimes they make vse of traitors as a safegard
for the present, and for the future a subject of their reuenge. And this maxime *Haly Bassa* in
the former great Asian defection approued with the price of his life, being taken into the fa-
uour of Sultan *Achmat* in all priuacy, made Bassa of Buda, and within foure months strangled,
vnder colour of putting on a Vest of honour. Therefore it was doubted, that they who had
discouered so high thoughts, and exasperated the Ianizaries, would not so easily dispose
armes, by which only they might be safe; and it was then feared they had intelligence with M
Persia. There rested one great difficulty, to introduce that awe of Majesty which had beene
trampled vnder foot; and it was a great one, when a people, like the sea, had made a breach in-
to antient reuerence, and prospered; the taste of profitable wickednesse was not so easily lost.
It was imagined that these changes would worke great effects vpon the bordering parts of
Christen-

A Christendom interessed; for they intended peace vniuersally, to recouer mony, and a habit of
obedience and ciuil gouernment. To which purpose a letter was written to the Bassa of Bu-
da, to leaue it to his discretion in the mouing of arms against the Emperor (being lately exci-
ted thereto by the prince of Transylvania) as a man experienced vpon the border, to doe what
should most conduce to the safety and profit of the state: for as they durst not absolutely pro-
hibit them and recal the former licence, for feare of displeasing *Gabor* and the Bassa, who were
vnited; so they would insinuat their desires and fears by counsel, now only tending to peace.

In the midst of this appearing calm, the Ianizaries, some repenting (as was said before) and
some denying their consent to remit their donatiue and increase of pay, did anew sharply de-
mand it, with threats of innouation: so as they were forced to content them, and euery order
B of men and officers that were not of the sword, were compelled to contribute to it. The Visier
sent solemnly to the 4 resident Embassadors, to borrow 30000 checquines, as the friends and
allyes of the Port, to whom in confidence they durst open their secrets. Many old experienced
officers misliked this betraying their own wants, as dishonourable, and vnlike to take effect:
which indeed it did not, for mony was so abased, and trades so poor, as the stranger had no ful
purse. The new emperor to serue his turn, gaue out 400000 drams of gold, being his best ves-
sel, to make coin; which was stamped base, to meet with the insolencie of the souldier, who
would take no siluer, as false mony. Except in this search, the state and city appeared to be at
some quietnes; only the Bassa of Cairo (Bostangi Bassa to *Osman*, newly made Bassa of Buda)
ambitiously seeking the dignitie of grand Visier, by the gift of 100000 Checquines, his of-
C fer was seemingly accepted, part of the mony payd, and he sent for priuatly into the Seraglio,
as to receiue the seale. But the Emperors best Counsell within saw how dangerous it was to
giue way to such innouations (beside a priuat grudge, this man being the instrument to strang-
le the queen mothers eldest son, when Sultan *Osman* went to the Polish war) where in sted of
aduancement a hangman took off his head, & his house & goods, being very rich, seised vpon.

Cantemir-Mirza Bassa of Silistra was al this time in disobedience; whom the late Visier at-
tempted to displace, and gaue order to the Chrim Tartar to remoue him by force. But it was
thought fit, not to thrust him further out, and to make him a dangerous enemy. Wherfore a
confirmation of his gouernment was sent him, a sword & a Vest, in all honor; the Poles misli-
king of it, he being their mortal enemy, & to be remoued at their instance in the late Treaty.

D At the change of the Emperor all men hoped for peace with *Abassa Bassa* the great rebel of
Asia; but he shewed that he had further intents than to set vp the brethren of *Osman*; when pre-
tending obedience, hee suddenly assaulted and took the castle of Tocat, which is in the Mint *Abassa assaults and takes the castle of Tocat.*
of Asia, 7 Beglerbegs and 16 Sanzacks being joined with him: all that part of Asia obeyed
him, for he oppressed none, only executing his wrath vpon the Ianizaries. This aduice beeing
brought by a captain of that Order, made much rumor at the Port; the souldiers raising a tu-
mult in the Seraglio, demanded to be led out to fight, and to haue those of Asia declared Re-
bels: to which end a councel was called, where they receiued so cold an answer, that they grew
into some disorder, accusing *Halil* and *Georgi Bassa* to haue correspondence with them; & see-
ming to doubt that the whole state did conniue at this action, to prosecute the first designe
E of *Osman*, To root out that corrupted Order which did disorder all gouernment: insomuch as
they openly professed, *If we be true Mussulmen and the Emperors slaues, let vs go out and fight with
his enemies and ours; if not, and that you maintain them against vs, we are resolued to die together, and
not to be wasted by pieces*. There was much likelihood of this, but that *Abassa Bassa* had proceeded
too far: therfore to satisfie the soldier, the banner was set out at the court gate, and that of the
Aga of the Ianizaries at their gate, and Warre proclaimed, That all the force of the Empire
should be ready to march within four daies. When they saw this resolution in the great ones,
(whether dissembled or in good ernest) that day being the 18 of October, 1623, the Ianizaries
and Spahies held a councel, and changed their minds; alledging, That Winter approching,
and no prouision made, they would not moue. The Visiers were glad, respecting their owne
F ease; and so all Asia was left to the curtesie of the Rebell, and to giue other friends leisure to
declare: of which the Persian was most doubted. In the meane time *Abassa Bassa* aduanced
and tooke the city of Angria, which was surrendred vnto him as soon as hee came before it;
but the Castle held out against him: and it was reported, he wept at the gates thereof, publi-
shing the cause of his taking vp of armes, which he said was onely in reuenge of the bloud of

Osman;

Osman; desiring such as fauored him to come on his side (diuiding the people) the rest to depart in peace euery man to his own house. He did no harm, nor tooke the value of a penny: this G
army was very great, and euery Ianizary that he could catch, he sacrificed to the ghost of the dead Emperor. Men report, he was first aduertised by a dream to reuenge: after that, *Osman* appeared vnto him, and lastly *Mahomet*. He called himself the poor *Mechmet*, deputed to reform the world from the great God. The Astrologers publikely augured his prosperitie, and euery mans discourse was ful of fabulous fears and prophecies. It was said he would come to the Port and demand audience by justice, and haue the cause betwixt him and the murtherers of their prince tried by law; and that if he were condemned as a rebell, hee would lay downe his head; if they as traitors, he would execute the reuenge. And it was generally thought, out of the coldnesse of the Emperor and all the Visiers, that he was secretly maintained by them, and H
came to fulfil *Osmans* designe, to wrest the gouernment from the mutined souldier, and to root out their Order. For all the lawyers and churchmen smiled, and rather rejoiced than feared. The Ianizaries openly murmured, that they were betraied, and accused many, yet they escaped; and now few spoke against him as against a Rebell. Yet the first of Nouember, whether for colour or earnest, the great Visiers tents were past ouer the water in hast, with those of the Aga of the Ianizaries, and all the force which could be then made at the Port, commanded to winter on the other side in Bruscia, to amuse the rebels, and stay them til the spring; perhaps being willing the blow should be taken on the other side, to saue the city from a general sack.

It was afterwards considered, that to preuail against *Abassa Bassa* with arms was a doubtful matter, and therefore the Sultan sent vnto him a Capigi Bassa, with a Vest, sword, and a Letter; I
giuing him thanks for the loue shewed to his brother and his bloud, but now the reuenge belonged to himself, of which he would take care; and therefore desired him, if he were a true subiect, to return to his gouernment of Arzirum, and to dissolue his army, and there to rest til further occasion of seruice. Vpon this order from the Emperor he excused himself, That the incommoditie of winter would not suffer him to retyre, but promised to liue in peace vntill the Spring, and then he would return in obedience to his gouernment.

The Emir of Sidon takes the city and castle of Damascus.

During these troubles, the Emir of Sidon possessed himselfe of the city and castle of Damascus, with some other places and forts, as it were in an instant; threatning Ierusalem, hauing demanded supplies, or at least neutralitie from the Bassa of Aleppo. This defection was of greatest consequence, because he was a prince of descent, and a pretender in right vnto those K
Countries; who had four or fiue good ports to let in Christian succors; with whome it was thought he had intelligence, hauing in the time of *Achmat* retyred to Florence and Rome; and that he was in some measure able to subsist of himself, hauing 30000 soldiers in his army, and a good foundation and estate of his own to maintain them. And yet his actions were only lamented at the Port, and no order taken to stop or reduce them, excepting some Letters & promises, the ordinary remedie that was then applied to those manifold troubles. For that State was then in a kind of lethargie, hauing no sence nor wil to make shew to feele the inward diseases consuming it; either because they were vnable for want of money (the treasure being much exhausted) or that they mistrusted their own souldiers, euery day apter to mutine than to fight; or that the neighborhood of *Abassa Bassa* did amuse and confound them: and so many L
circumstances crossed one another as the symptomes of confusion, all things being equally feared, and nothing thorowly vndertaken. Yet a little more sencible they were of *Abassa* the enemie that was neerest, whose followers took a passage and bridge about foure daies journey from Constantinople, as if he meant either to possesse himself thereof for his own meanes to aduance his army, or to keep it that none suddenly from the other side might assail him: but how soeuer, it manifested that he was not yet quiet, nor resolued to obey, as he had promised. This new attempt of his was very hotly taken at the Port, and many councels held; but (as all things do there) the fury once past, the warmth cooled by degrees in 3 or 4 daies, so that only a few more Ianizaries were sent away to make garison, and to defend the passages; with whom M
were imploied the false French regiment and their Colonel, all the force they could then wel spare. No Spahies entred into that quarrell, as if these were purposely exposed to bee cut in pieces: which many beleeued, by the faintnes and disunited maner of their proceedings; or els that they went out of themselues, knowing the danger to be most imminent vpon them, & that the Emperor and his Councel did stil conniue with the actions of that Bassa.

Bechir-

A *Bechir-Subbassa* who had reuolted in Babylon, and held that castle against the Emperor all the last summer, hauing bin streitly besieged by *Hafis Achmat Bassa*, and in danger to be forced, sent his son to *Sha-Abas* the king of Persia for succors: wherupon he obtained some Persian horse. Vpon discouery of which, the Bassa fearing he should be compelled to raise his siege, betook himself to dissimulation, as if he had such authoritie from the grand Signior; he made a composition, and not only pardoned *Bechir*, and all offences past, but conferred the gouernment of that city and prouince vpon him as Bassa, and so retyred his army. Yet although *Bechir-Subbassa* was content to free himselfe from the present necessity by treaty, yet really hee held the place for the Persian, and to his vse; whose Agent at the Port demaunded both that and Abiska, as the antient patrimonie of his Ancestors.

B *Bethlem Gabor* hauing with great expedition marched ouer Hungary, and reduced most part thereof to his obedience, except the townes of Presburgh, Rab, Comoran, and some few other forts; his army consisting of 33000 Transyluanians and Hungars, and almost as many Turks and Tartars voluntarily following for booty, met with no shew of resistance vntil he approched Tytnavia, within four daies march of the borders of Austria: whither sending before some regiments of his horse, to the number of foure thousand, to summon the town, they discouered some Imperiall troupes sent to make garison therein, being some 2300 foot and 200 horse, and ariued within half an English mile; betweene whom and the city they thrust themselues. These troups perceiuing they were suddenly preuented, and not knowing how far the Princes whole army was behind, tooke downe to a small village, and fortified themselues in a
C church and church-yard walled. The commander of the Hungars dispatched away a Currier to *Bethlem Gabor*, with aduise that he should send him some foot with expedition; relating the maner how he had inclosed this garrison. In the mean time he summoned the Imperialists, and told them that he had taken possession of Tyrnavia for his master: And at the same time summoned the town and told them, that their succors sent had yeelded vnto him; keeping all intelligence one from another, and both from attempting any thing. The next day, the Prince with his Vantgard ariued in sight, and then this Colonel sent some troups to make gard before one of the ports very neer the wall. Those Germans shut vp in the Church-yard, seeing the enemies horse vnder the command of the town, and no shot made at them, beleeued that it was true that the place was rendred: so before the foot came forth to force them, they
D yeelded themselues and tooke pay of the Prince, all except sixe and thirty of the principall, who had licence to depart. Those beeing then won, the Citizens the next day opened their gates, and receiued *Bethlem Gabor* for their Lord; and thus these were gained without any stroke. From thence he marched directly toward Moravia, and sent before him a daies journey, eight thousand horse to discouer and spoile. The Emperor finding these beginnings vrgent, ordered the brother of the prince of Lichestein, to draw downe his garrisons from Bohemia and Moravia to the frontire; and sent the Marquis of Montenegro, with *Coldito*, *Don Balthesar de Maradas*, the Count *Slick*, *Walstein*, *Tiffenbacke*, Count *Torquato* kinsman to the Pope, *Sampach*, and all his principal Captains to meet them, and to form an army for defence. There was gathered together fifteene thousand besides the baggage; who being lodged at the foot
E of an hill in the borders of Moravia, and many of their souldiers stragling to gather grapes, were by the Auantcurriers of *Bethlem Gabor* discouered, and presently beset, who took & slew seuen hundred. Some escaped and gaue the alarme, or else the whole Imperiall Campe had beene surprised without Sentinell or gard; these hauing proued as seruiceable as the Geese to the Capitol. The Hungars hauing gotten the top of the hil, and seeing the Bohemian and German army so neer in the bottom, and in some confusion, resolued to make triall how they were prouided, and made shew of a charge; but finding them in better order to receiue them, they retyred: one Captain only aduenturing too neer, was taken prisoner, and carried to the Imperial quarter: who being examined, told them that the prince with a mighty army would the next night be in sight; and therefore hee aduised them to prepare for their safety, for that
F he came with a resolution to fight, and ouermatching them with their number, there was no possibility of other than death or captiuity. The Imperials rather scorned than beleeued these threatnings; but the captain assuring them it was no time to jest with his own life and theirs, they remoued the next morning, and marched toward a town called Ghoding, vpon the Riuer

of Moran that diuides Hungary from Morauia, about which was a small trench, and within it a castle of some defence. The horse of *Bethlem Gabor* seeing them mooue towards that place, pressed in a gallop before them, and set all the houses on fire, which burned a day and a night, vntill the whole was consumed. In the meane time *Bethlem Gabor* arriued with his army; and the Imperialists stood in battalion to expect their fortune: but the fire being ended, gaue them leaue to enter among the ruines and ashes, and to make the best of necessitie, where they fortified themselues, hauing no store of prouision. In this estate being closed about thirteen daies, it was discouered to *Gabor* by a prisoner, that they were in great want, and that the soldiers began to mutine; demanding of their captains either to lead them out to fight, and die like men, or to make such a party for them, as their present condition would admit. *Don Balthasar* General of the horse, in the name of all the commanders, gathered the army together, and acknowledging to them, first the great vertue they had shewed to abide at once the assaults of perill and famine, for their honour; and protesting that their case and their Generals, was all one for matter of allowance, intreated them to strengthen themselues with hope and constancie, and required of them an vniuersall promise, that they would abide with patience, vntill the end of October then at hand: if in that time, neither God nor the Emperour sent them succours, he would make some composition for them; not doubting to finde *Bethlem Gabor* a Christian and a souldier, though an enemy; and to this proposition they all gaue their words and faith. The reason of this short obtained time, proceeded not from any thought of supply from the Emperour, but from an opinion and custome, that the Turks would breake vp their campe vpon Saint *Demetrius* day the six and twentieth of the month of October; neuer vsing to stay longer in the field for the incommodities of Winter; and that now they serued in the nature of voluntaries, and had gotten their prey, it was likely nothing could hold them from rising: but if that hope failed them, they then resolued to giue the soldiers leaue to make quarter for themselues; the Generals and commanders purposing to retire into the castle with some competent numbers, which they doubted not to keepe vntill supplies or weather should force the enemy to dislodge. The Prince of Transyluania knowing likewise that at that time he should haue trouble enouh to stay his succours, and if they staied, hee feared they would prooue ill Winter guests, and discredit him with his Hungars, whom they indifferently spoyled, tooke counsell either to force the enemie by that day, or to winne them by policie; but the later was the safer way: for it seemed he had no desire to put so many persons of qualitie into the power of the Turks, whose prisoners by agreement they must remaine; and hauing also intelligence, vpon what hopes the Imperialists held out, hee counterwrought with the Turks, to giue him a promise to abide with him fifteene daies after Saint *Demetrius*; in which time he pretended to deliuer the Fort and all into their hands; conjecturing as it seemed, that before that day the Germanes would make some ouerture, out of which hee might worke his owne aduantage, and obtaine his owne ends, and they would admire and feare his power and credit in the Turkish army: for doubtlesse hee might haue forced them if he had pleased, but then he had made his estate desperat of any reconciliation with the Emperour, and must resolue to continue the warre; vncertaine of the constancie of the Turks, assured, they being once retired, would very late draw againe into the field; and perhaps hee doubted the various successe of warre, and of the setling of the State of the Grand Signior in Asia, where all things were in distemper; and was somewhat carefull of his reputation in Christendome, which he knew was farre aduentured in this action: for which aboue twenty thousand poore soules lost their libertie, and endangered their faith. Therfore he made vse of his time and his wit, and the Imperials finding themselues deceiued in the hope of breaking vp of the camp, now no longer able to sustain their wants, sent Commissioners to him in the Emperors name, to treat some agreement. Hee seeing his fifteene dayes weare out apace, and the Turks beginning to dislodge, accepted the offer; and that very day to giue satisfaction to the Port, dispeeded one of his chamber in post to make knowne to the Vizier (a man not vneasie to abuse) that hee had done his vtmost, to detaine the Turks to winter in Hungarie; but being not able longer to hold them together, hee was forced to come to a treaty: for to venture to assault the trenches, was full of perill; to rise without some conclusion, were to quit the place, to honour the enemie, and to weaken his owne reputation: to continue the siege after the departure

A ture of his succours, would hasard his owne Army into mutinie: therefore he was resolued to make a truce for eight moneths; that seeing the grand Signior had consented to receiue the Emperors Embassadour, time might be allowed for treaty and final conclusion. He gaue him instruction to say, That as then he had not fully agreed, but that it was resolued on to be don, onely with a formall reseruation of the approuement of the Visiers, without which it should be held as not done. That he should require the finall resolution of the Port, Whether the grand Signior would continue constant, and maintain him in the war or not. If they resolued vpon Warre, then to demand prouision of munition, money, souldiers, and all other necessaries, in season and in a measure; in those times impossible. If they desired peace, that they should giue a draught of what conditions they affected. But withall, an absolute power vnto

B himselfe to mitigate them, and to make such other at his discretion as the necessity of the affairs and time required for the profit of the Empire. The Prince at the first arriuall of the Commissioners of the besieged at his Quarter, discouered some jealousie and discontent in some of his followers: Wherupon he called before him most of his Commanders, and desired them not to mistrust him; he shewed some reasons why he might be inforced to make a truce, but protested he would neuer depose armes, nor conclude a finall peace with the Emperour, except he would also disarm, and leaue those prouinces and the Empire in quiet. For though it were a hard choice for him to be bitten by a Wolfe or by a Dog, (which were his owne words) yet seeing he could better trust the one than the other, hee would make vse of one to curb the other. This gaue not full satisfaction; but the words of a Prince must bee currant

C payment, because they beare his stampe; for his meaning, or what he treated, he trusted none withall but his own brest. The messenger hee sent vnto the Port, played his part so well and secretly, as he gaue satisfaction to that State, ready enough to beleeue well, and procured a ratification of the Truce supposed then to be made: and for instructions in the intended treaty, he propounded in his masters name three articles, and one Commission. First, That the Emperor should disclaime all right and title to Hungary, and should leaue the people free, and the Prince of Transylvania to gouern them. Secondly, That the Princes and all the prouinces that had sent their Embassadours and presents to the Port, and had made league with him, and had taken the Imperial protection, should bee restored to their pristine liberty and estates. Thirdly, That the emperor should pay a tribute of forty thousand dollars for Austria,

D pretended to be granted in the daies of Sultan *Solyman*. But the Commission was the key of the work, wherby the Prince, with the counsel of the Bassa of Buda, obtained ful power at his own discretion, if he found peace conuenient, to make and conclude it; this last being (as was supposed) the end and scope of *Bethlem Gabors* desires: the other propositions onely a garnishing, to make the Turks beleeue that he was careful of their honor and seruice; and the Emperor, that he was very powerfull, and much esteemed at the Port. Which all men imagined would produce an end of those wars: for the prince of Transylvania confessed, That hee drew not in the Turkes for any need he had of their succours, nor for any benefit intended to them, but to make a glorious shew to the Emperour, of his credit with the grand Signior, hereby to facilitate his ends.

E After some time spent in treaty with the Commissioners of the army, a truce was taken between the prince of Transylvania and the Marquis *de Afonte Negro*, General for his Imperiall Maiesty, before the town of Ghoding on the frontier of Moravia, where the Germans were besieged; and letters presently written therof by the prince to the great Visier, which were dated the tenth of Nouember. The mediator between them was the Palatine *Stanislaus Turzow* an Hungarian. The articles of greatest importance, or that were then published to the world, were foure:

A truce between the Emperor and the Prince of Transylvania.

That on both parts armes should be deposed for ten months (ending the sixt of September I.

F *1624.) and all other acts of hostility giuen ouer. That there should of neither side any attempt be made, nor by force nor fraud to take any castles, forts, cities, or places of defence during this time; and that both Germans, Hungars, and Turks should be alike comprehended.*

The Articles of the truce.

That if the Emperour were desirous to treat and conclude a finall peace with the Graund II.

Signior,

Signior, he should vse Bethlem Gabor *as the mediator, and doe nothing therein without his priuitie.* G

III. *That all the places and forts taken in by the Prince of Transylvania in his late expedition, should rest quiet in his possession vntil the time expired. And that all cities and castles now in the possession of either, should so remain without any alteration.*

IV. *That all passages should be open for free trade and secure intercourse of Merchants, and all other the subiects and friends of either side.*

This done, the Prince of Transylvania made a shew of redeeming all the poor captiues ta- H
ken by the Turks, at his own charge, with some help from the Imperials, vpon whom hee layd
the blame, as hauing failed to meet him vpon a passage of water, where hee entertained the
Turkish army; but they not comming, he pretended the Turkes rose in the night and carried
them all away, to the number of twenty thousand.

The Prince warned the Turks to keepe in order, and not to straggle in their retreit, nor to
commit any insolencie and spoil, the country being all in arms, and already inraged. But they
followed not his counsel; which caused some 2000 Hungarian horse to set vpon them as they
were diuided, and slew fiue or six hundred of them, and recouered some prisoners: whereupon
the Turks vnited and returned, and killed as many of the Hungars, took one man of qualitie,
and many other slaues.

The King of Persia inuades the prouince of Babylon.

Vpon aduice from *Hafis Bassa* General of the prouince of Babylon, That the King of Persia I
with a powerful army had entred those quarters, and that both the city & that country would
be lost, if aids did not ariue very speedily; and the rebels in Asia continuing their insolencie,
a War was suddenly proclaimed at the Port, in such termes as neuer had bin heard of in for-
mer times; to say, That whosoeuer took pay of the grand Signior in any kinde as a souldier, if
he came not to the rendevous appointed, with his arms, he should be confiscated, esteemed as
a Rebel, and his wife and children sold for slaues. This was sent into Greece, Natolia, Trabi-
zond, and all the vtmost confines of the Turkish Empire. Herupon the grand Signior and the
wisest of the Bassa's inclined to buy *Abassa Bassa*, and to send him a generall pardon and grant
of all his demands, vpon condition, That he would presently march and turn his army against K
the common enemy: fearing either the doubtfulnes of a battel with desperat men, or to force
him to retyre and join with the Persian, where he might be wel receiued. And as the present
condition of the state then stood, the counsel was good: but the Ianizaries would not consent
nor hearken to any reconcilement with their profest enemy, but required to be led out against
Abassa Bassa first, and so to proceed in the war: and because their own Aga, brother in law vnto
the Emperour, did not concurre with them in opinion, they mutined against him, who wisely
gaue way to the storm, and surrendred his charge, to which a Page of the court was presently
aduanced. Thus whilst it was vnresolued how to proceed against the Persian and *Abassa Bassa*
jointly, who continued to spoil and put to ransom all the lesser Asia, and could not be recon-
ciled for the Ianizaries, nor safely attempted for the Spahies (between which two orders there E
was as yet bad intelligence and emulation) the king of Persia conquered the prouince and ci-
ty of Babylon, put to flight *Hafis Achmet Bassa* the General of that defensiue war, & tooke pri-
soner *Chur Hassen Bassa* a renowned old souldier, cut in pieces all that opposed him; possessed
himself of * Mosul, and Leska on the Persian sea, and diuiding his army, sent part toward Van
and Diarbeck, and the other toward Mecha; as if he had hope and designe to share all the Ea-
stern part of the Turkish empire.

* Niuie.

His Maiestie the King of great Brittain hauing by his first letters in 1621, complained to
the grand Signior, and commanded his Embassador to seek redresse against the piracies and
insolencies of the inhabitants of Algier and Tunes, who in the two former yeares had ta- M
ken aboue an hundred ships and Vessells of all sorts, and had made slaues of aboue twelue
hundred of his Maiesties subiects, and had then vpon their wharfes a thousand pieces of iron
ordnance, besides those in their shipping, taken from the English and Dutch; The Embassa-
dour pressing to obtain justice against them, or that they might be abandoned and left to the
justice

A justice of his Maiesty, without offence of the Port; the great Visier offred to giue what com-
mands should be required. But he knowing how weake effect those letters of course had pro-
duced in other occasions, and how little obedience and respect those common Theeues did
beare vnto the Port (the Bassa's themselues conniuing, and nourishing therby their own gain)
especially considering, that what face and seeming dislike soeuer was shewed and pretended,
yet inwardly the Turks did take pleasure and glory, that the Christian was robbed, weakned,
and spoiled, vnder the shadow of peace; did vtterly refuse to accept of such feigned reme-
dies, but insisted vpon two points, wherby only there might be some hope of redresse in that
affaire.

First, That the grand Signior would send an expresse Chiaus to Algier and Tunes, to call
B to the Port some of the principal inhabitants and aduenturers of all the Orders of those Ci-
ties, such as sent and armed out the ships of course; that being conuented face to face, and ac-
cused & conuinced of the fact, the State might be truly informed of the consequence of their
outragious theeuery, and prouide such remedie as should be requisite and sufficient in the fu-
ture, to secure the commerce and free nauigation in those seas.

Secondly, That the Bassa's who were sent from the Port rather for custome and pretence of
dominion, than for any great fruit or hope of obedience (yet because they returned at the end
of their gouernment, they might be responsible for matters concerning themselues) might
receiue strict and absolute order, not to take the tenths of the prizes, because being dis-inter-
essed, and sharing no profit, there might be more hope, by their authoritie, of execution of the
C grand Signiors pleasure in restraint of their robberies.

These propositions at first found much opposition, but the Embassador refusing all other
ordinary & vneffectiue means, required either this form of proceeding, or that the grand Sig-
nior would declare them out of his protection, and standing neutrall, leaue them to their own
defence: protesting, That this course was offered for good respect to the Port; yet if really
some order were not established, that there was no remedie but to redresse these injuries by
the sword, and to punish those Barbarians as *Inimici humani generis*, publique enemies to man-
kind. Desiring the Visiers to take it to serious consideration, that seeing amitie and corre-
spondence between the kingdom of England and the Turkish empire, did principally and al-
most integrally depend vpon commerce and traffique, the whole foundation was shaken and
D made vselesse to both, by the interruption of those theeues. These reasons concurring with
the distemper of those times, and their own fears, so far preuailed, that by a general consulta-
tion it was concluded, to satisfie the Embassador in his own waies; and accordingly a messen-
ger was dispatched from the Port, to call to justice some of all the orders, to answer as Depu-
ties for the Cities, before the Visier and Divan, in such accusations as should be obiected a-
gainst them.

This negotiation was begun and finished, as much as concerned the authority of the grand
Signior, *Anno* 1622; but being not perfected and translated vntil the next, and that time full
of various mutations, we haue thought fit to continue the thred of the former history, and not
to mingle and confound it with relations of seueral and vnlike subiects and relations: and al-
E though this part be found a little out of his own time, yet both wil be the clearer by the disse-
ueration.

The Bassa and inhabitants of Algier hauing receiued letters by *Mehemet Aga*, both repre-
hending them for insolencies committed vpon the English nation, and commanding them to
keep the peace of the Empire, and to bring with him some of the principall of that gouerne-
ment, did elect foure and twenty Commissioners (amongst whom the Mufti was both head
and Aduocate) and gaue them instructions and order to recriminate and accuse the English
of many depredations and iniuries: hoping thereby either to extenuate their own offence, or
by pretending iust cause, to leaue themselues at libertie to continue their piracies. And the
Bassa and city of Tunes hauing receiued by the said messenger reprehensions and commands
F to the like effect, they resoiued to consult with their fellomes of Algier, and in their passage
to Constantinople, to joyne to them two of their Councell, and gaue them instructions to
bee assistant. But with this caution, That they should not declare themselues openly, but
to obserue the proceedings of those of Algier, and to conforme with them; that if they
were

were inforced to make peace, they should concur and be comprehended; but if it were possible for both to escape, that they should leaue the breach open, and themselues at libertie. G

They arriued together at Constantinople in the month of Nouember, in that yeare in the reign of *Mustapha*, and made their first addresses priuatly to the English Embassador, subtilly pretending to end all differences secretly with him, because, they were vnwilling to answer and discouer to justice, what infinite spoiles they had gotten; and that if they could accommodate with him, and treat without the authoritie of the Port, they resolued to promise any thing, which they meant not to obserue; and so escaping for the present, they hoped to doe more mischiefe, by the aduantage of the securitie of the English, and their owne breach of faith. But the Embassador refused to treat with them, as being subiects, and not *sui juris*, and to giue them any hearing, but in the presence and by the mediation of the great Visier, Wherupon they applied themselues, and returned to their resolution of complaint, and the Embassador prosecuting their accusation, after many meetings and disputes, by the interposition of *Halil Bassa*, there was an *Amnestia* accepted on both parts, and a peace concluded on the Articles and conditions following; which were ratified by the proper signature of the grand Signior *Mustapha*, and re-confirmed by Sultan *Morat*, proclaimed in Tunes and Algier, and recommended by seuerall letters from the Visier and Captaine Bassa, to the Bassa's, Caddees, and Councell of both cities. H

Imperiall Commands sent by the Grand Signior to the Bassa's of Tunes and Algier, Caddees, Aga of the Ianizaries, Dyes, Captaines, Antients, and other gouernors. I

Our high and Imperiall Firmo being come vnto you, know, That from the time of our great Grandfather, Grandfather, and Father of happy memory, the Kings of England haue alwaies bin firme and constant with all sinceritie, in friendship, league and correspondencie with the Imperiall Port, our glorious progenitors, and with our Maiestie. And in conformitie of the Imperiall Capitulations, League, and peace heretofore agreed vpon betweene both parties, and alwaies vntill now obserued of vs; Forasmuch as the English nation, their Merchants and subiects, with their merchandise, ships, and goods, are free to come and go, traffique and negotiate safe and secure in all the parts of our Empire; it hauing neuer been our Imperiall will and permission, that by any of our subiects or slaues they should at any time be troubled, spoiled, or damnified. Which Nation, whilest vnder the shadow of our justice and protection they passe through the seas with their shippes and goods, for traffique and negotiation, diuers of your slaues of Algier and Tunes, without consideration or respect of the friendship, peace, and League betweene vs and the said King, wheresoeuer you meet with the ships of the said Nation, either at sea, or in any port or hauen, take the said Ships, spoiling them of their goods and merchandise, making slaues and killing the men which you finde in their ships, a thing not onely vniust, but also contrary to our Imperiall capitulations. Wherfore that for the time to come the said Nation shall not be so vniustly spoiled and indammaged, there haue bin sent to you diuers times our Imperiall and expresse commands: but you shewing your selues arrogant and disobedient, (as we vnderstand) do still continue to rob and spoile the said English, contrary to our said capitulations, intention, and will. The concourse of merchants and traffike being the nutriment and splendor of kingdoms; you shall vnderstand, That it is by no means our Imperiall will, that the said Nation, now in league and friendship with vs, be any more in like sort, contrary to our capitulation, will, and promise, spoiled and molested. Which iniuries and other wrongs don vnto them, beeing a great dishonor to our state and Imperiall Maiestie, all you haue not only deseruedly fallen into our iust displeasure, but also are worthy of all disgrace, shame and punishment. And to the end hereafter all things may be performed by you, according to the tenor of our Imperiall Capitulations, and that all such as haue committed such insolencies and spoiles, be apprehended and worthily punished, we haue at this present vnder our Imperiall hand affirmed and commanded, and haue sent you this our Imperiall commandement by this bearer Mehemet Aga, *who as soon as you shall be there arriued, we command you that you call together all, great and small, noble and mean, which dwell in the said places of Algier and Tunes, and publikely in the presence of them all, with a loud voice you shall reade this our Imperiall commandement; and after that,* K L M

A *that, with the assistance and aid of this our Messenger, you haue deliuered into the hands of the English men, there appointed for the same, without further excuse and delay, all such Englishmen, their goods and merchandises and ships; which haue beene taken, contrary to our Imperiall Capitulations, from the said Nation; all those transgressors and malefectors, whosoeuer they be, who haue committed these outrages, and caused such disturbance to the peace, league, and friendship, you shall without any fauour chastise and punish according to their deserts. And afterward ye shall haue care, that the Nation, Merchants, and subiects of England be not so vnjustly spoiled, hurt, or molested, contrary to our Imperiall promise and will. Therefore you shall publikely protest and declare vnto all, That hereafter no man do trouble or molest them, but rather meeting them in any place whatsoeuer by sea or land, to helpe and succour them, obseruing the termes of true peace and friendship, according to the tenor of our Imperiall Capitulations; and*

B *that euery one take heed and beware, that he do, or permit nothing to be done contrary to our will, peace, and Imperiall Cipitulations. And especially you shall looke and procure all things to be obserued, conformable to this our Imperiall will. And if, according to the antient custome, the King of England will establish there any Consull, we command, that the said Consull, as also the Merchants, and other subiects, be accepted, assisted, and protected at all times, according to the intention of our Imperiall Capitulation. And all of you, with all your care, endeauour, and diligence, shall alwaies prouide that the said Nation may passe free and secure vnder our Imperiall protection and shaddow, and traffique and negotiate, buy and sell through all the parts of our Dominions, to their content and full satisfaction. And if after the date of this our Imperiall Commandement, we shall vnderstand that the said Nation be again robbed and spoiled by you; be you hereof assured, that our true slaues and subiects are those which do obey our Lawes and*

C *Commands, and obserue our will, as also it is written in our Alcaron,* Obey God, the Prophet, and your Souereigne Lord: *But those that doe not obey nor obserue our Lawes and commandements, are not our slaues nor subiects, but rather by their disobedience do fall into our displeasure, disgrace and malediction. For which, our Imperiall Commands shall be sent throughout all the parts of our Empire, especially to Tunes and Algier, and to all the Ports of Natolia and Gracia, and to what places soeuer else they shall come, to be alwaies driuen from thence, abandoned, and punished, and by all our Officers and Gouernors persecuted. Therefore take you heed, that you say not hereafter you were not warned hereof before hand, but giue notice publikely vnto all men, of the effect of this our command, and looke that you cause euery man to be obedient thereunto. By which doing, you shall be blessed of God, and obtaine our fauour: for if the said English Nation be again troubled and molested, and the King of England do send*

D *any forces against those transgressors, to chastise and punish them, do you consider that it shall displease vs, that ye are the cause to disturbe the peace and friendship betweene vs. Therefore take heed and beware of all such actions as may any way tend to the disturbance and violating of our said Peace and friendship. And it being our chiefest desire, that this businesse be duely fulfilled and effected when this our Imperiall commandement shall come vnto you, and that you haue performed our will therein, and shall haue deliuered into the hands of the Englishmen, all such men, ships, and goods as haue beene taken from them; you shall aduise vs particularly and punctually thereof, and in what manner you haue satisfied and contented them, and send the same to our Imperiall Port. And all this let be knowne vnto you, giuing alwaies credit and obedience to our Imperiall Firmo.*

E Written the last of the Moone *Gemaziel Ahir*, from the departure of the Prophet 1031. Giuen at our Imperiall City of Constantinople.

The Capitulations or agreement of the peace made with Tunes and Algier at Constantinople, and accepted and signed by the Commissioners of Algier and Tunes.

F *Let infinite laud and praise be alway giuen to the most omnipotent God, who of his great mercy and grace hath blessed this World with peace and tranquility, for the safety and repose of his people: In conformity to whose diuine will and pleasure, the most inuincible*

and mighty Emperor hath alwaies entertained peace and amity with all those who haue desi- G
red his friendship, that both rich and poore, and all sorts of people might liue at their ease and
content, to giue thankes, and serue the diuine Majesty. Which most blessed peace and corre-
spondence hath euer been obserued by all the Ottoman Emperors. Therefore whereas hereto-
fore in the happy time, of famous memory, of Sultan Morat Han now translated into Para-
dise (vpon whose soule let the diuine mercies be multiplied) the Kings of England, according
to that truth and integrity infused into them, hauing alwaies made demonstration of their
loue and sincerity to this happy Port, then, on both sides there was concluded and established a
true peace and amity, and from that time to this present haue maintained their Embassadors
here: And whereas there was then granted and giuen to the English Nation an Imperiall H
Capitulation and priuiledge (To say) That the subjects and Merchants of England, with
their ships and faculties might freely and securely nauigate in our seas, and traffique and ne-
negotiate at their owne pleasure and content, in any part of the Imperiall dominion: Not with-
standing, some yeares past there haue hapned some discontents and quarrels betweene the said
English Nation and the Souldiery of Tunes and Algier; and thereupon haue succeeded di-
uers acts of hostility, and mutuall damages, contrary to the honour of the said Imperiall Ca-
pitulation: for which cause, the mighty and famous Prince, among the Princes of the faith
of Jesus, obeyed of the greatest followers of the Messiah, only Gouernour of the important I
affaires of the Nazaren Nation, Souereigne of the limits of honour and power, Lord of
greatnesse and authority, the benigne and sincere friend, the glorious IAMES King of Eng-
land, to whose affaires we wish all prosperity, and whose last daies may be filled with honour
and felicity, hath sent to this happy and high Port his elect, esteemed, and prudent Embassa-
dor Sir Thomas Rowe, Knight, with his Royall Letters; complaining vehemently against
the said Souldiery of Algier and Tunes. The substance of which Letters being signified to
the Imperiall Majesty of our Emperor, he with his owne proper hand Imperiall Seale hath
expressely commanded, and giuen his Imperiall order, that the people of Algier and Tunes K
for the future should alway be obedient and obseruant, according to the Imperiall Capitula-
tions, and should neuer commit nor make shew of any act contrary thereunto. Which Impe-
riall command and Edict being sent to those cities by one Mutafaraca, of the high court, and
our esteemed Capigi Bassa Mahomet Aga; who arriuing there, and causing the Imperiall
Commands to be read with a loud voice, in publique Councell, and in presence of the Begler-
begh and the whole souldiery of the countries, euery one of them with all readinesse and sub-
mission did shew themselues obedient to the said Orders and Edicts of his Imperiall Maje-
sty. But withall replied, That while we did remaine constant and firme in the Peace with
the English Nation, some of their Ships, contrary to the Capitulation, league, and Frendship L
long since contracted on both parts, haue done diuers damages and injuries vnto vs. And
whereas from vs there shall neuer any action proceed contrary to the said Imperiall Capitu-
lations, the said English Nation oftentimes made warre vpon vs; for which cause wee
haue also been inforced to reuenge our selues: but now our desire is, That his Imperiall Maje-
sty may be truely informed of our state and cause in this businesse, and accordingly let his
Majesty dispose and order vs at his owne will and pleasure: for we will alwaies remaine,
and be obseruant and obedient. To which purpose they haue joyntly and with one consent, cho-
sen the wise and honourable Lord, reuerend among the prudent, the prouinciall Mufti called M
Seich Seidi, and the honourable and discreet, the Mufti of the City, Seich Salmi, and the two
Caddees, Iudges of the Prouinces, two that haue beene Gouernors, two Colonels of the army,
two Captaines of foot, assisted with other Antients, both Burgesses and souldiers, whom they
haue

A haue with one consent created and established as their Generall Procurators and Commissio-
ners; and in company of the said Mahomet Aga, sent to this happy Port: who being here
arriued, and hauing made knowne his petition to his Imperiall Majesty, he and his absolute
minister the Grand Visier, haue expressely commanded vs, That we should call before vs the
English Embassadour and the said Commissioners, and with all sincerity and justice that we
should heare their differences, and make a finall and good conclusion betweene them; to wipe
out all distaste and rancor, and for the time to come, to conuert, and in place thereof to plant
a firme and holy peace and amity. In obedience to which order, we haue sent for the English
B Embassador and the said Deputies; betweene both whom, after long and litigious discourses,
we, according to the expresse command of his Imperiall Majesty, haue declared and comman-
ded in the name of his Imperiall Majesty, to the said Commissioners of Algier and Tunes, That
for the times to come they ought to obey and obserue the tenour of the Imperiall Capitulati-
ons, and in this particular to conforme themselues to this Imperiall order and subsequent
Articles: viz.

That for euer hereafter, the hostility and enmity betweene them and the English should be I.
anulled and blotted out of memory, and conuerted into a good peace and commerce. And after
the date of this present writing, That the English Ships small and great, merchants, and all
C other subjects of England, freely and securely, at their owne will and content, shall and may
passe in the seas, and come not only to this our Imperiall City, but also safely go to any part of
our Dominion, without any opposition or hinderance, according to the antient vsage, and Im-
periall Capitulations granted in behalfe of both parties.

And that his Majesty the King of England, hereupon may giue order through all the cities II.
and ports of his Kingdomes, to publish, That from henceforth euery trauellor or passenger
shall securely go in his businesse peaceably, and that they shall receiue neither in their waies
outward or returning, any molestation, trouble, or impediment; but that the subjects on both
D parts shall alway obserue and be obedient, conformable to the tenor of the Imperiall Capitu-
lations made from the beginning of the peace vnto this day; and that for the time to come,
there may in Algier be established an English Consull, prouided he be a man of quality and cre-
dit: to which Consull and his Merchants, and to all his Nation and their goods, neither from
those of Algier, nor from any other subjects of the Imperiall Port, shall be offered or suffe-
red to be done, any wrong or injustice whatsoeuer; but arriuing at the Port, the Officers of
Algier (as it behooueth all strangers should be protected and cherished) shall receiue them
with all manner of courtesie and honour. And for the time to come, in case any of the English
Nation should commit any act contrary to the peace, amity, and Imperiall Capitulations, for
E such offence the publique peace shall not be broken, but the officers of Algier shall certifie the
same to the Consull, who (if it lie in his power) shall punish any such offendor; if not, he shall
then certifie his cause to his Majesty of England, or else to his Embassador resident in our hap-
py Port, to the end, that the disturbers of the publike peace may be duely punished. In confor-
mity whereof, if for the time to come any of the inhabitants of Algier and Tunes, shall haue
committed any action contrary to the Imperiall Capitulations, by continuing to trouble or
quarrell with the said English Nation, the said Consull shall make certificate and complaint to
the Beglerbeghs and Commanders of the army, who shall alwaies seuerely punish all such ma-
F lefactors, to the end that those of Algier may be carefull, neuer to do any act prejudiciall to
this peace and amity.

All those English slaues which shall be found now in Algier shall be set free, who with a III.
note or list of their names shall be deliuered to the said Consull at his arriuall; in exchange

whereof

whereof there shall be another list giuen vnto the said Consul, of the names of diuers Mussulmen taken not long since by their English ships and made slaues: which list the said Consull shall send to his Majesty of England to procure their liberty; and in this particular, of either side there shall be vsed no fraud or deceit. G

IV. *For the time to come, all the Merchants and other English which shall arriue at Algier or Tunes, shall be receiued, cherished, and protected from all wrong and injury; and as in all other parts of the Empire they do safely and securely traffique and trade, so also they shall peaceably, quietly, and safely go, come, and negotiate in these cities, without any molestation, and alway they shall liue according to the antient Capitulations.*

V. *That the ships of Algier and Tunes, small and great, meeting with any English ships vpon the sea, or in any Port, or scale, or other where, shall alway salute one another; and the English shewing their Colours, that they are English and friends, there shall be no disturbance or quarrell betweene them, but all mutuall courtesie shall be shewed; and they shall do one to the other all such offices of friendship as may encrease and fortifie this good amity and correspondence: and there shall neuer be don any wrong or outrage one to the other; prouided that the English Ships shall not take part nor assist the enemies of the Imperiall Port, nor transport in their vessels the armes or faculties of our foes, nor protect nor defend them. And if it shall happen after this conclusion, that it shall be found that any English Ship shall so carry or protect the goods of our enemies, they shall stand to their peril, and receiue punishment; and yet this our accord and Peace shall remaine safe and vnbroken vntill the day of Iudgement: And that alway on both parts, with all care and respect the antient and Imperiall Capitulations and Commands shall be preserued and obeyed.* H I

The ceremony of the acceptation of the Peace.

THe Commissioners, (to say) the two Mufties, Caddees, and other aboue mentioned, in our presence made answer, That, We all in the name and behalfe of our city of Algier, and as the generall Procurators thereof, are content, and do accept of this accord and agreement, and we doe all sweare and promise to obserue the same; and that for the time to come, on our parts, nor on the behalfe of our successors and posterity, there shall neuer any act be committed nor suffered in prejudice or disturbance of this peace and agreement. *All which foresaid Commissioners hauing before vs confessed, promised, and sworne; the said English Embassador did also say,* I in the name of my Lord and King, and as his full Procurator, do accept and receiue these Conditions; and do promise, That the Subjects of his Majesty my Lord and Master, shall alway maintaine with the Subjects of his Imperiall Majesty, peace, according to the antient Capitulations; and that neuer on our parts shall be done any act of wrong, injury, or hostility: and at all times, when of either side there shall arise any controuersie, or be done any injustice, that this peace shall not therefore be broken, but that the malefactors shall be sought out and duely punished. K L

Which declaration made on both parts, it was by vs registred and published, and this our present assurance and writing giuen the first of the moneth Gemaziel, *in the yeare of* Mahomet *1032, being the middle of March 1622. Signed by the Commissioners of the Grand Signior, deputed for the Treaty.* M N

A Ratification of the former Treaty and, Peace sent by Sultan *Morat* at his assention into the Imperiall Throne.

The Commands sent to Algier and Tunes by a Capigi *of the Grand Signiors, in company of* Iserug *the new Bassa of Algier.*

[Written by the Grand Signiors owne hand:]

In conformity hereof let it be obeyed of all my Subjects.

To the Diuan of Algier.

THe Imperiall Command; To the Caddee of Algier, to all the Doctors and Churchmen, to all the Captaines of Iusph; *to all the Commanders, Elders, and Officers; to all the heads and Antients, and to all the Souldiery of Algier, and many slaues there inhabiting: At the arriuall of the high and Imperiall* Affirmo, *you shall know; that whereas from the times of happy memory of my Grandfathers and Fathers (entred into mercy, whose Sepulchres let God glorifie) vnto this day, alwaies the Kings of England haue with all sincerity beene in good peace and friendship with this high Port and all my Ancestors; and therefore the Imperiall minde and will alwaies hath beene, That according to the Imperiall Capitulations contracted at the first Treaty betweene both parties, That the Subjects and English Merchants might freely and securely go and come into all parts of this well-gouerned Empire; and that they should neuer be troubled, hindered, nor damnified by any man, and that the said English with all their Ships should haue safe and secure passage in the sea, vnder the Imperiall protection, and to their hearts content and quietnesse they should follow their trades and merchandise; and whereas in all times past, there was neuer done to them any wrong or dammage by any of our subjects: you my slaues of Algier, or some of you, not respecting the friendship of those with whom the high Port hath peace and correspondence, do wheresoeuer you meet their Ships, either in the Sea, or any other Port or harbor, take them and all their goods, doing them many injuries & violences; and contrary also to the Imperiall Capitulations, do make them slaues, and many others you kill: for which your actions so vnjust, contrary to the Imperiall will and Capitulations not long since in the time of our brother Sultan* Osman Han *(now in mercy placed in Paradise) his Majesty the King of England hauing sent his expresse Embassador, and his Royall Letter, aduising him of the wrongs and spoiles (so contrary to the League and peace contracted, and the Imperiall will) committed by you: to the end that all you should obey, and with all diligence, care, and respect, should maintaine and obserue the peace and friendship with all the friends of the high Port; that all those who had committed such actions, so contrary to the Imperiall will and Capitulations, should be punished; the said our brother did then send you his expresse Imperiall commands, signed with his hand; which was deliuered vnto you by one* Mutafaraga, *of the high Port, called* Mahomet, *whose dignity God encrease. Which commands being read in the presence of you all, euery man did answer, saying, You were ready to obey the Order and Commands of your Lord, but that you had some particulars requisite to be presented to the Imperiall stirrop, and therefore that you did elect certaine of the principall of your Country, and sent them hither to him as your Procurators: who being arriued in the time of the regiment of my honourable Vncle, and hauing made knowne at the foot of the Throne of his Majesty, all those your reasons which you had giuen in instruction, He gaue command, that those said Commissioners, come hither in your behalfe, with the Embassador of England resident in our happy Port, should haue a conference in the presence of my late Visier* Halil, *then Captaine Bassa; and that all things there should be accommodated and appeased. Which conference being made in the prescribed forme, there all your grieuances were largely repeated, to the end that by reason of the aboue mentioned inconueniences, there should not happen any breach of the antient Peace and friendship, all matters were then anew pacified, and by writing and new treaty accorded, That according to the antient custome there should be sent an English Consul to Algier and Tunes, and that their Merchants should safely and friendly go* C D E F

thither

thither, and into all other parts of this well gouerned Empire, and traffique in all parts thereof, and that they should neuer hereafter be any way hindered, offended, or molested by any of you; and for more cauti- G
on and assurance, there being written an authentical Letter, sent vnto the King of England, he gaue or-
der and hath appointed a Consul with many rich merchandises arriued in those Ports. Which my said
Vncle did also then send you his expresse Command, That you should obserue all the said agreement. But
now being newly aduertised, That you my slaues of Algier, who wholly contrary to the last promise, con-
tract, and faith giuen, do get, take, and spoile the English Ships, that you meet on the Sea, robbing them
of their goods, and making slaues of their men, doing them all wrong and damage; and considering the
King of England is constant and sincere in his Peace and League with vs, and that the protection and
cherishing of his subjects is necessary vnto vs; and that for you of Algier, or other of my Beghs whose-
uer, to take vessels, goods, or men from the said English nation, so contrary to the last agreement made, H
and faith giuen, is a thing much against our will and the Imperiall Capitulations by vs granted; and al-
so it being our will, that betweene you and them there should be a good peace and correspondency, and that
the said English Nation may safely and securely traffique in all parts of this our well gouerned Empire,
and that no man presume to do them any dammage or injury, and that for the time to come the tenour of
our Imperiall Capitulations in their Land may be duely obserued, we haue sent you this our Imperiall
Command, and We do command you,

That euery one of you, of what condition soeuer, do obey according to the tenour of this my Imperiall
Command, sent you on purpose for this only reason; That whether by sea, or in any other place where you
shall meet any Ship of the English, their people or goods, you do vnto them no violence or wrong whatso-
euer; but alway according to the Capitulations giuen them, and the last treaty and agreement made with
you, that you hold and keepe a true peace and friendship with them; and also that you obey according to I
the commandements formerly sent to you in this businesse; and that you neuer do nor suffer to be done
any act contrary vnto them, but that you with all diligence obserue and obey this my Command sent you:
in doing whereof you shall obtaine our fauour and benediction. And seeing according to the agreement
made betweene you, there were diuers slaues set free and sent vnto you from England, you also shall set
free all those English slaues that shall be found in your hands, and shall consigne them to the English Con-
sull. And that whereas the Ship of England which was sent vnto you with diuers English goods,
having beene discharged, and receiuing your safe conduct, and returning to their Country, being met by
some of Algier, who had no respect to the accord and faith giuen, they did take both the Ship and goods,
and make the men slaues: therefore that act being very contrary to our louing peace and friendship, you
shall deliuer the said Ship and goods and men to the English Consull; and take heed you do not herein K
shew disobedience to our Command, and that those whosoeuer, who haue been so bold to commit such an
offence so contrary to the Peace and faith giuen, you shall cause to be seuerely punished. In conclusion,
know you, that in no case it is our Imperiall will, that the said English Nation hereafter shall be any way
troubled or damnified, so contrary to our Imperiall Capitulation. Therefore let euery one of you be ad-
monished, That according as it is written in our Law, saying, **Obey the Lord God, the Prophet, and
the Emperor**; that thereby obeying you shall obtaine my blessing; you shall neuer consent nor permit
that any thing be done contrary to my Imperiall will: for if hereafter it shall be made knowne vnto vs,
that the said English Nation shall be againe outraged and injuried by you, be assured that euery one of
you shall fall into my indignation and disgrace, and you shall bee punished with all seuerity. Therefore L
be you aduertised, that the obeying of my Imperiall Command shall be vnto you an assurance and orna-
ment both of glory and felicity; and hauing my benediction, euery one of you vndoubtedly shall obtaine
happinesse in this World, and glory in the World to come, and you shall enjoy all your deserts. Then you
my slaues of Algier, according to the tenor of this my command sent you, be you friends with the English
sincerely and perfectly, and doe you entirely obserue the Peace and League, and vse kindely the English
Consull among you; and protect and defend their Merchants, and whether by Sea or in Port you shall
meet any of their Ships, shew vnto them all friendship, and omit no occasion to aid, defend, and to shew loue
vnto them: and this our Imperiall Command, both of the arriuall, and in what sort you haue accepted and
obeyed it, and in what forme you haue established the Peace, and resented my will and command, you shall
aduise the whole by your answer vnto our high Port. And thus let it be knowne vnto you, giuing alway M
credit vnto our Imperiall Signature.

To

A

To the Bassa of Algier.

THe High and Imperiall Affirmo being arriued, you shall know, Whereas in times past the Gouernorus in that Prouince before you, by receiuing the fifths and tenths of the ships, goods, and men, which the Souldiery of Algier did take and rob from the English Nation, and by giuing them leaue and authority to do such depredations and acts, so contrary to the Imperiall Capitulations, the said souldiery haue taken so much boldnesse and daring, that they
B continue to do innumerable spoiles and violences vnto the said English Nation: which their insolent actions being made knowne vnto the high Port, and there was instantly written and sent vnto them expresse and Imperiall Commands, That in no way, nor by no meanes it was not the will nor the Imperiall minde, that the Gouernours should in such sort conniue, and so euidently (contrary to the Imperiall Capitulation) should take any fifths or tenths, nor giue nor permit any licence vnto the said souldiers, to do so injust things; but that in this particular they should all do their diligence & loue, and that they should neuer take any fifths or tenths of the goods of the said English, stolen by the said souldiers, nor that they should permit vpon no pretence, that the English ships, goods, and men, so contrary to the Imperiall Capitulations,
C should be neither by them nor any other, outraged, molested, or damnified; and that if hereafter it should be knowne, that the said Gouernours should notwithstanding anew haue taken and accepted the fifths and tenths of the ships, goods, or Englishmen, robbed and taken by the said Souldiery, and because they haue consented and suffered the Soulaiery to doe such depredations, wrong, and spoiles, and for hauing also beene the cause to violate the Peace, League, and friendship betweene vs and the King of England; that as faulty and guilty men they should be condignely punished. Now being that we are anew informed, That the Souldiers do not obey the said Commands and Orders sent by vs, and that by you the Gouernors there is
D leaue giuen them to continue in their injust course of robbery and oppression, and that still you do take the said fifths and tenths, and that you proceed in violating of the Imperiall Capitulations; Know you, That you are fallen into a disgrace, being it is in no sort our Imperiall will, that the said English Nation should be so damnified and outraged. And to the end that all the Commands giuen and sent into those parts for this businesse, may be obserued and obeyed, and that hereafter by no meanes there may neuer be giuen nor permitted any liberty to the said Souldiers to do the like depredations vpon the said Nation, and that neuer you nor any after you, do neuer take any fifth nor tenth, nor any part, but that alway the said Nation
E should be protected and defended, We haue giuen this our Imperiall Chmmandement, and we do command,

That when this shall be arriued, you shall obserue and do according to this our high and Imperiall Command; onely giuen for this reason, and also in conformity of the former Commands sent in this businesse: which you shall obey with all diligence and care; and that you shall neuer take nor accept any fifth nor other share, of the ships, goods, or men, that the Souldiers of Algiers shall so vnjustly take (contrary to our Imperiall Capitulations) from the said English Nation: nor neuer hereafter shall giue leaue, nor suffer, that the Souldiers, so contrary to my will and Imperiall Capitulations, shall doe such spoiles and depredations to the said
F English Nation; and that in no case you shall neuer permit that Englishmen shall be there sold, but you shall alway protect and defend them. And know of certainty, That if after the arriuall of this our Command, we shall vnderstand, that the said Nation shall be anew outraged and injuried, no excuse from you shall be accepted nor heard; and not only you shall be depriued

of

of your gouernment, but you shall be seuerely punished. Therefore be aduised, and take heed that you commit no act that shall be contrary to my will and Imperiall Capitulations giuen to the said Nation. And in conclusion, take you order that all my slaues of Algier may keepe peace and friendship with the said English; because it is my Imperiall desire, that the said Nation and their Merchants may come, go, and traffike in all parts of our Empire. Therefore do you do all your diligence and endeauour, and to see that the Peace be setled with the said English, and take heed that you commit no negligence nor errour whatsoeuer. And thus be it knowne vnto you, gining alway faith to our Imperiall Signature.

The like three seuerall Commands, only some circumstances altered, according to the requisites of the place, were written and sent to the Dye, and Bassa, and Diuan of Tunes.

This Peace thus concluded and promulged, was well and exactly obserued for fiue yeares, and not one English ship assailed or taken, and at last six hundred Mariners, subjects of his Majesty, released from a miserable seruitude and captiuity: vntill a small offence was done to them, which they easily apprehended, to renew their desire of spoyle, by which onely they liue, as being a people without industry or traffique; there being but one way to maintaine a Peace with them who are glad of any occasion of warre, not to begin, nor to vnbinde their hands; for the soule of Wisedome is Preuention. And so we proceed to our generall Story.

1624 *Ali Bassa the great Visier beheaded.*

On the foure and twentieth of March *Ali Bassa* the great Visier, by whose meanes Sultan *Morat* was aduanced to the Crowne, was sent for into the Seraglio; where being questioned by the young Emperor about the affaires of the Persian inuasion, he was condemned instantly to lose his head, which was executed in the place, and his body throwne out naked into the streets. The occasion of his sudden death was attributed to his dissimulation with the Grand Signior in the losse of Babylon, that he had suborned false aduice that there was no such matter; either for sloath, or feare to take vpon him the charge of the war, with an army that would not obey in the city: and the base mony which he had caused to be coyned, being but one fift siluer, with which he made a whole payment to the Souldiery, putting the good dollars into his owne purse. But indeed the true cause was his owne sordid couetousnesse, who in six moneths had heaped vp an infinite treasure, by sale of all Iustice and Offices; which in the end weighed him downe to the ground, and supplied (like a large spunge) their present wants for the intended war in Asia. To this dignity was aduanced *Cerques Mechemet Bassa*, an antient Visier, a man of an honest and sincere nature, and one too good for those times; who after he had enjoyed his place but a short while, laboured to surrender it, as vnable to support or content the insolency of the Spahies in their vnreasonable demands of impossible benefits. In the meane time the preparation for the warre in Asia was aduanced, though the resolution to set forward was deferred, vpon hope that by the authority of *Cherques Mehemet Bassa* and other new Ministers, *Abassa Bassa* might be reduced to obedience, and that great feare and impediment remoued; they hauing vndertaken to endeauour it, though it appeared very difficult, being that he yet continued the siege of the castle of Angria; and that his scattered army that wintered abroad, begun to returne to him from all parts, it was iudged he would be loth (although the Grand Signior had sent him another) to trust his life vpon a pardon.

The Emperor prepares for a war in Hungary.

While the Grand Signior was thus threatened in Asia with the King of Persia and his owne Rebell *Abassa Bassa*, the Emperor of Germany made great preparations for Hungary, to the number of fifty thousand men, which bred great jealousie at the Port: But his Embassador the Baron of Curcy, lately arriued, to preuent a generall breach, and the expiration of the last Treaty made for twenty yeares at Zitwar, in the yeare 1606, dissembling all the aids giuen to *Gabor*, gaue the Grand Signior full assurance, that his Master had no intent of breach with him; but openly dissauowed the Truce with the Prince of Transyluania, made at Goding: and that *Cæsar* would make war vpon him, vnlesse he might haue all the places in Hungary in *Gabors* possession restored; desiring only a neutrality from the Port, according to the antient

antient Treaty. The Prince of Transylvania, who now repented that he had giuen away the vie of his late victorie which he might haue enjoyed, and foreseeing the storme that was like to fall vpon him, sent to the Port for succors: who with much ado obtained some Tartars, and Commands to the Bassa's of Bosna, Buda, Caniza, Agria, and Temizuar, to be ready with all their frontier garrisons to defend and assist him in any motion of the Emperor, or else not to stirre: being vnwilling to abandon him, who was then their chiefest bulwarke toward that part of Christendom, whilst most of their forces should be employed against the Persian in Asia; who had then entred Diarbech, the antient Mesopotamia, and taken Misbin and Merdin, two principall places, and all that prouince, except Hamit the chiefe city, wherin was a Bassa who defended the same with great valor and reputation: and it was not then known where the Persian would limit his ambition, many other parts fearing him for that which he had alreadie done: for he had separated the Arabia's, and all to the East of the Persian sea, from the Turkish empire: as hauing conquered from Balsara Northward, almost all to his own Derbent vpon the Caspian sea.

Vpon the 18 of April the Victuallers for the Asian army passed ouer the water, but the dispatch of the Vizier and the army was still delaied, and little speech when they should depart. In the mean time the Persian preuailed, without any opposition of consequence: & no man could discern the inward cause of this slownesse, only the outward appearance was, a suspition and complaint from the Black sea, the City of Caffa hauing sent their Mufti & other Commissioners to inform the grand Signior, That 400 boats of Cossacks were abroad; That they had done great spoiles in the coast of Tartaria and the Turkish Empire, and taken many ships laden with prouision for the Port; and forty thousand more armed and horsed, ready for some land attempt: which put all those parts into great fear; of which they desired that present care and prouision might be taken and ordered for their defence. Whereupon there was held a new Councel, and *Ibrahim Bassa* dispatched with thirteen gallies, to make gard til more aids could be prepared; intending not long after to send a land army, and the Captain Bassa with their whole fleet.

Abassa Bassa (the supposed rebell of Asia) hauing collected his Army together, suddenly rose from Angria, and departed Eastward, hauing done no spoile to the city nor inhabitants, but left behinde him a better fame than any Gouernour sent from the Port: he now accepted of the grand Signiors pardon, and in obedience to his command, and shew of his submission, marched directly towards Diarbecher, to vnite himselfe with *Hafis Achmet Bassa*, as was supposed for the defence of that Countrey, who onely made some head against the Persian. This resolution of his departure did much seruice to that State, for thereby the Ianizaries & Spahies were accorded, and incouraged to goe to the Warre, who before could not be drawn out, suspecting one another, and fearing Him more than the common enemy. For it was euident, if he had staid in the way, either the souldiers would neuer haue gone out, or beene subiect to delay, mutinies, and dissentions, by reason of their factions. But now vpon this good fortune to the State, the great Vizier, Treasurer, Aga of the Ianizaries, and all the Officers and Army were passed ouer to Scutari, and mustered the tenth of May, beeing ordained to march the twentieth; which was expected with great longing, in respect of the Souldierie, who as yet behaued themselues soberly, and made shew of reformation and obedience to Laws. They were all about 30000 Ianizaries and 40000 Spahies, many being gon before to make the army compleat, and the place of their rendevous about Brussia.

In the mean time a report was spred, that the king of Persia was dead; but that gained little credit with the Turks, who knew it to be a vsual policie of that King, in hope therby to slacken the hast of their forces sent against him: but it did rather quicken them, insomuch that they said he had bin often dead, but stil reuiued to some greater mischief.

Biram Bassa was dispatched General of the frontier of Poland & Bugdania, with four thousand soldiers, and order to draw together and command al the Beghs and garisons, and to raise forces in that quarter, in preuention of some attempt feared from the Cossackes, who were in arms vpon the border, and had put all into distraction. To the 13 gallies before mentioned, to make a gard in the Black sea, were added ten more; who first transported *Iean Gheray Han*, to make a gard in the Black sea, were added ten more; who first transported *Iean Gheray Han*, to re-establish him Prince of the Tartars, and depose *Mechmet* aduanced the year before. That

resolution was caried very secretly, and though there was some whisper, yet he was not declared vntil the day he kissed the grand Signiors Vest, took his leaue, mounted his gally, & departed. The cause of this sudden mutation was pretended, That *Mechmet* was accused by the Poles to haue broken the peace, and so they would pacifie the Cossackes on better hopes: but the truth was, he was suspected, because he had excused to send aid to the Asian War, being therto required, as fearing the entry of the Cossacks into his country; and the rather, because his brother *Shachin Gheray*, who fled twelue years before to the Persian, being in disgrace with *Achmat*, was now returned into Tartaria, at the instant when the Persian did inuade the Turks dominions, as if there had bin some confederacie between them, both those brethren beeing braue soldiers: and therfore it was feared that a dangerous reuolt or war would breake out in those parts; for if *Mechmet* were not suddenly surprised, it was thought he would defend himself and his possession. When the Gallies had performed their seruice to the new prince, they were appointed to join with the others, and to discharge *Ibrahim Bassa*; one *Huzein Bassa* a Vizier of the Bench being sent to that command: *Biram Bassa* hauing likewise order to haue an eye vpon the Tartars, as well as on the Poles. At the first departure of the first gallies, as soone as they came into the Blacke sea they met with a small Carmisal, who reporting, That only forty boats of the Cossacks were before them, the Ianizaries mutined, and forced their General to retire into the chanel, and demanded more strength; who were supplied with more men, and so proceeded.

The Pyrats of Tunes and Algier in rebellion

Amongst other distractions and reuolts of the subiects of that Empire, the pyrats of Algier and Tunes cast off all obedience, not only vpon the sea, where they were masters, but presuming to do many insolencies vpon the land, and in the Grand Signiors best ports. They began at Rhodes, where the castle shot at them. Afterward, a fleet of six pyrats of Tunes met with a Flemish ship called the Moon, laden at Alexandria; with whom notwithstanding their peace, they fought and fired her, not sauing any thing but some of the men, whom they made slaues: and after comming into the port of Salines at Cyprus, they found two Flemings more, and two Venetians, able to fight with two such fleets. As soone as they came into the Road, they now claimed peace of the Flemings, seeing themselues too weake to set vpon all foure; protesting, That if they would assist their enemies, the breach was on their parts: who therupon vnworthily promised a neutralitie. Then they set vpon the Venetians, the captains whereof went ashore to craue protection of the Castle in the graund Signiors port; for which the Begh demanded fifty thousand Dollars, or else they should take their fortune. Which they refused, and so were exposed to their own defence; and the pyrats beginning with the smaller ship, she made a good resistance, but hauing no help, she was thrice fired, and at last burnt to the water. The Captaine of the Dolphine (the greater ship) not shooting a shoot, with his men stole ashore and fired her, being a Vessell of eight hundred tunnes, and armed with forty eight brasse pieces. The ladings of these two were valued at 300000 dollars, of which the Pyrats saued nothing: & in euils it was a blessing that such a ship fel not into their hands, seeing the Cowards were not able to hold so strong a fort. From thence they sailed to Scandaron, where finding another Fleming and a Polacra, they surprised both, and then prepared to land. The Aga of the Scale and all the inhabitants fled, and they sacked the town, and robbed all ware-houses: and not therwith content, they set it on fire, so that nothing remained but stone walls, that would not burn. The greatest losse to strangers fell vpon the Dutch and English; for the former lost about thirty thousand, and the later about ten thousand dollars; and so they reigned in the port eight daies and departed. An insolencie vnsufferable, if that State had any sence of honor or profit: for by this example there was no Scale of the grand Signior secure, and all trade must be giuen ouer, if no present course were taken for a ful redresse.

Vpon the last of May, after long expectation, the great Vizier *Cerques Mehemet Bassa* and the Army for Asia began to march: and *Abassa Bassa* had made so many halts on the way, that he was greatly suspected of the Ianizaries, that he lingred vpon purpose for them; and at the best it was feared, that he would onely returne to Arzirum and keepe the same. The Persians death was no more spoken of, but it was rather doubted hee would be found aliue suddenly neer Aleppo: and the Emir of Sidon did once more threaten Damascus and Ierusalem. Thus the

the mischiefs and feares of that State followed one another like claps of thunder: For *Mechmet Gheray*, made Tartar Han the yeare before, being encouraged by his brother *Shachim*, newly come from his banishment in Persia, would not submit to the Grand Signiors Order, and resigne his Principalitie to his Cousin *Iean Gheray* (not long after sent and made Prince) and therefore he was againe recalled, fearing to put that countrey to trouble. But before that Order could ouertake him, hee was landed, and *Mechmet Gheray* came downe with a great army to resist him; and the Generall of the gallies in the Blacke Sea was forced to land both his Ianizaries and Artillerie for his defence, and with such power as they could make (not exceeding foure thousand) to entrench them vnder the countenance of their Ordnance, whence there passed sharpe blowes in three skirmishes, and on both sides about two thousand slaine; the Generall dispatching one galley to the Port with aduice, and requiring present succours. Wherepon the eleuenth of Iune a peremptorie Order came from the Grand Signior, That seeing his honour was now ingaged, hee would maintaine *Iean Gheray*, and giue him speedy ayds. To which end a Councell was held the same day, and resolution taken to send supplies, either the Captaine Bassa, who was then ready for the Mediterran, or by order to the Princes of Bugdania and Wallachia. And those brothers, then in possession, had no retreit, but must maintaine their disobedience by the sword, which was a matter of as much danger as euer befell the Turkish Empire. Hereupon the Captain Bassa with sixteene gallies went into the Blacke Sea in ayd of *Iean Gheray*, made Prince of the Tartars, whom *Mechmet Gheray* had beaten off the land, and forced him to retire to the Grand Signiors gallies that carried him thither. The Emperour being still resolued to giue those people a Prince, ordered all the frontier succours to meet him to place him by force; which was, in the opinion of many that knew the countrey, held a matter of great difficultie, all the Tartars taking part with *Mechmet*, who had in his army neere threescore and ten thousand horse.

Troubles in Tartary.

In the mean time the great Vizier *Cerques Mehmet Bassa* marched towards Dierbecker; from whence there was news, That the Arabs, ioyned with some of the Grand Segniors forces, had giuen a checque to the Persian: which did encourage their owne army, who were not yet out of feare of *Abassa Bassa* and his troupes (that stayed about Kesarie) earnestly expecting what part he would take. Yet the season being hot, the Persian aduanced little, but onely forraged the countrey.

Vpon the ninth of Iuly, betweene seuenty and fourescore boats of the Cossackes, with fifty men apeece (rowers and souldiers) watching the opportunitie of the Captaine Bassa's being ingaged in Tartarie, entred the Bosphorus about breake of the day; where diuiding themselues, they sackt and burnt almost all the villages and houses of pleasure on both sides the Riuer, as farre as the Castles, and within foure miles of Constantinople. The principall places were Biugdary and Ienicoie, on the Grecian; and Stenia on the Asiatick shore: where hauing made great and rich booty, they stayed vntill nine of the clocke in the forenoone; and then all the City hauing taken the alarme, the Grand Signior came downe to the water side, the Chimacham to the water Port: *Halil Bassa* made himselfe Generall in this tumult, and hauing not one galley ready for defence, hee caused to be manned and armed all the ship-boats, barges, and other small wherries, to the number of foure or fiue hundred, with such people, as they could either get to row, or hope to fight; and dispatched all the horse and foot in the city, to the number of ten thousand, to defend the coast from further spoyle. Neuer was there seen a greater feare and confusion for the time: yet they expected that those poore Theeues would vpon their preparation presently retyre. But they seeing the Turks boats make towards them, drew themselues together into the middest of the channell, not farre aboue the Castles, and stayed firme vpon their Oares in battalion (in forme of a Crescent) expecting the assault, the wind and current being against them. *Halil Bassa* caused some shot to bee made afarre off, but they answered not with one musket, onely houered from one shore to another, without any shew of retreit. Hereupon, the Generall seeing their forme and resolution, thought it not fit to assaile them with such boats as hee had, but esteemed it wisedome enough to keepe them from further attempts; fearing if they had broken his fleet of boats, which was easily done, that they would venture downe to Constantinople, which was now empty of all defence. And thus these few Rouers hauing first made great spoile, lay

The Cossacks enter the Bosphorus.

 the

the whole day vntil Sun-set, facing and brauing that great and formidable ci ty of the World, G
and all the force it could make, and departed with their booty, with their Colours spred, vn-
fought with or almost resisted.

This small action and bold attempt to affront so great an Empire, made a strange discoue-
rie, how much vnder the reputation the terror and strength of the state was then, how weake
and vnprouided they were. But as the Oracle commanded them, first to seat ouer against
blind men, it hath bin their fortune euer to haue blind enemies. *Philip* of Macedon had ne-
uer proiected, nor his son *Alexander* neuer aduentured with so smal forces, the large enterprise
of subduing the Eastern Empire, if they had not discouered the effeminate and faint courage
of the Asiatiques, by the admirable retreit of *Xenophon*, & swift incursion of *Agesilaus*. Great
armies not daring to oppose the vertue of their small numbers. So we see, of smal beginnings H
oftentimes great matters do arise; for by this attempt of the Cossackes the Poles had abso-
lutely broken the peace with that Empire.

Huzein Bassa strangled in the Court.

Huzein Bassa that had beene twice great Visier, and vpon the tumult of the Souldierie had
made an escape the yeare before (a man turbulent and hated of all men) beeing at last taken
and carried into the Seraglio; after hee had (by many faire promises) confessed and restored
much of the treasure carried away by him; was strangled in the Court, and had the iust re-
ward of his tyrannie. And the present great Visier, sent to make head against the Persian, did
yet stay at Iconium, expecting the Soldierie, who did slowly draw to him: so that it was
thought he would Winter in Aleppo, being not able to proceed in the war that summer.

The Captain Bassa, sent into the Black sea, to establish *Iean Gheray* Prince of the Tartars, I
was forced to retyre to Caffa, being repulsed from the land; the people retaining *Mechmet* in
possession. Wherupon, to cure the wound with as little skar as was possible, he in the Grand
Signiors name was constrained to confirme the other, and to be content to accept a curtesie,
for which he gaue small thanks. And *Cante-Emir-Emirze* hauing again entred Poland, & done
some spoil by the cutting down of some woods, was intercepted in his retreit, and routed
with the losse of two thirds of his Army: and the Poles with a very great Campe intrenched
neer Chotyn (the fort besieged by Sultan *Osman* in the late war, & surrendred vpon the peac.)
expecting the euent of the great troubles on that side.

The Cossackes returne to the Bosphorus.

The Cossackes after their first retreit returned again to the mouth of the Bosphorus, with
double the number of their first fleet, being an hundred and fifty boats at the least, the supply K
hauing lurked behind, either for succour in case of need, or for some other aduantage. They
staied off and on vpon the coast three daies more, burnt the Pharos, and some two or three
villages. They threatened to come to the Arsenall, putting all the City in great confusion.
Gards were continued and re-inforced in all parts vpon the land; and at last two Gallies, fil-
led with porters and labouring men taken vp in the streets, and about twenty boats, were sent
out to keep watch, where they remained at the entrance of the Channels. But the Cossackes
with their great booty, and two or three Carmisals taken, retyred; and so the feare was past
for that time. But some of the poore Cossacks beeing taken stragling too far vpon the land,
confessed vpon examination, that *Mechmet* Prince of the Tartars was confederat with them
in this attempt, in reuenge of the offer made to displace him. And this confession hastened L
the death of *Huzein Bassa*, who in the time of his gouernment, of a prisoner made *Mechmet* a
Prince, and gaue libertie to the Lords of Poland that were prisoners at the Port, (of whom
mention hath bin made before) and dispeeded suddenly the Duke of Sbarasky, who if they
had then bin there, without doubt they had been kept hostages; for in this tumult the Agent
of Poland ranne some hasard, if by the wisdome of the * Chimacham it had not bin pre-
uented.

* Lieutenant to the great Visier.

About the four and twentieth of Iuly the Prince of Transylvania made an absolute Peace
with the Emperor, without the knowledge or warrant of the Port. Which caused great su-
spition among them, but they bare it both silently and patiently, in respect of their own trou-
bles then in Asia and other places. Therefore the Prince kept the conditions the more secret: M
how soeuer, it was known that he surrendred and disclaimed all title to Hungary, and consen-
ted that the Emperors son should be presently chosen King thereof, and keepe his Court at
Presburg: That all the Estates of Hungary should receiue him, and the prince of Transilva-
nia assist and seruc him in all his occasions: That *Bethlem Gabor* should remain quietly prince
of

A of Transylvania, and Earle of the Siculi: That he should hold Cassovia, & two or three other
Signiories which he formerly possessed, during life; and after, that they should returne abso-
lutely as members to the Crown of Hungary. And this article did trouble the grand Signior,
That the Prince at all had mentioned Transylvania without any relation to him, as if that
prouince had depended of the Empire. Some other articles there were concerning the estates
of priuat men, and mutuall pardons; this which hath bin set downe is the substance of the
Treaty.

In the mean time a Chiaus (sent by the grand Signior to the Emperor, with newes of his
inauguration, and to offer the continuance of the antient leagues and treaties between them)
returned to the Port with the Emperors letter of acceptance, and confirmation of the Treaty
B made at Zitwa, which was the last: wherein it was agreed, That what either side possessed at
that time should remain as it was; and if any road should be made, and prisoners taken, or pla-
ces surprised during the truce, on either part, that restitution and full satisfaction should bee
giuen by him that innouated. *Ali Bassa* the Visier before, and *Cerques Bassa* at that present, did
both of them consent to the renuing of this treaty, which was often broken: ignorant vtterly
of the affaires of those parts, and of the disaduantage to the prince of Transylvania and their
own State; for herby the Truce being again in vigor, the grand Signior was bound to surren-
der Vatz, and many other places of importance, which had bin surprised in a time when there
was neither absolute peace nor war between them, and was obliged to make many other resti-
tutions of damage. But the Imperial party did not presse those smaller matters, only deman-
C ding Vatz, with all the country depending, held themselues for their limits, strictly vnto that
treaty, which was then again confirmed on both sides. This conclusion discontented many,
who laid the blame on the information of the Bassa of Buda, a suspected pensioner of the em-
peror: but it was the grand Signiors troubles in Asia that made him silent, and suffer both
that losse and many affronts from Tartary and the Cossacks.

Newes of the Turks army ouerthrowne by the Tartars.

There arriued in the mean time from the Black sea two gallies, which brought the bodies
of two Visiers, and certain newes of the ouerthrow of the Army, sent vnder the command of
the Captaine Bassa to plant the new prince of the Tartars: who hauing landed his forces and
artillery, was routed and beaten, himselfe wounded, twenty eight pieces of Ordnance lost, two
Visiers of the Bench, and about fiue thousand soldiers slain and taken, the rest saued by flight
D vpon the Gallies; onely the Captaine Bassa with his fleet staied about Varna to receiue new
order. There had not happened to that Empire in many Ages a losse of more importance in
respect of the consequences; An Imperiall Army beaten, and thereby Tartaria separated
from obedience to the Turkish Empire, and that people taught to know, That they were able
to make and maintaine their owne Prince. But this was no time to take too much knowledge
of that disgrace; Policie teaching them, rather to cure, than to make the breach greater. For
the grand Signior after that, dispatched a galley to the Prince of the Tartars, with a Vest, and
a Sword for his sonne, and a confirmation to him of his place. Casting all the faults vpon
the Captaine Bassa, and disavowing his attempts; though hee was sent with Commission to
do it. Which (to make the dissimulation good) was like to cost him his head, being sent for
E in to answer the same. The sudden yeelding on the grand Signiors part shewed a great weak-
nesse and feare, to flatter a victorious enemy: and it was doubted how the Tartarian would
accept a gift which he had gotten by his own strength: for if he stood out hee would proue a
dangerous neighbor, the city of Constantinople being alwaies open to him; for Adrianople
and the borders did then fear him, and euen some Cossacks did ioyne with him, although be-
fore they had been mortall enemies. Yet to make some compensation of this defection, *A-
bassa Bassa* the strong rebell had made his peace with the great Visier in Asia; and to seale the
credit of his faith by another trecherie, sent in the heads and estates of three of his chief fol-
lowers to redeem his own. Which touch raised the dul countenance of that Court; for al-
though the pardon was dishonourable, yet was it seasonable. But they durst not ioyne their
F Armies for fear of new stirres, for he went toward his own gouernment of Arzirum, with pro-
mise to keep it safe; and the Visier marched slowly towards Babylon, as then held by the
Persian.

About the twentieth of September the great Visier *Cerques Bassa* abiding in Iconium, and

Abassa

Abassa Bassa in Kaiserie (neer thereunto) he was ernestly prouoked by the Ianizaries to set vp- G
on him. But the Visier hauing expresse order, not to make the breach greater with the rebel,
but to vse all means to appease him, and to reconcile him to them, would not be drawn to con-
sent therunto: for which cause, and some other their small discontents, they twice stoned the
tents of the Visier, and wounded him in the head. Wherupon hee assembled the Comman-
ders of the Spahies, declaring vnto them the great trust the grand Signior had in them; and
shewing them an absolute Order giuen him to keepe good tearmes with *Abassa*, and neuer
to fall to blowes with him, he desired them to finde some way of pacification betweene him
and the Ianizaries: who instantly promised their obedience and aid to execute all his com-
mands. Then the Visier called together some of the Captaines of the Ianizaries, and persua-
ded them so to worke with their companions, that a peace might bee concluded betweene H
them and *Abassa Bassa*. Who finding their fellowes very vnwilling, had much adoe to per-
suade them: in the end it was agreed, that the Visier should treat and accommodate all diffe-
rences. Who presently sent to conferre with *Abassa Bassa*; but he by no means would trust
himselfe, or giue a meeting, and answered, That hee would neuer depart from his Followers
and Army; but if he desired to speake with him in priuate, that he should first send his bro-
ther the Beglerbegh of Caramania, and *Elias* Bassa of Natolia in hostages, and that then he
would come vnto him. Which diffidence of his much displeased, and the Visier was con-
strained to treat the peace by mediation. Which hauing at the last brought to effect, he took
his oath three times vpon the Alcaron, To hold him as a friend, and neuer to doe him any
violence. The Ianizaries also gaue their consent in publique, promising to maintaine the I
word of the Visier: and the articles of their reconciliation being drawn in writing, were sent
to *Abassa*; who reciprocally made the like oath, and accepted the peace vpon the conditions
following, signed by the Visier: That he should be confirmed Bassa of Arzirum, his son Beg-
lerbegh of Orfa, and his Lieutenant of Maras (all on the borders of Persia) and that he should
depart with all his army to the defence and custodie of that prouince, and wait vpon the ad-
uantages of the Enemy.

Abassa reconciled to the great Visier.

While *Abassa Bassa* did treat this accommodation, *Colophon Mustapha Bassa* (the principal
of his Colleagues in all his rebellion) made some shew of retyrednesse from him, and vnder-
hand to parle with the Visier apart; and in conclusion wrot vnto him, and promised to deliuer
or to kill *Abassa Bassa*. Which Letters of his being either intercepted or sent him, and see-
ing that *Colophon* had resolued to kil him treacherously, he called him into his tent, and asked K
him plainly, Why he went about to betray him; and withall shewing him his own hand, hee
drew his sword and claue his head, deliuering all his goods to some seruants of the Visier, to
consigne vnto their master. Then it was anew moued to *Abassa Bassa*, That he should aduance
with his forces presently towards Babylon, against the Persian, who had retired his main Ar-
my to oppose the princes of Vsbecke, who had made some incursion; leauing fiue thousand
garrison souldiers in the city. But *Abassa* refused to go, vrging, That hee was onely bound by
the Treaty to returne and make gard in his gouernment of Arzirum. Whereupon the Visier,
forced to arise and aduance, he arriued at a castle called Nigda (neere Aleppo) wherein were
diuers chiefe followers of *Abassa Bassa*; who hauing vnderstood of the Pacification made, L
came out with presents and victuals to meet the Visier and his Army, and were of him well
receiued. But the Ianizaries enuying to see them so well vsed and honoured, in a fury fell vp-
on them and killed them all; and vsing the opportunitie, entred the Castle, put to execution
their wiues and children, and euery person found therin, and all others that could be discoue-
red in the bordring villages appertaining to him, to the great discontent of the Visier. Which
being known to *Abassa*, and seeing they had broken their oath and faith, he rose with his Ar-
my, and marched right to the Imperial camp; where arriuing, one of his captains with 400
horse began the dance, and without delay fell into the Quarter of the Ianizaries, doing some
execution for an hour and half; in which skirmish there fell on both sides two or three thou-
sand. The Visier seeing this beginning, partly forced by the Ianizaries, and partly for his ho- M
nor, drew vp his whole army to come to a battell in their defence. Which *Abassa Bassa* per-
ceiuing, and that which hee expected not (who hoped that the Vizier & Spahies would haue
giuen him leaue to reuenge many iniuries vpon the faith-breakers) vnwilling to fight with
the

A the grand Signiors General founded a retreat, and got himself and his army a mile or two di-
stance off. The Vizier to shew himselfe faithfull to the Ianizaries, and to keepe in grace with
them, sent four Beglerbeghs with their regiments in pursuit of him; who finding *Abassa Bassa*
and his army in good order and firm, made some shew of skirmish to little purpose. But they
returned to the campe, and told the Vizier, that they had found him in battalion with 40000
men, and that they were not able to deale with him. The next day *Abassa* with many great
threatnings marched away directly for Arzirum; and the Visier to Diarbecher, for his hyber-
nation; in great displeasure of the Ianizaries, and the rather for that he was beloued and pro-
tected by the Spahies.

The brother of *Mechmet Gheray* in the mean time brake through the prouince of Bugdania
B (*Radula* the Vayuod hauing made escape) and entred into Poland, first spoiling the country,
and driuing away all the cattel; and afterward entred Wallachia, and besieged his son prince
of that country, in his castle of Tergoviſta, notwithstanding they were subiects of the graund
Signior. And in sted of sending back the artillery lost in the last defeat (which was expected)
he entred the castle of Caffa, the chief port of the Negropont, and carried away from thence
all the cannon and munition, which he tooke vp into the land to his town of Bagchaiseray, as
if he meant to fortifie himselfe, a practise at that time vnknown to the Tartars. Which were
ill signes of submission, & yet the name of Mussulmen, at any time when they come to blows
doth easily accommodate all quarrels.

The Tartars make an incursion into Poland.

About the 12 of March following, the Tartar Han sent an Embassador to the Port, with an
C offer of his Masters seruice, which was receiued with great joy; excusing the entry of the Tar-
tars into the frontier of the Turkish empire, as being don in the seruice of the grand Signior,
only to fetch *Cante-Emir-Emirze* and his followers out of Silistria, and to compel them to re-
tyre, to auoid and take away all occasion from the Poles to lament the injuries don by them;
that therby they also might take the like order for their Cossacks, and so the peace might be
duly obserued on both sides. Whereupon a post was dispatched into Poland, aduising what
was done, and requiring that on both parts the like correspondence might be obserued; or els
that the grand Signior would vnderstand, if the Cossackes made any new attempt, that the
peace was broken on that side, being they could haue no excuse to lay the fault vpon the Tar-
tars. This vse was made of the Embassage: yet the Vizier was not without jealousie of the
D sinceritie of the messenger, but thought he was sent for exploration, to discouer the force, pre-
paration and resolution of that State; and therefore they made all shew of good prouision,
arms being giuen out to the Bostangies, and a great fleet dressing for the black sea, wherin the
Cossacks had bin already seen, and rumor made them to exceed 300 boats: insomuch that all
the inhabitants of the Bosphorus did daily retyre to Constantinople. The fear was generall,
which was sufficient argument of weaknesse; and the year before had shewed what might be
don with a small and resolute force.

Tartar Han send an Embassador to the Port.

Now that the season serued, the Persian prepared to continue the inuasion, and the Vizier 1625
to oppose him. All the Soldierie departed towards the campe, though they intended not to
E meet, but to make war by diuersion. *Abassa* got some credit at the Port, and they easily appre-
hended all occasion to beleeue his reconciliation. One of the chief commanders in the Per-
sian army sent to *Abassa*, to persuade him to deliuer Arzirum his gouernment to the Shah
which he seemingly accepted, and trained him on with 8000 men to take possession; when in
the mean time he drew together his troupes, and suddenly sent them vnder the conduct of a
prince of Georgia, and set vpon them, who suspected no such treason, routed them, and slew a
thousand, whose heads he diuided and sent for presents to the Port and the camp. Vpon which
action, by the multitude he was proclaimed to be the best subiect of the graund Signior, and
named to be Vizier. But some thought it not so great an assurance of his fidelitie, because he
went not in person, nor would come out of his strength, though commanded to draw into the
F field to assist in the generall seruice: excusing himselfe vpon the necessitie of defending the
frontier. Neither could he refuse to send some of his followers to this exploit (being vrged
therto by some of his Captains) without discouering himself too soon; his resolution vndoub-
tedly being, That while those two great Opposits strouе for the whole, he would keepe a part
of

of Asia, and his own head; knowing that hee could make his peace with the surrender to the Conqueror, at pleasure. G

From these parts were not the greatest nor neerest feares: for the Prince of the Tartars having made peace with the Poles, and taken the Cossackes into his fellowship, made shew of some designe against the Turkish Empire; and the people were indifferent, many inclining to him. The Cossackes with three hundred Frigots crossed the Black sea, sacked and burnt the suburbs of Trapezond, and all the adioyning coast; and retyring, were receiued into the port of Ghiosleue, belonging to the Tartars; which augmented the jealousie, that they would vnite.

A new rebel in Asia.

At the same time there appeared a little rebel in Natolia, one *Ianet Ogli*, a simple Spahi not aboue 24 years of age, dwelling in the plains of Tyria; who vnder the colour of reformation of the commonwealth, came down to Smyrna with ten thousand soldiers. The city amased, sent to Constantinople for succours, but receiued an answere as cold as their means to helpe them: The Christians fled to their ships, by chance in the Port: the gouernor to the Castle. But it seemed he had priuat quarels with some great men in the towne, whose faction sent out 4000 shot to keep the passage; which being beaten, he came before the city and executed his wil, beheaded two Caddees, punished diuers insolent soldiers, placed and displaced the Officers, and proclaiming peace in the grand Signiors name, offended no man, nor did any spoyle; but giuing a particular protection to the Consuls, and promising them in their quarel, if they were oppressed, to return with his rod of correction, he departed to his own home without any further trouble. The operation of that medicine proued wholesome, though it appeared dangerous; and he pretended to haue had order from the State, a disorderly way: but it was likely they did rather conniue at, than approoue of that rude execution of justice. Howsoeuer, not long after he had disturbed Smyrna, he tooke vp armes again with a greater power; which followed the impunitie or prosperitie of his former attempt; for he marched toward Bursia in Natolia: and the State was forced then to take his actions into consideration, which they would haue ouerseen. There were two Councels held about him, and a resolution taken, while his forces were but new and wauering, to resist the beginnings, and to send out some strength to suppresse him: but who should command, who would obey, or whom to trust, could hardly be agreed. He still vsed the name of the Grand Signior, and the common blind of rebellion, Reformation: but what he would haue, or whither his designs drew him, was the more dangerous for the vncertaintie. H I K

The Armado sent into the Blacke-Sea for suppressing the Cossackes, arriuing at Varna, a garrison towne kept by Gebegies (an inferiour Order of souldiers) there fell out a quarrel betweene them and the Ianizaries. These (after the sway of their insolence) would take from the other their Ouens in their owne Towne: which being not endured, a priuate fray was begun betwixt them; which breaking out into a faction, the fellowes of both Orders became interessed and ingaged, and they fought a sharp battell; many of both sides fell, to the number of a thousand. The Captaine Bassa, who could not preuent this quarrell, sought to appease it, by doing some justice against the Gebegies; but it proued onely enough to inrage them against him as partiall; and too little to satisfie the Ianizaries, who thereupon forsooke the gallies, and kept the land, leauing the Armado without soldiers to gard it, in danger of the Tartars and Cossackes. L

The great Vizier in Asia gaue command, That no soldier should retyre to Winter Garrison, but stay with the army about Babylon, the fittest season being then to make the war; disposing himselfe in the mean time to take in places of lesse import. *Abassa Bassa* moued not, and promised obedience in other things, but to go out of his hold of Arzirum he did peremptorily refuse.

Strange predictions of a great plague insuing.

The yeare and season was full of contagion, which was obserued by some forewarnings, and some extraordinarie disposition of the aire and accidents: For on the eighth of May at midnight there was a great and fearfull earthquake at Constantinople, which indured about six minutes, and crossing the sea, was felt in Greece, Asia, and the Islands. And on Munday being the twenty ninth of Iune, at night there began a most terrible tempest, with so violent and continual thunder & lightning, that al the city of Constantinople shewed as if it had bin on M

A on fire; at the end whereof fell a storme of haile, that brake tiles and glasses, so that stones by report were taken vp of a hundred and fifty drams; but from credible witnesse that weighed diuers of them, the next morning there were found of sixty and seuenty drammes apiece, (which is about seuen or eight ounces) wherewith many were wounded. On Sunday the third of Iuly, another tempest of thunder and lightning began at Constantinople, which burned a woman and her childe in their bed, and slew much cattell in the field. And the fifth of Iuly the sickenesse was growne to that height, that the Turks proclaimed their publike procession and prayers; which is performed with great solemnity by the Mufti and all the Mullaes, accompanied with the Visiers and chiefe of the city, attended by the people at a little Moschy on the edge of the plaine of Achmadan, ouer the water on Grecia side: which ceremony is neuer vsed vntill the mortalitie exceed a thousand a day; which was easily knowne by the burials, that were all made without the wals, and account of them were kept at euery Port; and that day was numbered only to go out of the gate of Adrianople nine hundred and seuenteene. On the eighth following there died a thousand thirty foure: by computation of the whole (being many Ports of buriall) there could not die lesse than two or three thousand a day, besides Galata, Pera, and Scutari, the infection being spred almost into all the villages. The same day, Proclamation was made in the city, That no Butcher should kill mutton; a mutrion or plague (whither was vncertaine) hauing taken that sort of cattell so violently, that they died in multitudes with sores in the fields; and it was not knowne what men should eat, nor where safely to prouide it. B

The Persian friendly desires peace, and the Georgians send their Embassadors.

C Vpon the approch of the great Vizier toward the Prouince of Babylon, there was a motion made on the part of the King of Persia, of peace; but it was vnderstood by the Vizier to be but an artifice to delay his Army. There came Embassadors from the Princes of Georgia, who hauing formerly depended vpon the Persian, were about nine yeares before betraied and tyrannised by him: in reuenge whereof they hauing taken protection of the Grand Signior, and the last ouerthrow giuen to the Persian (though attributed to *Abassa*) being executed by a Nobleman of that Nation, they then sent to offer themselues in a confederacy of that war. The message was acceptable, and the Archbishop of Calcedon their countryman appointed to receiue, entertaine, and returne with them as Embassador from the Port, to confirme and dispose the whole Nation (who were gouerned by three Princes) to enter into this League, and to make warre vpon the King of Persia. The race of those three Families had long ruled that Countrey, whereof one was accounted the chiefest (though the others had seuerall jurisdictions) of which the masculine line was then failed, except only one, who being made Turke young, was a Bassa neere the Red Sea. The State sent vnto him, and made meanes to the Vizier, that hee might returne and be their Prince; but on condition that he should become a Christian: but that being denied them, they elected the daughter of their last Prince, notwithstanding their antient Law, that excludes the succession and rule of women; and hauing procured therein a dispensation from the Patriarch of Constantinople, those Embassadors had also order for formes sake, to procure the confirmation from the Grand Signior; which was granted them. D

H The Ianizaries mutined in the Blacke-Sea being againe appeased, the Captaine Bassa sent out *Sackfachi Bassa*, hauing made a fleet of an hundred and fourescore frigots, and armed them, to keep the riuers about Osu, by which the Cossackes descended. *Sackfachi* arriuing at Osu, and finding all quiet, on the Biram day went ashore; and being at dinner, was surprised by the Cossackes, and hardly escaping, lost all his fleet, and many of his men. The Captaine Bassa hauing aduice of this ouerthrow, made all haste to Osu, and finding no shew of enemy, resolued to go on towards Caffa; but that night the Cossackes descending with their boats by many out-lets, the Bassa of Osu sent to him to returne speedily and make haste towards Constantinople, for that the enemy, growne proud with their late victory, supposing no other force abroad, were directly gone for the Bosphorus, and were resolued to assault the Imperiall city, or at least (as they boasted) to burne the Arsinall. Vpon this aduice, the Captaine Bassa set saile, and the next morning by breake of day, and in a fog, fell in with the fleet of the Cossackes (consisting of three hundred and fifty frigots, that catried from forty to fourescore musketiers apeece) and was so mingled with them, that he could neither vse his ordnance for the danger of his owne gallies, nor auoid them without fight. Thus engaged, the Cossackes furiously

The Cossackes returne to the Bosphorus.

furiously began the assault, and being three or foure boats to one gally, boorded them; twice they entred the maine mast of the Admirall galley of the Turks, killed three at the helme, and broke the rudder off; which being againe fastened by foure Christian slaues, and the Sunne breaking out, so as the gallies could vse their great shot, and the winde rising, the Cossackes were forced to leaue their fight, and betake them to their oares; where in parting, with the ordnance (as was reported) thirty boats were sunke, and six or seuen hundred men taken vp. The conflict was bloudy on both sides, being come to hand blowes, and therein the Ianizaries almost consumed. The Captaine Bassa sent to the Port for supply of men, and all that tooke pay of the Grand Signior, euen to the old soldiers which were put to pension, were sent away, some to make gard at Chanakchy by land, on the mouth of the Bosphorus; other by water to re-enforce the Armado, and all was filled with trouble and terrour. The feare of the Tartars likewise was not so extinquished that there was not cause to expect some attempt by land, *Shachi Gheray* being in armes; and those motions if not suddenly appeased, would occasion another breach with Poland.

The Plague at that time raged as if it would haue dispeopled the city of Constantinople and the villages adjacent, and the Francke Nations did all feele it; but the Turks and Iewes by Armies, as if they went to conquer hell, if there were no league and confederacy betweene them. On the three and twentieth of Iuly there was Corban or sacrifice made at the gate of the Seraglio, two Beeues and a hundred Sheepe: at euery other Port of the city two Beeues and some Sheepe for the contagion and warre.

Ianet Ogli returned againe towards Smyrna, and the Chaya or Lieutenant of the Bey of the city, raising three thousand souldiers, went out against him, hoping to draw more to follow him: they met at a plaine, and fought valiantly, *Ianet Ogli* remaining victor, with the death of the Chaia, and two thousand of his men: and he was dayly expected at Smyrna, hauing sent before to assure the people that he would do no violence to any Trader or Inhabitant, but onely renew the Oath of obedience to him, and punish some that were authors of this enterprise against him. The Merchant-strangers were so confident in him, as they purposed not to stir, but to receiue him as their Protector; and thought the Rebell an honester man, than any Iustice of their Towne. The mystery of this strange course could scarce be penetrated, for he still reported he had authority from the Grand Signior; though it was denied at the Port, for they were glad to know how to quiet him.

Ianet Ogli taken and slaine.

Yet not many daies after, he fought a battell which he lost, and was taken, being betraied by his owne followers; and it was desired that he might be brought aliue to be seene at the Port; but the Ianizaries crucified him, and sent his, and his mothers, and his brethrens heads together, so that the tumor was suddenly allayed.

About the foure and twentieth of September the gallies returned from the Blacke-Sea, with the losse only of foure, by a great storme. The Captaine Bassa brought in triumph two hundred and seuenty poore Cossackes, and was receiued, as if *Pompey* had againe finished the Piratique war, that almost famished Rome. But they did not triumph at the victory, but ouer the conquered people; and they esteemed this sea fight next to that of Lepanto; but the nobler for the escape: for doubtlesse if the winde had not risen too great for the frigots, which were in number neere foure hundred, the whole fleet had beene in danger to haue been towed Northwards euen vnto the jawes of the Enemy.

The great Defterdar strangled and thrown into the streets.

About the same time, the great Defterdar, Treasurer of that Empire, was sent for into the Kings Gardens, and there by the Bustangi Bassa strangled and flung out in his shirt into the streets; an vsuall end of riches and greatnesse in that Court. Otherwise, the State of that Empire did then produce no remarkeable alteration: for the jealousie of the Tartars was somewhat appeased; but the Termes with Poland were vncertaine, while the Cossackes were yet vnrestrained. The Grand Signior vsed all flattery to the Tartar *Han*, to enter Poland in reuenge: Which he promised, and rode as farre as Akyrman; but from thence excused his not proceeding vpon the waters: which was doubtfully interpreted, That he had no will. In the meane time the King of Poland sent an Army against the Cossackes, to shew his sincerity to the Peace; which was very well taken of the Turks.

The Persians ouerthrown by the Georgians.

The Georgians in the meane time gaue a blow to the Persian, and sent many of their heads to the Port by a Nuntio; who was presently dispatched away with the Bishop of Caledon, as

A as Embassador of the Grand Signior, to enter league with those Princes, to make some diuersion. *Abassa* the old Rebell would not yet trust himselfe with the Visier, but pretended he would vnite himselfe with the Georgians in the seruice of that State; although he fortified himselfe strongly, and discharged all his Ianizaries. The Grand Signior to assure him, or to preuent that hee should not reuolt, sent him the dignity of a Visier, a Sword and a Vest, and authority to make war in company of the Georgians, in quality of a Generall (so well a strong Theefe prospered there:) and hee arriued not long after with his army at * Mosull, a place recouered from the Persians in the way to Babylon: who vnderstanding of supply of eight thousand, sent thither by the Persian to re-inforce the garrison, sent out a party of Courds, that encountred and broke them, obteining a full victory with the fall of two thou-
B sand, and the Generall and two young Sultans taken prisoners; who were sent to the Port, with the heads of their followers. The news of which ouerthrow was receiued with much joy and content in the Court. The Visier demanded a million and two hundred thousand Checquines to be sent before-hand for foure moneths pay of the Army; giuing this reason, That foreseeing he must Winter in those parts, and that Babylon would be defended, it was necessary to haue mony to hold his souldiers together; for if he should diuide them to their Hybernation, it would be August before they could be drawne into the field, and the Spring lost: and to hold them that were already almost in mutiny, were impossible, vpon credit. To this end all waies were vsed to raise money; a third of which sum was sent from the Port, but the rest was hardly found (for the ordinary charge far exceeded the reuenue) and fell very heauy
C vpon such as were forced to contribute.

* Niniue.

The Persian King, reported to be taken in his limbes at the same time (which did commonly forerunne some sudden enterprise) lay with his Army about Tauris, indifferently to succour Babylon, and to attend the Circassians, or to make some diuersion when he should see the Visiers Army setled and ingaged in a siege: Which was not long deferred; for hee besieged Babylon, wherein was eight thousand Persians in defence. His regular army (consisting of Ianizaries and Spahies, directly paied from the Grand Signior) were lodged on the one side; and the Beghs (which were thirteen) with the Timariots and Souldiers repartited on their gouernments on the other. As they began their approches, in a morning twenty thousand Persian horse fell into the quarter of the Vizier, and did a great execution: but the
D alarme taken by the Beghs, they came to his rescue, and the Persians retired. In that faction there fell fiue or six thousand Turks. Whereupon after there was made a generall muster, and not found aboue foure thousand Ianizaries of twelue thousand; nor ten thousand Spahies, of thirty thousand that were written for the war: so that all the strength did rest in the Beghs, who were well followed, and little care or obedience in the other Orders. There were seuen Princes of the Arabs, who were subject to the Grand Signior, and ought to serue and aid him when they were commanded; but being summoned, they raised their forces by common consent, and staied vpon their owne borders; answering, They durst not displease the possessor of Babylon; but if the victory did returne, they would yeeld their antient obedience vnto the Grand Signior: and if the Persian did hold his recouered right, they also
E would no longer acknowledge any superiour, being (as they pretended) borne of free Ancestors.

About the fiue and twentieth of March there fell a great storme vpon the Bailo of Venice, for an accidentall fight by a Venetian Vessell with a Bey of Andry: Many of the Turks were slaine, and the Captaine Bassa pretended great damages; auerring, That their gally was rich and rifled. He answered wisely and stoutly, That it was a chance; and would vnderstand of no composition, but onely write to the Senate to examine the cause by justice. But the Turks sought to draw an inference, That he, as Procurator of the Republique, was bound to stand in Law before the Iudges of the Port (where he was like enough to be heard and condemned
F together) and then to remaine as a Pledge for satisfaction. But he would not yeeld so much aduantage; insisting, that he was an Embassador, to expound the sence of his Prince, and to maintaine the amity: and so by his standing mute the businesse rested in discontent. 1626.

The gouernment of the Turkish Empire daily declined, and (as a great and strong Body) had violent luctations before it yeelded and wasted. The Ianizaries about the last of March mutined

The Ianizaries mutine against the Bostangi Bassa.

mutined against the Bostangi Bassa, for beating one of their Order (for disorder in the night) G
by the Grand Signiors command, and before his window. For by their Canon, they ought
to be deliuered to their owne Capes to be judged and punished; yet, though the Emperors
Word should be aboue the Law of his slaues, and though he avowed the fact, sent, and wrote
vnto them, nothing would appease them; onely his life they pardoned, exacting his displa-
cing, with sentence of incapability euer to beare office. He had beene a good seruant to his
Master, carefull of the publique Honour, seuere against the licentiousnesse of the times, and
therefore vnfit for them. Afterward (following the example) they began to quarrell with
the Vizier, who had fauoured the Bostangi; and with much labour they were silenced for a
time, but not quieted. This was their estate: What could then strangers expect, when the
Emperor suffered injuries of his owne bondmen?

At the same time, an open rupture betweene the Grand Signior and the King of Poland H
was like to succeed an inuasion made a little before into Podolia by the Tartar *Han*; who re-
turning from thence with a great prey, was met, and lost with a part of it, the greatest part of
his Army. Whose brother *Shachin Gheray* refusing to accompany the action, as contrary to
the Peace and his Oath, sent the Generall *Konespolsky* the copy of the Order from the Port;
which being discouered, the Vizier hearkened after any ouerture or meanes to make vp the
breach, and to procure a new reconciliation. But the ouerthrow giuen to the Tartars encou-
raged the Poles to declare their reuenge, and to auow the attempt of the Cossackes, who were
then ready with seuen hundred frigots to fall vpon some part neere Constantinople, muniti-
on being allowed them, and a Polish captaine to euery boat. They threatened to fight with I
the Grand Signiors Armado, and made a vow to inuest and carry away the Admirall galley.
All the villages on the Bosphorus to the gates of Constantinople trembled, and the city it
selfe was not without feare; softened by certaine prophecies and Astrologians, who foretold
a great blow from a Northerne people. Twenty gallies kept the mouth of the channell, and
the Captaine Bassa was to depart within ten daies with forty more; almost already conque-
red with his owne and the common feares.

The Grand Signiors army besieged before Babylon.

Certaine newes was brought from Babylon, That the King of Persia had besieged the Vi-
ziers campe, and that he was lodged vpon his Trenches, and had cut off all accesse and pro-
uision: so that the Grand Signiors care was then greater to saue his Army, than to recouer
that City. Yet his Ministers did abate little of their pride, but were more ready to doe a K
wrong or any insolency than euer; insensible of their owne estate, or dissembling it a peruerse
way.

The King of Poland being yet very loth to breake the peace with the Grand Signior,
which had been concluded betweene them chiefely at the instance and mediation of his Ma-
jesty of Great Britaine; although the Tartars had entred his countries, and done great spoile,
he caused his Minister to write to his Majesties Embassador at the Port, to lay downe their
just complaint: which the Embassador did, in confidence of his friendship with the Chima-
cham; to whom he went, directly pressing him as well to a consideration of his Masters and
his owne estate, as of that of the King of Poland: That all the burthen and blame would fi-
nally light vpon him; it being the vsuall way of great Princes, to discharge their failings and E
errours vpon their Ministers. This admonition moued the Chimacham much, and this was
the substance of his answer:

In all Lawes and Religions (said he) *there is nothing more odious than to be esteemed a Lyar; be-*
cause Law and Religion presuppose truth, especially in great Ministers, vpon whose faith much of the
publique quiet doth depend: but most especially at such a time (for then it was * Ramazan) *separate*
to deuotion, that it was most abhominable to God to sweare a lye, by whom he swore, and by the life of
the King, all whose benefits might be poyson to him in his heart, if euer either he or his Master gaue any
order or intimation to the Tartar Han to enter Poland, or to doe any act contrary to the Peace:
which if he had done he might justifie, seeing the Cossackes the yeare before did make the first breach,
and gaue the occasion. To witnesse this assertion hee called the * Reitzkatab, who made no M
scruple, *iurare in Verba Magistri*, to sweare to what his Master had said: onely he confessed
there were Commands written to *Mahemet Gheray*, by intelligence and consent of the Polish
Generall, to enter the country of the Cossacks on both sides, to reduce them to obedience;
with restriction of any damage to be done to those comprehended in the Peace: and that
what-

* Lent.

* Chancellor.

A whatsoeuer the Tartar Han had don more, was and should be disauowed, as beyond his Com-
mission. Many other matters he repeated, as the remoue of *Cante-Emir*, and the death of *Ha-*
gy-Key, only to auoid any occasion of their parts. And in conclusion, all his discourse tended
to an expression of desire to maintaine a good and perfect Peace. His Majesties Embassa-
dor asked the Chimacham, what he was willing he should write in answer to the King of Po-
lands Ministers? Who briefely answered, That they had no other intent but to keepe the
late Treaty; and that if vpon the Poles part (as they had begun) the Cossackes should be re-
strained, they would take absolute order with the Tartars; who had no other pretence of
quarrell, but a claime of a certaine pension (mentioned in the Treaty) vsually giuen them;
which if his Majesty of Poland would establish, there should neuer be more occasion of those
B mutuall laments: that it were a dishonour to the Grand Signior, to seeke and entreat the
comming of an Embassador to settle those late disorders; but if the King of Poland pleased
to send one, he should be receiued with all rites and respects. To this the English Embassa-
dor replied, That he doubted some ill example of the vsage and detention of others, would
make the Polacke wary, and difficult to engage any person of Quality. To which he gaue all
such assurance of good and free acceptation as words could expresse. All which, the Embas-
sador returned in writing to the Ministers of Poland; entreating both parties to conniue at
what was past, and endeauor by all meanes afterward to restraine those mutuall incursions,
which were begun anew by the Cossackes, the noise of whom had strucke the Imperiall city
with great feare.

The Spahies cause the Chimacham to be strangled.

C Vpon the third of Iune the Spahies assembled in the Hippodrome; discontent with the
gouernment of the old Chimacham *Georgi Mehemet Bassa* (the ablest and wisest man in that
State, but to Christians malicious, and of the Poles a continuall persecutor) who had the au-
thority of the great Visier in his absence at the war; and in great fury ran to the house of the
Mufti, and demanded of him to pronounce a sentence of death against him, and that hee
would rise and informe the Grand Signior of their will; which if he refused, they threatened
a generall reuolt, and to doe their owne justice. There was no remedy; the Emperor being
enformed, was pleased instantly to displace him, and to giue the office to *Regeb* Captain Bas-
sa, or Admirall, and his office to * *Imbrahor Bassa*; hoping thus to quiet all matters. But this
gaue them no satisfaction, they demanded in greater fury his life. The poore old man was
D retyred into the Grand Signiors protection, who vsed all meanes to appease them, offering to
banish or confine him: but nothing would content or separate them vntill he had deliuered
him vp; who the next day was strangled and throwne into the streets, where the Barbarians
vented their spleene vpon his dead body, cutting off his eares and nose, and carrying them in
triumph to their fellowes. Presently they demand the life of some others, principally of *Mo-*
rat Chiaus the Customer (odious to all men) whom when they could not finde, they sacked
his house. Within a day or two after they began to be quiet, vpon promise, That if he could
be found he should be rendred to them, and others be brought to Iustice: but all feared that
that Pestilence and Destruction of the city would escape by force of his money, hauing three
times before beene in the like danger. That great Minister or Chimacham was ninety six
E yeares old, had been forty fiue yeares Visier, and thrice Chimacham. The great seruices he
had done, euen to the preseruation of the Empire, nor any other respect could protect him
from this rage. The occasion then taken against him, was, That he did conceale the ill estate
of the army in Babylon, flattering the Grand Signior, while their fellowes perished; and cer-
taine Letters written in bloud, pretended from the Campe, produced to accuse him; which
afterward were discouered to be written in Constantinople. When the sentence was deliue-
red to the Bostangi Bassa, he came to the lodging of the Chimacham in the Kings Garden,
where he thought himselfe in sanctuary, and for reuerence to his age and place, held it (being
written) in his hand, rather to intimate, than to be the messenger. The poore old man perce-
iuing it, desired an houre to pray; and conjured him to warne the Grand Signior, hereafter, not
F to be so easie to consent to shed innocent bloud, which within few daies he would repent: and
lastly he entreated, that he might not die by the foule hands of the Hangman: which cost him
deare; for the Bostangies executioners, either for respect, or for want of skill, could not finish
his life (so great was his old heart) in one houre: he was buried by a few Rascals, his owne
seruants hid, and no man daring to accompany him to his last Bed.

* Master of the horse.

The

The immediate foregoing discourse was filled with the injustice and insolency of man; G
but this bringeth with it the example and justice of God, who reuengeth the bloud of his
enemies and wicked men, vnjustly spilt, to preserue his image euen amongst them that study
to destroy it. To this may be fitly applied that boldnesse, *Non esse curæ deis securitatem eorum,*
esse vltionem: The Ianizaries either enuious that they had no part in the last sedition, or be-
ing innocent, vnwilling to participare in the infamy, or rather it was their turne to do some-
what; forced the boats of the gallies which lay aboue Constantinople in the channell, and
came downe to a garden house vpon the sea in the night, where the Emperor priuatly repo-
sed, and began to exclaime against the death of the innocent; protesting they had no share
therein, but as obedient slaues they desired the peace of the State, and that Iustice and quiet-
nesse might returne to the City; and requiring reuenge vpon diuers whom they accused as H
the authors of those tumults, they named their owne * *Segmen Bassa* as the principall, and
eighteene of their owne officers, and diuers others of the chiefe Spahies, who held councels
together, and were become heads of Factions; which vntill they were all cut off, there was
no hope of good gouernment and peace. The Grand Signior gaue them milde words, and
promised to do justice, and to punish all such as should be found guilty: but nothing being
don to satisfie them, and it being beleeued that the new Chimacham conniued, and had bin a
party to all their counsels, at least his preferment made him obnoxious to that suspition; and
it was most true, that the *Segmen Bassa* and his followers & faction were the contriuers of the
fall and muther of *George Mehemet Bassa*, and very probable that he was fauoured if not prote-
cted by the new Ministers; the Ianizaries rose againe, and by force brought downe the gallies I
neere the City, and landed and held a Councell very secret in their chambers. This bred
much suspition and feare; but the day of publique audience being come, according to the
custome, they repaired all to the Seraglio, and waited in their order: their *Segmen Bassa* only
did not appeare; and it was thought he absented purposely by agreement with the Chima-
cham, lest there should be some occasion to examine the past businesse, which would not en-
dure the light. The * Diuan being finished, and the Viziers and * Caddee Leschers com-
ming towards the gate, they were stopped by the Ianizaries, and told plainely they would
speake with the King. Such persuasions as were requisite were vsed; but there was no reme-
dy, they would deliuer their owne message. The young Emperor at first was afraid, and reti-
red; but to auoid greater inconueniences, resolued to come out to them. Order was instant- K
ly giuen to send for the Musti and the Antients of the Law, and many * Santons, for the *Seg-*
men Bassa, and others of quality to be present at this action. In the meane time a Throne was
brought out, and placed in the great Court, and the Grand Signior came forth and sate in
his Majesty, attended and assisted by all the great Ministers and Officers of his Empire, to
strike a reuerence and feare into the souldiers, whose purposes were not yet discouered. Con-
trary to all expectation, an Electo spake for them: *In all humble manner profesing their obedi-*
ence, and lamenting the sicknesse of the State, and the dayly insolencies; and declaring, as they were not
guilty of this last mutiny, so they were ready to spend their bloud in defence of their Prince, and for the
reformation of those disorders (to which there could be applied no remedy but by the sword of Iustice to
cut off all those heads which held Conuenticles, and plotted dayly alterations, onely to gouerne the whole L
Empire at their will.) They desired their Petition might be accepted, and those disturbers of the peace
sought out and executed, in which they would assist: and that new names and titles might be forbidden,
which many had taken vp as Heads of Factions; and the Souldiery reduced to their antient discipline:
Which if his Majesty would grant and speedily put in practise, they were ready to die in his seruice;
otherwise, as there was no hope of quietnesse, so they did foresee greater mischiefes dayly contemplated,
which they would oppose as well as they were able. At the end of this Oration (which might haue
become a *Cato*) they deliuered a briefe petition in writing, wherein they modestly accused
the new Chimacham of confederacy and conniuence with their *Segmen Bassa*, whom they
anew appealed, and gaue vp the names of those their owne Officers, and Spahies, vpon whom
they layd all the burthen of the dayly tumults. The Emperor gaue them a short, but satis- M
factory answer; yeelding to their request, yet mingled with some admonition such as be-
came a Prince: and so they departed euery man to their owne rest. But the *Segmen Bassa* ha-
uing some intimation that his name was renewed in that list of death, tooke the first opportu-
nity, fled, and hid himselfe; and diuers others conscious of their owne merits, retyred, and
thereby

The Ianizaries petition against their fellow-mutiniers.

** Lieutenant to the Aga.*

** Publike Councell.*
** chiefe Iustices.*

** Holy-men.*

A thereby condemned themselues: not one roaring Spahi to be seene in the city; all things
were so calme as if *Astræa* were descended. There was no distemper but in the heart of the
Chimacham, who was afraid to bring his complices into triall, and yet was sure if they were
not taken, their escape would be his ruine: for the Ianizaries exacted of him an account of
the execution. With much diligence the *Segmen Bassa* was apprehended, and brought to the
Court. He was first examined, rather to finde his owne treasure which was infinite (for hee
had the spoile of Greece in the last gathering of tribute-children; and of the Seraglio at the
death of Sultan *Osman*) than to discouer other men. The Grand Signior sent for him, and
after few words, gaue sentence to haue his head strucken off; which was instantly performed
before the dore. Afterwards diuers of both Orders were taken (as was reported, to the num-
B berof twenty two) priuately strangled, and throwne into the sea; and some (principally bran-
ded) were hidden and fled. This trouble turned the Grand Signior to account many waies;
for by confiscations he aduanced a million and two hundred and fifty thousand Dollars of
the *Segmen Bassa*; by the Scriuano as much; by others, very great summes; and, as if peace
had risen out of the graue of the old Chimacham, there was heard no more noise: the Spa-
hies shrunke, and the Ianizaries as their glory tooke vpon them an austere reformation. But
there were many inward sores and discontents, which notwithstanding all this cleere aire,
were like to breake out, and one storme could not be sufficient to cure or purge the corrupti-
ons of that State.

While the Grand Signior was thus troubled with appeasing his disordered and mutinous *The Grand Signiors Army in distresse.*
C Ministers and slaues at home, newes was brought from Babylon, That his campe there was in
great extremity, besieged without by the Persian, Master of the field, and consequently of
their prouisions; nakednesse, famine, and diseases within, were more terrible than the Enemy;
and the supplies sent, staied at Dierbeker, not daring to proceed without better gards: insoo-
much as if speedy succors were not giuen them, the army must dishonourably and dangerous-
ly breake and steale away. But hereupon there was a publike Councell held, in which all
Orders as well ciuill as military assisted; and a present supply collected, and a Generall chosen
to conduct them.

The Grand Signior, because the greatest part of his land forces were thus busied and em-
ployed against the Persian in Asia, sent his Letters (at the instance of the Prince of Tran-
D sylvania) to diuers Kings and Princes vnited for the liberty of Germany, to encourage them
to perseuerance and constancy in such designes as were fit for that purpose. But this was an
art of *Gabor*, to insinuate (by this shew) into the Grand Signior an opinion of great confede-
racy with those Princes, to make himselfe more valued and considerable at the Port; and on
the other side to improue his authority in Christendome, by the pretence of so much cre-
dit, and so great aids ready for his seruice. The copy whereof doth here immediately fol-
low.

Prince *Morat* euer Victorious;

B *To the most glorious amongst the great Lords of Iesus, and chiefe amongst the highest of the peo-*
ple of Messiah, Directors of all the affaires of Christians, Princes of the limits of power and ho-
nour, Lords who direct to greatnesse and glory, and Kings ouer many Nations, who antiently haue decla-
red themselues to beare true loue and affection to our high Port: and to all Kings and Princes, glorious
Potentates, and other Gouernors of the people of Iesus, whose last daies we pray God may euer be happy:
but especially to those who haue at the present desired the friendship of our most happy Port, the sanctuary
and refuge of the Cæsars and Princes of our age. To them let it be knowne, vpon the sight of our most
high and Imperiall Signature, That there is arriued at our happy Port, a messenger with a Letter from
the most glorious amongst the followers of Iesus, and the most respected and honoured amongst the people
F *of the Messiah, Director of the affaires of the Nazarene people, Patron of the limits of honour and pow-*
er, and Lord of greatnesse and glory, Bethlem Gabor, *Gouernour of Transylvania, and King of Hun-*
gary, whose last daies be propitious; being a true seruant and an vndoubted friend to our high Port, by
the great mercy of the most high God euer preserued; and by the wonderfull protection of the chiefe of
Prophets our Prophet Mahomet Mustapha *(whom God blesse) kept safe, with a most noble, high, and*
continued

The immediate foregoing discourse was filled with the injustice and insolency of man; but this bringeth with it the example and justice of God, who reuengeth the bloud of his enemies and wicked men, vnjustly spilt, to preserue his image euen amongst them that study to destroy it. To this may be fitly applied that boldnesse, *Non esse curæ deis securitatem eorum, esse vltionem:* The Ianizaries either enuious that they had no part in the last sedition, or being innocent, vnwilling to participare in the infamy, or rather it was their turne to do somewhat; forced the boats of the gallies which lay aboue Constantinople in the channell, and came downe to a garden house vpon the sea in the night, where the Emperor priuatly repo-sed, and began to exclaime against the death of the innocent; protesting they had no share therein, but as obedient slaues they desired the peace of the State, and that Iustice and quietnesse might returne to the City; and requiring reuenge vpon diuers whom they accused as the authors of those tumults, they named their owne * *Segmen Bassa* as the principall, and eighteene of their owne officers, and diuers others of the chiefe Spahies, who held councels together, and were become heads of Factions; which vntill they were all cut off, there was no hope of good gouernment and peace. The Grand Signior gaue them milde words, and promised to do justice, and to punish all such as should be found guilty: but nothing being don to satisfie them, and it being beleeued that the new Chimacham conniued, and had bin a party to all their counsels, at least his preferment made him obnoxious to that suspition; and it was most true, that the *Segmen Bassa* and his followers & faction were the contriuers of the fall and muther of *Georgi Mehemet Bassa*, and very probable that he was fauoured if not protected by the new Minister; the Ianizaries rose againe, and by force brought downe the gallies neere the City, and landed and held a Councell very secret in their chambers. This bred much suspition and feare; but the day of publique audience being come, according to the custome, they repaired all to the Seraglio, and waited in their order: their *Segmen Bassa* only did not appeare; and it was thought he absented purposely by agreement with the Chimacham, lest there should be some occasion to examine the past businesse, which would not endure the light. The * Diuan being finished, and the Viziers and * Caddee Leschers comming towards the gate, they were stopped by the Ianizaries, and told plainely they would speake with the King. Such persuasions as were requisite were vsed; but there was no remedy, they would deliuer their owne message. The young Emperor at first was afraid, and retired; but to auoid greater inconueniences, resolued to come out to them. Order was instantly giuen to send for the Mufti and the Antients of the Law, and many * Santons, for the *Segmen Bassa*, and others of quality to be present at this action. In the meane time a Throne was brought out, and placed in the great Court, and the Grand Signior came forth and sate in his Majesty, attended and assisted by all the great Ministers and Officers of his Empire, to strike a reuerence and feare into the souldiers, whose purposes were not yet discouered. Contrary to all expectation, an Electo spake for them: *In all humble manner profession their obedience, and lamenting the sicknesse of the State, and the dayly insolencies; and declaring, as they were not guilty of this last mutiny, so they were ready to spend their bloud in defence of their Prince, and for the reformation of those disorders (to which there could be applied no remedy but by the sword of Iustice to cut off all those heads which held Conuenticles, and plotted dayly alterations, onely to gouerne the whole Empire at their will.) They desired their Petition might be accepted, and those disturbers of the peace sought out and executed, in which they would assist: and that new names and titles might be forbidden, which many had taken vp as Heads of Factions; and the Souldiery reduced to their antient discipline: Which if his Majesty would grant and speedily put in practise, they were ready to die in his seruice; otherwise, as there was no hope of quietnesse, so they did foresee greater mischiefes dayly contemplated, which they would oppose as well as they were able.* At the end of this Oration (which might haue become a *Cato*) they deliuered a briefe petition in writing, wherein they modestly accused the new Chimacham of confederacy and conniuence with their *Segmen Bassa*, whom they anew appealed, and gaue vp the names of those their owne Officers, and Spahies, vpon whom they layd all the burthen of the dayly tumults. The Emperor gaue them a short, but satisfactory answer; yeelding to their request, yet mingled with some admonition such as became a Prince: and so they departed euery man to their owne rest. But the *Segmen Bassa* hauing some intimation that his name was renewed in that list of death, tooke the first opportunity, fled, and hid himselfe; and diuers others conscious of their owne merits, retyred, and thereby

The Ianizaries petition against their fellow-mutiniers.

** Lieutenant to the Aga.*

** Publike Councell.*
** Chiefe Iustices.*

** Holy-men.*

thereby condemned themselues: not one roaring Spahi to be seene in the city; all things were so calme as if *Astræa* were descended. There was no distemper but in the heart of the Chimacham, who was afraid to bring his complices into triall, and yet was sure if they were not taken, their escape would be his ruine: for the Ianizaries exacted of him an account of the execution. With much diligence the *Segmen Bassa* was apprehended, and brought to the Court. He was first examined, rather to finde his owne treasure which was infinite (for hee had the spoile of Greece in the last gathering of tribute-children; and of the Seraglio at the death of Sultan *Osman*) than to discouer other men. The Grand Signior sent for him, and after few words, gaue sentence to haue his head strucken off; which was instantly performed before the dore. Afterwards diuers of both Orders were taken (as was reported, to the number of twenty two) priuately strangled, and throwne into the sea; and some (principally branded) were hidden and fled. This trouble turned the Grand Signior to account many waies; for by confiscations he aduanced a million and two hundred and fifty thousand Dollars of the *Segmen Bassa*; by the Scriuano as much; by others, very great summes; and, as if peace had risen out of the graue of the old Chimacham, there was heard no more noise: the Spahies shrunke, and the Ianizaries as their glory tooke vpon them an austere reformation. But there were many inward sores and discontents, which notwithstanding all this cleere aire, were like to breake out, and one storme could not be sufficient to cure or purge the corruptions of that State.

The Grand Signiors Army in distresse.

While the Grand Signior was thus troubled with appeasing his disordered and mutinous Ministers and slaues at home, newes was brought from Babylon, That his campe there was in great extremity, besieged without by the Persian, Master of the field, and consequently of their prouisions; nakednesse, famine, and diseases within, were more terrible than the Enemy; and the supplies sent, staied at Dierbeker, not daring to proceed without better gards: insomuch as if speedy succors were not giuen them, the army must dishonourably and dangerously breake and steale away. But hereupon there was a publike Councell held, in which all Orders as well ciuill as military assisted; and a present supply collected, and a Generall chosen to conduct them.

The Grand Signior, because the greatest part of his land forces were thus busied and employed against the Persian in Asia, sent his Letters (at the instance of the Prince of Transyluania) to diuers Kings and Princes vnited for the liberty of Germany, to encourage them to perseuerance and constancy in such designes as were fit for that purpose. But this was an art of *Gabor*, to insinuate (by this shew) into the Grand Signior an opinion of great confederacy with those Princes, to make himselfe more valued and considerable at the Port; and on the other side to improue his authority in Christendome, by the pretence of so much credit, and so great aids ready for his seruice. The copy whereof doth here immediately follow.

Prince *Morat* euer Victorious;

To the most glorious amongst the great Lords of Iesus, and chiefe amongst the highest of the people of Messiah, Directors of all the affaires of Christians, Princes of the limits of power and honour, Lords who direct to greatnesse and glory, and Kings ouer many Nations, who antiently haue declared themselues to beare true loue and affection to our high Port: and to all Kings and Princes, glorious Potentates, and other Gouernors of the people of Iesus, whose last daies we pray God may euer be happy: but especially to those who haue at the present desired the friendship of our most happy Port, the sanctuary and refuge of the Cæsars and Princes of our age. To them let it be knowne, vpon the sight of our most high and Imperiall Signature, That there is arriued at our happy Port, a messenger with a Letter from the most glorious amongst the followers of Iesus, and the most respected and honoured amongst the people of the Messiah, Director of the affaires of the Nazarene people, Patron of the limits of honour and power, and Lord of greatnesse and glory, Bethlem Gabor, *Gouernour of Transyluania, and King of Hungary, whose last daies be propitious; being a true seruant and an vndoubted friend to our high Port, by the great mercy of the most high God euer preserued; and by the wonderfull protection of the chiefe of Prophets our Prophet* Mahomet Mustapha *(whom God blesse) kept safe, with a most noble, high, and*

continued

continued off-spring: which did signifie, That some of you who in those parts be Kings and great Gouer-
nors, and chiefest and most glorious of the honoured and famous amongst the Lords that are obedient to G
the Meßiah, haue antiently shewed your selues constant and firme in your affection and sincere good will
to our high Port; and that some others of you, being Lords of great Countries, do now desire friendship
and acquaintance with our Imperiall Majesty; and that the Gouernour of Transyluania and King of
Hungary, holdeth at the present good friendship and correspondence with you; and that you haue vnited
your selues with him for good and honourable ends: who letteth vs understand, That you haue sent Mes-
sengers and Letters to him; certifying him, That although some of you were antient and vndoubted
friends long before of our high Port; yet others of you who haue beene more remote, doe now desire to ap-
proch our familiarity; and that he should be the guide and presenter of the sincere Faith and good af-
fection which you pretend to haue with vs. And the said Bethlem Gabor King of Hungary, in obser- H
uance of the perfect obedience and loue to our happy Port, hath enformed vs of the truth of your state,
and your offered friendship. Which his Letter, with all the particulars therein contained, we haue cau-
sed to be translated by our Visiers, and presented to our Imperiall view; so that nothing therein hath been
hidden or vnknowne to vs from the beginning to the end: the particulars whereof hath pleased our hap-
pyeies, and the friendship which you haue desired to make with our high Port, hath been accepted of our
Imperiall Majesty: and all those things he certified there are most acceptable to our sincere minde; assu-
ring you, That our high Port hath and shall be at all times open to the whole World, but especially to those
who by a fresh and new friendship seeke to enter in and receiue it. And as all our Progenitors, and we our
Selfe, to all the Friends of our house haue beene euer benigne and courteous, so to you shall be shewed all
honour from our Imperiall dignity, and more fauour than to others who are your equals. And in token I
that you may know we do accept of your loue and friendship offered, we giue you safe conduct to send your
Embassadors into our high Court; writing this our Letter vnto you, full of all affection and integrity.
At the arriuall whereof it is meet, that in conformity of the good affection and sincere friendship which
you haue promised and expressed to our high Port, you vse all diligence and care to fulfill and prosecute
this worthy and good businesse which you haue begun, hauing your minds attentiue and setled vpon the
same, in such sort as they be stable and sure, according to antient customs in like cases. And to other
Kings, friends of this Port, you shall send your Embassadors of Honour, that the means of loue and friend-
ship may encrease euery day; and the good effects vpon our part shall be dayly augmented, and the houres
of our affection shall go forward and continue: and by the grace of the high God, your Embassadours or
other Ministers comming to our happy Port, shall haue assigned them euery one apart their houses; and
according to the forme and manner of our Imperiall Majesty, shall be entertained and protected; and K
when it shall be fit for them to returne to you againe, we will take order that they shall haue commodious
and safe passage. Therefore rest satisfied in minde, and giue good credit to these our happy lines set
downe concerning this affaire: and be you also firme and constant in your friendship, correspondence, and
confederacy. And we haue sent to Muhemet Bassa our Visier, &c. (whose glory God continue) who at
the present is Gouernor of Buda, our expresse Commands, and giuen order, That all the Armies belonging
to him, of Buda, Bosnia, Temesware, Canisia, and Agria, and other places adjoyning thereunto; and be-
sides them, to the most eminent Beglerbeghs of the Prouince of Greece (whose Armies belong vnto him)
the most valiant Captaines of all our Empire; and to other personages of eminent ranke, who haue vn-
der their command many thousands of men; That they repaire to our said Visier and Generall, (whose
glory God encrease) and being all gathered together, that they make their Musters and Campe at the con- L
fines neere Buda, in such a place and part as shall be fit for that purpose. And on the other side also, That
Bethlem Gabor (Gouernour of Transyluania, and King of Hungary, shall leauie a good Army, and
keepe good correspondence with our said Visier, that they may be in a readinesse and prepared, in case that
any Enemy inuade the said King of Hungary, or the Prouince of Transyluania; that then they vse all
their diligence and readinesse to repell them, and fulfill all those duties which concerne the honour of our
State, and are beseteming the reputation of our Religion. And by the grace of God, after that your Em-
bassadors (honourable and fit personages) shall come here with your Letters, and establish a good Peace
and friendship, there shall be no doubt but you and your Countries and Allies shall be protected by vs; and
hereafter comprehended in all our Treatise of Peace which we shall conclude and establish. In conclusion, M
All that which our noble minde can expresse or promise, shall be effected: whereof we haue giuen notice
at large to all our Ministers. Of euery other particular the Gouernor of Transyluania and King of Hun-
gary will write to you more amply; to whom I desire you to giue faith and credit; and to obserue good cor-
respondence, both with him and our said Visier Muhamet, Bassa of Buda; and you shall write vnto vs
(when

A (when this our Imperiall letter shall come to your hands) of what other thing shall happen, by your embas-
sadors; which by the grace of God you shall send to our high Port: and you shall be very carefull alwaies,
to fulfill the beginnings of this our friendship and amitie.

Written in the middle of the month of Iuly,
1626. In Constantinople.

About this time there arriued a Letter from the King of great Brittaine to the grand Sig-
nior, concerning the Treaty of Algier and Tunes, and complaining of diuers injuries done to
B his subiects, and requiring justice and redresse. Which being respectiuely answered, are wor-
thy of publique communication.

His Majesties Letter to the grand Signior.

CHARLES by the grace of the most high God, King of great Britain, France and Ire-
land; Defender of the Christian Faith, &c. To the high and mighty Emperor Sultan
Morat Han, chiefe Lord and Commander of the Ottoman Kingdom, sole & supreme
C Monarch of the Eastern Empire, sendeth greeting.

WE haue vnderstood by our Embassador resident with you, with how much honor and
respect the death of our dear Lord and Father of euer-glorious memory was condo-
led at your Imperiall Port; And if the signification therof, and of our peaceable succession to
these Crowns, haue not in all this time come vnto you immediatly from our selfe, it hath not
bin through any default of our affection, or respect to you, but many important affaires vpon
our first accesse, and the dangerous infection wherewith our royall city of London, and many
D other principall parts of our Kingdom haue been visited, haue diuerted vs, and forced vs to
defer these offices longer than we intended or desired. And as we hope you will for these im-
portant reasons, readily and freely excuse those omissions which in so weighty occasions may
well be dispensed withall; so we pray you to be assured, That wee are desirous that the amitie
which hath of long time bin held between our predecessors, may be renued, continued,
and confirmed; and the intercourse of trade betweene our subiects and yours, be main-
tained and preserued, for the good of both our kingdoms and people. And to giue you the bet-
ter proofe of our reall and sincere intentions therein, we haue ratified, and do ratifie the trea-
ty made by our Embassador Sir Thomas Rowe in that your Imperiall Port, with your Sub-
E jects of Algier and Tunes; and we canot doubt, but that you for your part will keep a constan-
cie in the exact performance thereof, and to that end will lay your royall command vpon those
your vassals of Algier and Tunes, duly to obserue the articles of that Treaty in all respects to-
ward our subiects. We do likewise recommend vnto you, and pray you, in conformitie to our
desire of friendship and good correspondencie, to confirme and ratifie those priuiledges which
haue bin formerly granted by your predecessors to our Merchants, and to inlarge the same ac-
cording to present occasions, and as shall be most conuenient for the good of both our King-
domes: which as we will study by all good means to keepe vp in full force, and most aduanta-
F gious execution; so we may not omit to represent vnto you the grieuances of our subiects when
they are vniustly wronged, contrary to the capitulations between vs, and we presume without
your knowledge or consent. That which we haue now to desire your justice in, is, First, for
extreame injuries done by inferior officers, and especially by one Morat Chaus a Customer of

that

that Port, who hath not only broken, but also scorned and contemned the articles of the Capi- G
tulation, and that in the publique Divan, to your dishonour, and to the great preiudice of our
Merchants. Secondly, an open injustice don to our subiects in Algier, wherin our English Con-
sul and the rest of our Nation were restrained of their liberty, their goods seised vpon, and
forced to pay great sums of mony, contrary to justice and the direct terms of the Treaty. But if
while we on our behalfe do obserue the Capitulation, and all good tearmes of friendship, such
meane persons as Customers and other Officers be suffered and borne out in these vniust inso-
lencies and oppressions vpon our subiects, in a manifest breach of the Capitulations, we canot
shut our ears against the petitions of our subiects, but must according to their humble suit, giue
order to withdraw their persons and estates from such dangers, wrongs, and injustice; vnlesse H
vpon this our instance we find a speedy redresse & exemplary punishment inflicted vpon such
as haue or shall transgresse the rules of justice, and the amity and contract between vs; which
we recommend to your iudgement and eare, as a matter wherein the welfare of our and your
people and countries is interessed. We do further particularly pray you, to giue expresse order
for the vpholding and maintaining of that article of priuiledge, for the paying but only of one
Custom within all the ports vnder your jurisdiction, with free liberty to export any commodi-
tie, hauing once payd custom, without further charge, and that our subiects be not exacted vp-
on contrary to that priuiledge. The further particulars of our subiects grieuances, and what I
else we desire to be negotiated with you, we haue giuen in charge to our Embassador Sir Tho-
mas Rowe, to whom we pray you to giue credit, and to return vs full answers to the seuerall
points of this our letter. Wherin if you shall giue reliefe to our subiects, and punish those that
violate the capitulation, we shal receiue it as a singular testimony of your justice, your good in-
tentions toward vs, your constancie in your contracts, and your iudgement in what hath
relation to the good of your owne Dominions; and we shall be ready to answer that realtie of
yours, in whatsoeuer shall rest on our part to perform.

Dated the first of March, 1626.

The grand Signiors Answer to his Majesties Letter of Great Britain.

Prince *Morat*, euer successfull; L

*To the mighty Prince, reuerend amongst the Maiesties of the Princes of the Law of Je-
sus, obeyed of the great Potentates Followers of the* Messia, *the onely Director of the
important affairs of the Nazaren people, Souereign of the limits of honor and power,
the most glorious* CHARLES *King of Great Britaine; To whose last dayes we wish all
felicitie.*

M

To the sublime and happy Throne of our high Port, the Seat of the perpetuall Vicariat, *the which
by the mercy of the Diuine Maiestie of the mighty God, and by the grace of the Lord was the
Seale of the Prophets, vpon whom be continuall blessing, and the refuge of the Princes vpon the face of
the earth, and the Sanctuarie of the Potentates of the world; your Letter with accustomed sinceritie is
arrived,*

A *arriued, by the hands of your Embassador, the elect among the Nation of* Messiah, *Sir* Thomas Rowe,
resident in our happy Port, to whose end we wish blessednesse. The which, according to the antient Otto-
man *custome, and the vsed Imperiall forme, was by our supream Vizier and glorious Vicegerent transla-
ted and expounded; and being presented before our State of most ample honour and felicitie, and seene by
our Imperiall eies, and considered by our benigne sight, from the beginning to the end, our noble vnder-
standing hath intirely perceiued the inserted businesse, and all particulars thereof; and our discreet aspe-
ction, from the least to the greatest, hath comprehended all your proposed affaires, all which conduce to
loue. The principall whereof is (besides that you haue fully mentioned, and declared the state of the Ami-
tie that between both Dominions hath been preserued by your Fathers and Ancestors) That now your
Majestie, after your Father of glorious memorie, being by iust inheritance ascended to the Regalitie of
B those Crownes, doth aduise vs, That you also more than your Father, are stable and firme in the same way
of friendship, and most constant towards vs, in preseruation of the Peace and good correspondence, and
daily attentiue to endeauour the strengthning of the Peace and Amitie with our Port, and resolued to ac-
complish the same; and not to faile in any part of louing correspondence. With which your friendly ad-
uice, with most sincere words expressed, are to vs most gratefull; That you in a blessed houre, and a happy
time, haue possessed, and begun to reigne in the Kingdomes of your Father; the secret of our purest heart
was greatly reioyced, and did conceiue abundance of contentment, and our Imperial Maiesty also hath ther-
fore obtained, and together expressed all manner of gladnesse and loue toward your Majesty, in diuining
you all happinesse.*

*You haue also aduised vs, That your aboue named Embassador, yet abiding in our blessed Port, hauing
C formerly treated with those of Tunes and Algier, and contracted concerning your Merchants, and their
free traffique and commerce in those partss, and conformably with them agreed, concluded and confirmed
the Peace; the which being very profitable and commodious to both our Kingdomes, that you haue also rati-
tified, and in the whole condiscended thereunto; desiring, That on our behalfe also the same should be obser-
ued: and to the end that for euer hereafter there may be no deuiation from the same Accord, and that to
the Merchants, according to the antient Custome, going and comming to those parts to traffique and nego-
tiate, contrary to the Imperiall Capitulation, no iniury may be by them done; That we should send to our
Vice-Kings our expresse commands. Therefore you shall know, That we haue already sent to our said Vice-
Royes, with expresse order, our most efficacious and Imperiall Commandements, and strictly charged them,
Neuer to transgresse the same contracted Agreement; and that they take heed, Not to do any wrong or
D violence to any of your Merchants (contrary to our Imperiall Capitulations) trading and vsing those
parts.*

*And furthermore hauing signified vnto vs, That certaine Magistrates and Customers of some Scales
of our well defended Empire, contrary to the Articles and Couenants written in the Imperiall Capitula-
tions, do make diuers demands of grieuances and impositions of your Merchants, and vnder the name of*
Mesteria, * *and such like, do pretend and exact money from them: and hauing also aduised vs, That con-
formable to the Imperiall Capitulation, your Merchants hauing paid their due custome, and transporting
their goods to other Scales; That they also demand of them a new Custome: Therefore it being in no wise
our Imperiall will that in our prosperous days, and iust and peacefull reigne, according to our Imperiall Ca-
pitulation, That wrong should be done to any man; We haue giuen vpon this particular, our requisite and
E sufficient Imperial Command, and streitly commanded and ordained, That they shall neuer transgresse our
Imperiall Capitulation; and that the Nation of your Merchants, in what place or Scale soeuer they shall go,
the Magistrates and Customers do all diligence, that the said Merchants may liue quietly, contentedly, and
securely; and hauing payd in one Scale the custome of any merchandise, which being not sold, and that
they shall transport it to any other Scale, that they take great heed, not to demand nor take of them
any new Custome, nor euer, contrary to the Canon, to exact of them any new imposition or other grie-
uance.*

You haue also further aduised vs, That the late Hussiph Bassa, *while he remained in the charge of
Vice-King of Algier, did vninstly take your Consul, resident in Algier, with the Merchants which liu-
ed with him, and hauing imprisoned them contrary to the Law, Iustice, and the friendship betweene
F vs, did take from them certaine thousands of Dollars, and had done to them other great wrong and da-
mage: therefore, seeing it is more cleere than the Sunne shine day, that it is not in any sort by our consent,
that such injustice and insolent actions should be committed, and there being then present in our happy
Port some of the principall persons of the garrison of that place of Algier, who did know the whole
proceeding, and we hauing commanded they should bee examined of that businesse, they were presently
brought*

* Mach-dauers.

brought to Iustice, and being all of them variously reprehended and affrighted, they did answer, confessing and obliging themselues, That all the money taken they would repay from the reuenue of the custome, and Fifts collected; and as soon as they should arriue in Algier, they would take order that the Consul and all the Merchants should be set free. In conformity whereof, we also haue written our most effectuall and noble Command, reprehensiue and threatning, directed to the Vize-Re of Algier, and commanded him, That in this busines he vse no negligence, but that without further delay he set at liberty the said Consul and Merchants, and restore vnto them entirely all their goods taken from them, and that he know, that hereafter no such action shall be pardoned; and that your Consul sent into those parts, according to antient custome, shall be entertained and honoured, and that hee doe punctually obserue and execute the due tearmes of friendship.

And in the Conclusion, concerning all the included particulars of your Letter; in due forme, and befitting our Majestie the Fountaine of Iustice, and conformable to the Tenor of our Imperiall Capitulations, there haue been written diuers our noble Commandements, and consigned to the hands of your said Embassadour; and for the time to come, in all things which shall lead to the increase of our friendship, and those offices, commodious and profitable to the Merchants of both our Dominions, our Imperiall study and attention shall not bee spared: and be you assured, that the termes of our Amitie and good correspondence which to this day hath been continued, shall bee of vs with excellent endeauor maintained.

But being informed from our honorable Gouernor, wise Councellor, and Visier, Haydar Bassa (whose splendor God preserue) whom wee haue assigned and sent to the custodie of the boundlesse Ayman, that there is come a petition, with a representation and attestation of the principall of that Kingdome, to our happy Port, declaring, That in times past, in the gouernment of our Fezeli Bassa, Vizier, now dead, being that certaine men of war appertaining to your Kingdomes, had contrary to the Capitulations, assailed the Merchants which with their goods returned from India, and fought and taken their ships, and it being made knoune to the said Fezeli Bassa, that our Merchants had been damaged to the value of six hundred thousand Dollars: which action being it was contrary to Law, Iustice, and our Imperiall Capitulation, and that it was requisite that the spoylers should be condemned, the said Fezeli Bassa did collect from the Masters of the said men of warre, for the said goods taken from our Merchants, an hundred thousand Dollars, and did consigne it to the true owners: and whereas there was yet remaining to them fiue hundred thousand Dollars, the which to this day is not satisfied, the said men of warre not containing themselues in due forme, haue armed a new seuen ships from your Countrey, and haue come and assailed fourteen ships of our Merchants, which from India were sailing to the Scale of Ayman, and having taken the Masters prisoners, haue made spoyle and depredation of all their faculties; and that now the Dutch Nation and your men of warre ride at anchor in the Port of Mecha, and do pretend the return of the hundred thousand Dollars taken by Fezeli Bassa. Which brute and scandolous wickednesse, in affront of our Imperiall power, to dare to perseuer, and to spoyle and ransacke those parts, being signified to the feet of our Imperiall Throne, the Ocean of Iustice, and that those robbed Merchants are subjects of our well defended Dominion. Being in no manner our Imperiall will, that there should be lost one of the said Vessels, nor any the least part of their goods detained; and being that such an action is very ingratefull, and oppugnant to the Peace and friendship between vs contracted, to the end that all the said Merchants may bee set free, and that their goods and faculties taken, may bee entirely restored to the true owners; which your Majestie causing to be done, you shall accomplish the requisite termes of true Amitie, and shall fulfill the offices of our sincere Correspondence, and shall strengthen the foundation of our good and mutuall fidelitie and League, wee haue written you this our present Letter, full of all effectuall Loue.

At the arriuall whereof it is conuenient, that in conformitie of the great perfect and spotlesse Amitie between your Ancestors and our happy Port, and the Imperiall house of eternall glory, and the antient good Concord, Vnion and Correspondence, that also your Maiestie should be firme and stable in all waies, with iust proceedings to preserue and maintaine the meanes and Orders of friendship descended from your Fathers and Ancestors. And if your Maiestie desire and will, That the termes of Amitie, and our good correspondence shall be carefully obserued and kept, you will then bestow your good diligence and care, that the aboue mentioned happened action, so discrepant from our Imperiall minde and will, that is, as is aboue written, That the fourteene ships of our Merchants which came from India to our well defenced Dominion, and Scale of Ayman, and were taken and surprised by the English Men of war, and the Merchants which were found in them all made slaues, and all their goods and faculties made prize; that

that they may be all set free, and all the goods taken from the said Merchants may be entirely restored to the true owners; and so your Maiestie shall haue conseruedour most happy mind and affection, and protected our most honorable and noble desires: the performing of which your friendly office, vndoubtedly will produce to your Kingdomes many beneficiall and profitable effects; and certainly you shall finde, that it will redound to the great honour and fame of your Maiesty. And by the Grace of God, after that this our happy and most louing Letter shall arriue by some honourable person, and to you faithfull; be you pleased to send aduice to our excelse Port, of the manner of your vsed diligence and affection in this businesse, and of the effect of the libertie of our ships and Merchants, and of the full restitution of all the goods taken, to their right owners; and with what readines you haue expressed your sincerite and affection to our Imperiall Maiesty. Which businesse we haue also earnestly recommended to your aboue named Embassadour, that when he shall more largely haue enformed you, that you be pleased to giue him credit, and that in the time to come you will attend to apprehend all those means worthy the conseruance of our Friendship, Peace, and Correspondence.

Written in the fifteenth of the Moon *Gemaziel euell*, in the yeare of the departure of the Prophet, vpon whom be eternall blessing: 1036.

Giuen in our well-defenced City of Constantinople.

Which is the 20 of Ianuary, 1626.

Vpon the opportunitie of the foresaid troubles within the Turkish Empire, and either to giue reputation to the Armes of the House of Austria in Germany, or to affright *Gabor*, and dissolue the correspondence which he had practised with some Allyes, or perhaps hoping really to obtaine a peace, and by the ease both of expence, and vse of so many souldiers on the the frontier of so great an enemie as the grand Signior, to effect with more expedition their vniuersall ends; there was in the month of Iune, in the yeare 1625, a Gentleman dispatched from the Vice-Re of Naples, in a frigot of the Spanish King, accompanied with six or seuen seruants, with Commission to goe to Constantinople, and being there arriued, to deliuer certaine Letters of ouerture of a peace between the grand Signior and the King of Spaine. To assist him in his Negotiation, there was sent by seuerall waies a Benedict Frier called *Padre Beril*, and a Greek brought vp in the colledge at Rome, called *Cannachi Rossi*, both practised in the waies of that court, and formerly imploied in other seruices of intelligence and exploration. Their Instructions were forked; these to practise on the Greek Church to supplant the Patriark; and if both the treaty & their machinations should fail, to attempt to raise the Cossacks, by promise of a sum of mony, to trouble the grand Signior, and to diuert his forces and resolution from assisting the Prince of Transylvania in Hungary, as shall bee at large mentioned in a subsequent discourse. The gentleman was born a Bolognese, and had serued *Gasparo Gratiani*, late Prince of Walachia, and by that means had some experience and acquaintance at the Port. On the way he gaue himself out for an Embassador: which raised more rumor, and gaue warning to those who were disaffected to the succes of his vndertakings. But before we relate how he proceeded, it will giue some light to later negotiations, to look a little higher, vpon what ground and occasions this enterprise was aduanced.

The State of Spain hauing often (especially when it was pressed with any necessitie) practised to make a peace with the Turkish Empire; particularly by the mediation of a Iew, taking the name of *Gabriel de Buona Ventura*, who was sent with Letters and instructions from *Christophoro de Mora* and *Catagneo* the Secretary in the time of *Rodulphus* the second, who had then war with Sultan *Morat*; whose enterprise being discouered at Vienna, was by the Emperor interrupted. In the year 1619, the Baron *Molart* being then Embassador for the Emperor *Ferdinand*, he dispatched first a Captaine called *Francisco*, and after him *Padre Antonio Beril*, with instructions of one tenor vnto the Duke of Ossuna, then Vice King of Naples. The substance was, That he found the opportunitie faire, and the Turkes inclined to make a generall peace with the House of Austria: that therfore this season should not be omitted, but that the

the duke should presently dispeed to him some man of qualitie and wit to assist, and fit to ma- G
nage so great a businesse: That this man so chosen, should not take on him as directly sent
from Spaine, because it would then be expected that hee should appeare as an Embassadour;
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Thus the Negotiation would be most properly and expeditely perfected by him and the em-
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and reasons to inforce them, which the modestie of Historie and reuerence to Princes ought
to omit. But this negotiation being involved in that of the Emperour, which succeeded not
according to their expectation, fell before it was ripe. Yet the reason continuing, to shut that
backe port, when their Armies were busied with other designes, the said practise was renued
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grand Signior. At which they took so high and sudden disdain, that they gaue instant Com-
mands, and sent horsmen to beat the waies, with commission to all the Beghs and Caddees to
assist them, That wheresoeuer they did meet or find this gentleman, they should carry him di-
rectly back to the sea side, and see him shipt; with admonition, not to presume to land on pe-
F naltie of death. And other letters to check the Senat of Ragusa, for receiuing any minister of
their enemy, without asking leaue or consulting the State.

The Gentleman was by this time aduanced four daies journey toward the Port, where hee
fel and brake his leg, and was caried back in miserable pain to Ragusa, and returned to his old
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grand Signior. At which they took so high and sudden disdain, that they gaue instant Com-
mands, and sent horsmen to beat the waies, with commission to all the Beghs and Caddees to
assist them, That wheresoeuer they did meet or find this gentleman, they should carry him di-
rectly back to the sea side, and see him shipt; with admonition, not to presume to land on pe-
F naltie of death. And other letters to check the Senat of Ragusa, for receiuing any minister of
their enemy, without asking leaue or consulting the State.

The Gentleman was by this time aduanced four daies journey toward the Port, where hee
fel and brake his leg, and was caried back in miserable pain to Ragusa, and returned to his old
lodging.

lodging. Where the horsemen found him, and deliuering their letters to the Senat, demaunded to haue him giuen vp into their hands. But they refused to break their sanctuary, and only promised to obey the effect of the grand Signiors command, ciuilly to ship him & to send him back to Naples: which was don in the presence of those Turks, and letters written by the Senat, both to the Vice-King and the Vizier, to excuse themselues, That they durst displease neither party, but desired to liue in the grace of both princes.

The grand Signiors Command to all the Sanzacks and Caddees of Greece, to return the Spanish Gentleman sent from the Vice Re of Naples.

Vpon the sight of this our Imperial Signature, you shall take notice, That the Spaniards (being alwaies antient enemies of our happy Port, the Fountaine of felicity) haue of late sought to aduantage themselues of some princes which keep good friendship & correspondence with vs: To which end the Viceroy of Naples did send the last yeare a Messenger to our Imperial Port, intimating, That the King of Spaine was desirous to haue a peace with vs. But in regard they haue bin euer our enemies, and that the peace which they did then offer was fraudulent, and only to serue their own ends; we did not vouchsafe to giue him audience, but rather reiected both himselfe and his message. And now again we haue notice giuen vs, That there are others come to Ragusa from the said King of Spain, about the same businesse, with intent to come forward to our happy Port; Therefore wee haue sent Mustapha *our Capigi with our Imperial Command, That if any such persons shal come within any of your seuerall jurisdictions, that you stay them, and without one houre or moment of delay deliuer them to him, to be caried forth of our dominions, and made return into their own country. This is a busines of very great importance, and therfore we command you to be very wary and circumspect in searching out for such persons; and that you vse no negligence or delay therein, but speedily obey and put in execution this our Imperial Command, not suffering any one whatsoeuer, comming either from the Vice-King of Naples, or the King of Spain, to proceed forward toward our happy Port. And you shall certifie vs in writing by the said Capigi, how and in what maner you haue executed our Command. And if any such persons comming from the Vice-King of Naples or King of Spain, haue any letters or writings, you shal take them from them, and send them to our happy Port. And after you shal haue seen and vnderstood this our Commaund, you shall giue faith and credit to it, and restore it again to our slaue* Mustapha Capigi.

Giuen at Constantinople in the middle of the Moon of Saban, in the year 1035.

Which is in the middle of May, 1626.

Another of the same Tenor was sent by the same Messenger, vnto the Commonwealth of Ragusa.

About the sixth of September the Prince of Transylvania sent a messenger in great haste to the Port, with Letters and Instructions to his Agent there; the substance whereof was reduced to two heads: First, to declare to the grand Signior, That his Estates in their Dyet, by

by his consent, had elected his Lady to the succession of that Principality: and to require the confirmation, according to the antient Rites and Capitulations betweene them. For his sudden resolution, without consulting the Grand Signior, and in excuse of the sex, he proposed many reasons, all directed to one scope: That the encrease of the House of Austria was so dangerous to all Germany, that it was requisite to prouide for Transyluania, to preuent the corruption of an *Inter Regnum*, wherein the Imperials might worke distemper and diuision: and therefore it was necessary that a Successor should be declared, and in possession; and one well allyed and strengthened by the Princes opposite to the Austrians; which conditions meeting in his wife, made her without all exception. That this election was passed with the consent, and in contemplation of his Allyes and friends of the Port, and vnder their assurance of protection. And that therefore he should vrge the Grand Signior to concurre and approue his care, emploied onely to preuent and humble the Common Enemy. Secondly, That whereas then six yeares past, when hee liued in peace, without offence of the Emperour, he had beene commanded by the Grand Signior to moue his Armes, and to prouoke an enemy, now become irreconcileable: Which Councell had beene continued vntill that time, by the most experienced Ministers of the Turkish Empire; and Letters sent him the yeare before of the same tenour; and that he had lately required a plaine approbation of his prosecution of those designes, which being formerly indifferent, were now become necessary; He should now persuade them, not to lose this opportunity of confining the Emperor for euer within Germany, and setling an assured peace and safety to the Turkish frontier; that was by his conquest of Hungary. That if he found any difficulty in either of these, That the succession were refused to his Lady, or succours to him to prosecute the warre; that he should vnmaske, and plainely protest, That he had been engaged first by the Grand Signior, and made confederation with many friends, with his consent and approbation, too late to be reuoked, and his owne honour so far thereby exposed, that he could not retire, but would prouide for his owne safety. Therefore as he would pay his tribute, and continue his faith; so, if they would leaue him to himself, they must not disdaine the like measure in their occasions, from him and his friends.

His Letters and messages were roundly deliuered to the Ministers of the Grand Signior; and a generall answer giuen, That for the succession they would consult and resolue to his fit satisfaction; and that a Letter should be presently written to approue the antient Councels. The Agent not content with that coldnesse, nor well discerning the times, pressed the Vizier to a more direct and particular answer.

But in the instant there arriued newes from Babylon, That the campe was risen and fled, by the fauour of the night, forced to burne their Tents and Prouisions, and to breake their great Artillery, and cast it into the Euphrates; That the miseries in the Army had been such as men in the field neuer suffered (consumed by famin, and suffocated by heat: by this, twelue thousand died in one day; the other might be judged by the price of a bushell of Barly, sold for thirty eight checquines of gold.) That the Great Vizier had beheaded three of the most valiant Bassaes, hoping thereby to cast the enuy of his shame vpon them: and, That retyring to * Mosul, the Persian vsed his victory, and following a flying Army, did continuall execution for ten daies vpon the Reare. So great a blow the Turkish Empire neuer receiued; the newes whereof was taken with so much sadnesse, that it was no season to treat of making new warres. The Emperors Agent made vse of this dejection, and opposed all the Transylvanian negotiations diametrally, and promised the present comming of a great Embassadour to ratifie the Peace betweene the Grand Signior and his Master. And the Turke knew not whom to beleeue, weakened in spirit by their successe and the present constitution; *Futuri ambiguus, & magis quid vitaret quàm cui fideret certus*; doubtfull of the future, and rather certaine what to auoid, than whom to trust. Wherefore the Prince of Transyluania's Agent, resolued, not to prouoke by an importune pressure, a dispaire full answer; but to giue them time to recollect and gather heart, and to accept of their generall Letters, with a promise from the Chimacham annexed, That as soone as a few daies of consultation and prouision for their affaires in Asia were past, that he would enter into a particular consideration of his Master, and giue him ample content in them; and that in the meane time he might proceed cheerefully.

The Grand Signior's a my fire from Babylon.

* Niniuie.

The Duke of Weymar and Count Mansfelt arriue in Silesia with an Army.

The Bassa of Buda in the meane time sent a Post to the Port, with certaine newes of the arriuall of the Duke *Iohn* of Weymar and Count *Mansfelt* in Silesia; and that the Prince of Transyluania was risen to joyn with them, hauing mutually exchanged and sent some troups one to the other; and that himselfe was marched neere Vatz, to conferre with the Prince in his passage, to resolue together of the prosecution of their designes. Whereupon the Emperors Agent at the Port made violent exclamations; protested the breach of Peace, and vsed some scandalous arguments against the Friends of the Prince; begged, threatened, and enforced all his powers to diuert or affright the Chimacham, who knew no more than was infused into him and for the most part beleeued the last man, or as his feares guided him. This caused some stop of the dispatch of the inuestiture of the Princesse of Transyluania obtained by Sr *Thomas Rowe*, and other negotiations of the Prince: And the Agent had procured a letter from the Grand Signior to his Master the Emperor, of excuse; yet referring all conclusion, if they sought Peace, to a treaty with the Prince of Transyluania and *Mortesa Bassa* of Buda. Other Letters were dispatched to the Bassa, to beware of impertinent actions, to occasion an vnseasonable rupture: yet so mingled and qualified, as that they intimated; any thing would be accepted that was throughly done: Against the inuestiture the Emperors Agent shewed all his wit and strength; objecting, That she was a woman, a stranger, and a German. By this only he hoped to begin a discontent betweene the Grand Signior and the Prince of Transyluania; knowing, that the election once passed, would not be recalled, and that if it were not confirmed at the Port, the Prince and Estates of Transyluania would finde themselues wronged, and their liberty encroached vpon and perhaps seeke other refuge: for the Emperor would willingly haue accepted any returne or aspect towards him. But the art, to sow a dissention, or to entice the Prince to depend vpon the Emperor, and to take of him that which he could not obtaine at the Port, being at large opened to the great Ministers of the Grand Signior, it was againe resolued to dispatch the Grant, and to send the Embassador with vsuall ceremonies: who was to depart within six daies.

The Prince of Transyluania being vnited with *Mortesa Bassa* of Buda, dispatched from his Campe at Zetzen aboue Nouegrade, a Currier to the Grand Signior; aduising, That *Walstein*, and *Isterhas* Palatine of Hungary, were drawne vp with their Army to oppose his proceedings, and to keepe him from joyning with Count *Mansfelt*: Who sent to him a Gentleman to know the cause of his entring the Imperiall Dominions; and professing they came as friends, and offering many conditions, desired that order might be giuen to both their Armies to retyre a daies journy, and betweene them a place assigned for Commissioners to meet and consider of some accommodation. To whom the Prince answered, he had no purpose to vsurpe any thing in Hungary, but only to deliuer them from the tyranny of the Germans, and to relieue his Allies oppressed, whom he could not betray; nor had he any power to treat with them. The Armies being neere, and parties abroad, did occasion some blowes, and great skirmishes for two daies; wherein on both sides some bloud was spilt, the Prince taking himselfe to haue the better, hauing gotten twenty six German Launciers prisoners, and some light Hungarian horsemen; and that *Walstein* the third day retyred fiue Dutch miles, and fortified himselfe at Wiuar. This faction was begun vpon the fifth of October. Vpon the Enemies remoue, Messengers did mutually passe betweene the Prince and Count *Mansfelt*, and appointment made for their secure meeting the third day after: Vpon which, *Gabor* promised to follow the Imperials, and to attempt them, *Mortesa Bassa* made an offer to set downe before Nouegrade; but was withdrawne by the Prince, not to spend time before a Towne, and both to giue it to the Turks. He wrote, That Count *Mansfelt* had made agreement with the cities of Silesia, all ports being open to him; and that he passed without any offence, and had brought with him some Deputies from Breslaw and the Nobility of that Prouince. That all the strong places of Hungary had sent to him, That they would not aid the Emperor against him, if he committed no spoile; and were ready to receiue and obey him, if he were Master of the field, and able to protect them: And therefore hee now desired a Command from the Grand Signior, to the Bassa of Buda, that hee might not retyre (according to the Turks vse) but Winter with him, lest his Allyes thereby discouraged the opportunity of his part should be lost, and a faire entrance opened to the Emperor to follow a reuenge. The Grand Signior, who formerly was so wary and backeward to consent to

A to any breach, being now vnawares engaged, *Lupum auribus tenens*, holding the Wolfe by the eares, without scruple granted his desire, and the Orders were sent away; That what was done being past recall, *Mortesa* should Winter with the Prince of Transyluania, and not retire without his consent, but in all things follow his direction: yet limited according to their necessities and the nature of feare, full of caution, not to aduenture vpon vncertaine grounds; with power and insinuation to make a Peace, if profitable and safe Conditions should be propounded.

At length Count *Mansfelt* joyned with the Prince of Transyluania and *Mortesa Bassa*, hauing vnder his command souldiers, but miserably worne out with a long march (and diuided with the Duke of Weymar, who staied in Silesia) without any munition or fit armes: which B discouraged *Gabor*, who expected succors, but found (as he pretended) a charge: yet as they were they resolued to set vpon the Army of *Walstein* neere the riuer Gran the sixteenth of October; which retiring continually, vpon the passage of the water, they fell on, and made a great disorder, and tooke many prisoners, whose heads they afterwards cut off. *Walstein* being not able to susteine their fury, after this losse plainely fled. Whereupon the Vantgard of the Prince of Transyluania followed him, and had slaughter of his Reare all the way betweene Gran and Vaghe; which riuer the Enemy passing vpon two bridges of boats, there was a new fight begun, and many of the Imperials cut off. The Princes troups entering the bridges pesle mesle with them, got the passage, and hauing slaine a great many, put all the Army into greater feare: so that now they were resolued to follow them euen to the gates of Pres- C burg and Vienna as they wrote to the Port.

The Army of the Princes forced by Walstein troups.

Notwithstanding this good successe of the Prince against the Imperialists, he in the beginning of Ianuary (by reason of the hardnesse of the Winter, and that he receiued not such supplies of contribution from his Allies as he expected, and the Turks very desirous of a Peace with the Emperor, by reason of their wars in Asia against the Persian) sent a messenger to the Emperor, excusing his taking vp of Armes, vpon the vnperformance of some Articles in his late Treaty, and the not sending an Embassador to the Port; assuming the necessity of obedience, and offering to make a Truce for three moneths, and to dispatch Commissioners to the Emperor, to mediate the conclusion of Peace with the Grand Signior. To which he receiued answer, That if first he did not dismisse the Turks, and separate himselfe from Count D *Mansfelt* and his Troups (with whom he would admit no parle, nor make any accommodation) he would giue no audience to any that came from him. Vpon which answer the Prince returned to Cassouia, and *Mortesa Bassa* to Pesth.

Count *Mansfelt* also returning toward the State of Venice, in his way thither died at Bosna-Seray neere Spalato in Dalmatia: the newes whereof comming to Duke *Iohn Ernest*, already weakened with a Feuer foureteene daies, he also fell into an Apoplexy, and died at Turocz in the North part of Hungary, where hee was quartered for the Winter. His body was opened, and not one drop of bloud found, but his heart withered to the smalnesse of a Nut.

The death of Mansfelt.

The death of Ernest.

The Agent of the prince of Transyluania, in excuse of his master for this sudden defection, E had order to declare vnto the Embassadors of his Friends and Allies at the Port, That the Truce with the Emperor was not made by his Master alone, but by a consultation, where were present a Commissioner of the King of Denmarke, Duke *Iohn Ernest*, Count *Mansfelt*, and diuers Deputies of the Prouinces of Morauia and Silesia; and the generall consent of the Councell of War, induced thereunto for these reasons: First, Because the Bassa of Buda was expressely commanded to retyre; who must obey, vntill he could better informe the Grand Signior, and if possible, incline him to the war. Secondly, Being to enter into consideration, if the Turks by no meanes could be induced to continue their Aids, that it might be gained to acquaint the Confederates with their estate, and to consult with them, of meanes to prosecute the Enemy with their owne Forces: and to that purpose, that Count *Mansfelt* had ta- F ken his voyage toward Venice. Lastly, the necessity of drawing to garrison, being a Truce in effect, they thought it no prejudice to aduantage themselues by one in words. That vpon the eighth day of December the Embassador of the King of Denmarke returned to his country, fully satisfied and enformed of all their proceedings and Counsels; in which it was concluded to re-inforce their Troups in the Spring, by the assistance of the Barons of Morauia and Silesia,

Silesia, whose Deputies were sent purposely to enter into the Confederacy, promising to join their forces: and that in Iune following the Prince would draw into the field, and march directly into Austria, to make that Prouince the seat of the war; where it was promised that the King of Denmarke should meet him, and vnite their Armies, by which meanes only they hoped to finish the miseries of Christendome. G

The ministers of the Grand Signior hauing made a great complaint vnto his Majesties Embassador resident at the Port, That some of his majesties subjects had robbed some of the Grand Signiors at the Red Sea, for which they required restitution, according to the Capitulations of Peace. Whereupon his Majesties Embassador writ this Letter to them as followeth: H

To all Admirals, Captaines, and other Commauders of English Ships, Subjects of his most sacred Majesty, trading or nauigating in the Red Seas.

AFter my hearty commendations and greetings; these are to let you know, That Haydar Bassa *of Ayman hath giuen information to the Grand Signior, That some English ships in company with Hollanders, haue surprised diuers Indian Ships, wherein (as they pretend) were many Merchants and Subjects of the Grand Signior; and haue taken their goods, contrary to the Peace and Amity betweene his Majesty and the Grand Signior. Which Information (we being assured of your discretion, and well knowing you haue no such authority from his Majesty, nor any other deriued from his Royall power) although we hope it is false, and that you no way haue exceeded your commissions and instructions; yet the lament of those parts being vehement and many (wherein the Grand Signior hath complained by his Letters to his Majesty purposely written; demanding Iustice of such action) and to preuent the prosecution of such courses, contrary to the Peace, and being thereunto solicited by the Chimacham, as a meanes to auoid all occasion of breach betweene both Nations, I haue thought fit to send you these our Letters of Aduice, to put you in minde, exhort, and require you, That you be very heedfull, not to giue iust occasion of offence and scandall, nor that you take or make prise of any ships or goods belonging to any subject of the Grand Signior, contrary to the Peace, Amity, and Capitulations of his Majesty for free commerce. Wherein you are wisely to consider the consequences of this business, and of our trade in the Grand Signiors Dominion; and that his Majesty will do justice vpon all such as interrupt the publique Peace. We further desire you to examine the truth of such accusation, and to make certificate to me, of all the late proceedings of our Ships in those parts, that I may be able to giue a reason, and to answer for you, according to my duty; that all our trouble here (which may be a great consequence) may be auoided: And for the future, exhorting you to do no action or violence to any of the Subjects of the Grand Signior, contrary to the Peace, for that such is his Majesties will and pleasure. And so I bid you heartily farewell.* I K

Giuen in Constantinople the nineteenth day of Ianuary, 1626.

Although the Prince of Transyluania kept his Army in their Hybernation, and that the Grand Signior had giuen order (at the instance of some of his Ministers, fauorers of peace) to recall *Mortesa Bassa* of Buda from his gouernment; yet it was most cleere, euident, and vndisputable, that the Prince did with all sincerity endeauor to continue the war, notwithstanding his Treaty, made for necessity, and referred for ratification to the Grand Signior. His priuate negotiation with the Capi-Aga and Caslar Aga, not communicated to any, and the good effect it wrought, was sufficient testimony of his constancy and inward purposes: and vpon the death of Duke *Iohn Ernestus*, that Army being in want and almost in mutiny, he relieued them, and gaue them two moneths pay, one in meale, butter, hony, cheese, barley, and other victuals, and the other in mony; assuring them that they should not want, vntill both meanes and orders came from the Princes, to whom the Count of *Mansfelt* was dispatched. This the Prince writ to the Port, as a greater argument (because chargeable) of his desire to confirme the Grand Signior; which if he meant peace, had beene cast away. But after the death of the old Chimacham (protector of him and all his actions) the Emperours friends L M

wrought

A wrought vpon the pretended patriots, and conuerted their feare into a seeming sincerity and care of auoiding an engagement in a double war: who finding the State entangled in the troubles of Asia, made that the foundation, not only to dispute against any other, but to threaten the contradictors of their opinion. These for the most part were men popular, but vtterly ignorant of the present condition and affaires of Hungary; yet they so preuailed (*quod in seditionibus accedit, vbi plures erant omnes fuere*, which hapneth in tumults where many are, all men run) that the Vizier, to satisfie them, was enforced to command the retreit of *Mortesa*. These things hapning in the instant when they concluded to dispatch a new Vizier, and to raise the soldiery, to follow him, there was no time to speake of another enemy, and those wise men could do but one thing at once. But the zeale of this Councell lasting no longer than while B it was blowne by *Cæsars* Ministers, and that the supply of Asia was resolued, and the Grand Signior being fully informed by *Gabors* last Letters, which threatened as much on the other side, That if that opportunity was lost, and that the house of Austria should possesse Germany; or at the best, the Princes colleagued take the example and make peace, he must expect a sharpe inuasion, and reuenge, then when he should haue no friends, and their Army busied in Asia: vrging the neere alliance of the Emperor with the King of Poland, the instigation of the Pope, and whatsoeuer might beget a feare that they should be inclosed with enemies. This admonition taught them the wisedome to be content to keepe their opposites exercised at anothers charge; and though as yet they durst not, or would not so openly declare, as to pull the war vpon themselues, yet they found it necessary to be continued, and therefore C they resolued to temporise, and to auoid a present extremity, by the colour of the Truce. In the meane time to leaue *Bethlem Gabor* at his liberty, and to obserue how the Princes proceeded to maintaine and supply their Troups; meaning to step in when they should see their Army in the field. To this purpose *Mortesa Bassa* was re-established in his gouernment, and the businesse so carried with him, that he should make no shew of mouing, vntill the time fit to take horse; and that then hee should haue leaue and command to correspond with *Gabor* according to the occasion.

The Emperor hauing had notice of these counsels and designes, dispatched a Dutch Gentleman toward the Port, with Letters and Instructions to his Agent and Friend there; and D commanded him to make his journey by the way of Ragusa, giuing it out that hee was a French man, lest hee should be discouered in the shorter way by Buda, and stopped, and his Papers and Instructions searched. Notwithstanding all this disguise, notice came to the Port beforehand of the comming of this Messenger; and the Ministers of the Grand Signior caused him at his arriuall to be confined, not suffering him to open a packet, and the Vizier forcing him to decipher his Letter to the Emperours Agent in his presence, not trusting him with his owne secret. The substance whereof was vehement complaint against the Prince of Transyluania; accusing him to be the author of all the troubles and discontents of the frontier. That since his aduancement it was not possible to maintaine the Peace, nor that Amity which was contracted betweene their kingdomes; intimating a desire to haue him de- E posed, as a perturber of the World. Expostulating the mouing of those new Armes and the preparations of the Bassa of Buda. He had Letters likewise to the Grand Signior, but was not suffered to deliuer them: but they resolued to send him backe to Buda, there to discouer his message, and if it should seeme fit to *Bethlem Gabor* and the Bassa to treat peace, that then an Embassador from the Emperor should be accepted, but no inferiour person, nor querelous Letters. Thus it was plotted to be referred to the aduice of *Gabor*; who gaue this counsell; that he might in all occasion both know the secret, and direct the answer, and by making himselfe seeme necessary to the Turks, he guided all their resolutions to his owne ends. On the other side, *Mortesa Bassa* hauing had notice, that a messenger was stollen by, and arriued and heard at the Port, sent a Post with Letters, complaining, That he should haue any entertain- F ment there, or was admitted any audience: That if the Grand Signior had with confidence really referred the conclusion of the peace or warre to *Bethlem Gabor* and himselfe, all other Treaty was impertinent and hurtfull, and might produce vncertaine or contrariety in the resolution; desiring that he might be dismissed instantly and sent to him, because one of the Imperiall Commissioners being arriued at Comara, had aduertised, That they could not

1627 *A Dutch Gentleman dispatched to the Port by the Emperor disguised in French habit.*

enter

enter into conference vntill the returne of this Messenger. Whereupon the Vizier dispeeded him without any answer to the Emperor, or treaty, or other resolution than that which was formerly mentioned; rather taking from him, than receiuing his Letters; only a *Fede* for his discharge was giuen him, that he had brought and presented them, but comming from the country of an Enemy, they could not be accepted. Thus he was sent to *Mortesa* by a Chiaus, and with him an answer to the Bassa, That his negotiation was wholly referred to him and the Prince of Transyluania; with this caution, That hee should protract, and beware to be rashly ingaged in an open war.

About the one and twentieth of Aprill news came to the Port from Cairo, signifying the reuolt of Gemen in Arabia, vnder a pretending Prince whom they call an Ayman or Priest: That he had ouerrun the country, and besieged the Bassa in the principall city. To whose relieſe the Bassa of Cairo had sent by Suachin in the Red-Sea three thousand souldiers; but it was aduised, that if more succors were not supplied, that the Holy Country would be lost. This caused frequent Counsels, and did much trouble the State; especially the feare of Mecha, Medina, and the deuotion to their Prophet. The great Vizier arriued at Aleppo, but complained for men, munition, and mony: to raise the first, the Viziers of the Bench were sent abroad; one to Greece, another to Natolia, a third to Tartary, others to other places; insomuch as the City was left desolate. Munition was aduentured by Sea to Scanderone; and mony was extorted from the poorer *(per fas & nefas)* or drawne from rich subjects *(precario)* to concur to assist in the publique want.

A dead silence now possessed all things; and there was little newes from the Prince of Transyluania, how he proceeded, nor what he purposed: only the tripartite Commissioners were met at Comara, where they treated; and the generall inclination of the Ministers at the Port being wholly bent to peace, they aduised *Mortesa* secretly, and excused themselues to *Gabor* vpon the Mufti; whose feares the Imperials had made the ground of their hopes, and that Councell. But it seemes it was resolued at least, not to breake; the Emperours Commissioners pressing a resolution on the one side, and *Gabor* on the other raising new difficulties, and endeauouring to dissolue the Treaty, and to leaue the occasion of the warre open to time and opportunity. The Turks being driuen vp in a streight how to please both, fell at last vpon the Prince, accusing him, That he had in December before treated apart, and made his owne peace with the Emperour, vpon conditions to his owne aduantage, without consulting the Port: which was true; for vpon the retreat of his Army, and the despaire of the forces of Count *Mansfelt*, (which he found weakened by a long march) and the disunion of the Generals, he had treated and signed Articles, but as he pretended, they were concluded in a Councell, with the consent of his friends or their ministers: which as he could not directly deny, so he did not absolutely confesse; tempering what he had done, with diuers conditions; of the declaration of the consent of his Allies, and the ratification of the Grand Signior. This Treaty was noised and bruted from Vienna, and the copy sent to Constantinople purposely to discredit him: so that it was no more a secret; and thereupon the Prince dispatched a Post to his Embassador, to satisfie those who might except against him: professing not only what he had done apart by necessity, and for want of supplies, but that he would proceed in the generall Treaty: because there was no other way to vnblinde the Ministers of the Grand Signior; who so much affected the assurance of the Border, that they would not beleeue any arguments, as sauouring of other interests, but that he would at the conuention raise so many rockes and impossibilities, as that the breach of the conference should be the beginning of the war, and a bond of necessity in the Turks to partake in it. The Emperor remaining still jealous of delaies, sent another messenger to the Port, with a second plaint against *Bethlem Gabor*, and *Mortesa Bassa*, as the disturbers of the antient Truce; and an expression of his fervent desire to maintaine a good peace with the *Ottoman* Empire, which he said could neuer be secured, vnlesse the Grand Signior should place such Ministers in the frontier gouernments, as were louers of the publique quiet. For the establishing whereof he had sent his Deputies to meet those of the Port, who hauing agreed (as he pretended) vpon Articles, and reconciled all differences, that he was ready to send a great Embassador thither, to confirme whatsoeuer should there be concluded. This was done only to get an acceptance of some person of Quality to be present at the Port; which *Gabor* and *Mortesa Bassa* hindred, to keepe that State without

without any light but such as they pleased to giue them. But it being objected to the Messenger by the Vizier, That the Emperour had made a peace apart with the Prince, and that therefore he had obtained his ends without the communication of the Grand Signior, which gaue much suspition of sinister purposes: the Emperours Messenger did not deny but that there was some such thing done; but that his Master did not trust in it, nor could euer rest secure in the word of that Prince, vnlesse the authority of the Port did strengthen it. In conclusion, feare on the one part to lose an opportunity of peace; the death of *Mansfelt*, some disasters of the Friends of the Prince in Germany, and the failing of aids expected, all concurring on the other part, made both parts soften and decline, and resolue to take care only of their owne affaires, and to leaue the World at liberty.

The Captaine Bassa dispatched with an Armado into the Blacke Sea.

The Captaine Bassa was sent vp to the Euxine sea with a gallant fleet for flags and streamers, resolute to attempt the shutting in of the Cossacks by building two Forts on the outlets of the Boristhenes: who prepared to resist him, and were intrenched neere his expected descent. The Poles made some braues, That they would assist them, and maintaine their frontier, as Lords of that ground: but it was not beleeued they would hazard their peace with the Grand Signior, by fighting with his Generall, but rather connive till he should be returned, and then to raze and ouerthrow what was raised, and excuse it vpon their out-lawes. This enterprise was like to cost some knockes; but as matters then stood, the Poles were not in state to make any great progresse, the King of Sueden hauing diuerted them to their owne defence in Prussia: yet how soeuer they resolued in this particular, they must keepe an Army on foot, lest they tempted the enemy to vse the occasion.

While all the Sea forces were imploied in this designe, the Arches were left vngarded, and six gallies of the great Duke of Tuscany came to the mouth of the Hellespont, and took one Gallion, and many lesser ships of the Cairo fleet; the booty whereof by report amounted to some millions of Dollars. This sudden alarme caused the Grand Signior to send into the Blacke Sea to recall some forces, and instantly from the Armado twelue gallies were spared, and dispatched to seeke the Christians, who were departed with their riches.

An Embassador from Persia arriueth at Aleppo.

There arriued at the same time a Persian Embassador at Aleppo with ouertures of peace: vpon whom the great Vizier put gards, neither accepting nor refusing his message; and sent to the Port to declare, that the State must either furnish him with a million and half of gold, and store of munition, or else grant him a Commission to entertaine that opportunity and motion of Treaty; for with lesse supplies hee could not proceed. The first was impossible, and the later much against the stomach; but a fresh aduice bringing the report of a great Embassador following the former with rich Presents, and faire offers, made many beleeue or hope a happy conclusion; though men of best judgements esteemed it very difficult, vnlesse Babylon should be surrendred. All men made this conclusion, That if peace could be settled on that side, the Turks had yet spleene enough to reuenge the braues they had endured from the Imperials; who though they sought a Truce, prosecuted it insolently, threatening fire and sword if they obteined not their desires. And thus the Treaty at Comara had ebbs and flouds, heats and colds, as the feare or hope of the affaires of Asia did temper it.

The Persian Embassador arriueth at the Port.

This expected Persian Embassador not long after arriued at the Port, with little hope to buy peace at a cheaper rate than the surrender of Babylon. And the gallies of the Grand Signior sent in pursuit of the Florentines, by great diligence ouertooke them in a Port of Morea, and recouered all the prizes, [So their great wealth was like a dreame, when they awaked it vanished:] And vpon the sixteenth of Iune they returned and entered in triumph, towing in all the reprised booty. It seemes they were become too rich to fight, and the Turks, though superiour in strength and number, were content with the gaine, and glad not to force men already spoiled, into dispaire.

About the first of Iuly the Bassa of Buda sent post to the Port, with aduice, that the Emperors Commissioners at Comaran had presented certaine Articles, containing accounts and restitutions; which being sent to him, he had receiued, but could not allow them; answering, That the Grand Signior did not treat with Merchants; Which had like to haue bred confusion: but that they were since entered into new conference, and had concluded in the generall, a resolution to peace; with consent that both parties should haue time to send to their Masters for fresh instructions in particulars. Whereupon he had dispatched that Messenger to

to the Port, to vnderstand the sence, and to receiue absolute directions from thence. By him G
Bethlem Gabor did write a sharpe Letter; confessing plainly (seeing he could not longer conceale it) that he had made peace for himselfe; but accused the negligence of those Ministers as the cause thereof: First, That they would neuer constantly trust his aduises of the opportunity of the war, but their Mufti and Book men, who were fitter to enterpret their Law, than to judge of the World and matters of State. That he would be true to the Grand Signior, but yet not neglect himselfe, when he saw how little care of him was had, how little authority and credit was giuen to him. That the Letters written to him from the Vizier were ambiguous and irresolute, but diuers others priuately had threatened him not to be the occasion of a war. And therefore to proue himselfe faithfull and true to his owne first counsels, he offered, That if the Grand Signior would breake off the Treaty, and resolue to vse the time, H
that he was ready to march in six daies warning. He amplified the prosperity of the remains of *Mansfelt* Army in Silesia, the occasion, and all other fit arguments to moue them to a change of those degenerate counsels of peace. But this was an art to cast the fault on others, for the conclusion of that which he had suffered to proceed, and was beyond his power to remedy. Yet it much perplexed the Vizier, who excused himselfe, and returned all the blame vpon the Lawyers, as men ignorant, by whom he had been ouerborne; and that he neuer consented to Peace or Treaty in his owne judgement, but had promised sincerely according to his engagement, as far as he durst, and, that so much his continuall Letters witnessed for him; promising, that he would cause a Consultation to answer these aduices, and that he would not agree to any conclusion without the satisfaction of the Prince, and all others that were I
friends to the Port, and the restitution of the oppressed liberty. Which solemnly handled in a full Counsell, Orders were dispatched away as the finall resolution of that State; to leaue the power of making Peace, or breaking the Treaty, to the judgement of *Gabor* and the Bassa of Buda, wholly and without restriction.

What effects this would worke was somewhat vncertaine; but such appeared the inclination of those into whose hands the Treaty was now referred, that there was a strong opinion, the Emperour of Germany should faile of the security expected: Especially because the ouertures of peace which the Persian made by his Embassador arriued at the Port, together with their necessity had raised some shew of inclination to hearken to accomodation in those parts. But it came aduised from the Treaty, That the Commissioners being met the second K
time, the Imperials insisted vpon high termes, demanding a ratification of the old Peace of Zitwa, then expired, without any addition or diminution; and by vertue thereof, restitution of Vatz, stollen during that time: declaring they had no authority to proceed to any new negotiation. To which the Turks replied, That so much ceremony needed not, to appoint a solemne meeting to confirme that which two Letters onely from their Princes might haue done: That that Truce being run out, was no longer in vigor nor in being. If they would treat a new Peace, that they were ready; but to expect any restitution, or reuiuing of the old, it was in vaine, and their meeting fruitlesse. And the Germanes as stiffely pressing their own propositions, the Conference was for a while interrupted, and a current rumour spread, The Conuention was dissolued. But *Mortesa Bassa* discouering by discourse, That the Imperials L
stood vpon so peremptory points, as supposing that all the forces were drawne into Asia, and that the Grand Signior could not shew an Army on that side; suddenly gaue order to all the troups that were ready about Buda, and in the frontier to march to Pesth, and to shew themselues in the field. Whereupon the Germans began to mollifie, and were content to renew the Treaty. At a third session they resolued to employ the force of gold, and to win *Mortesa* by corruption; to whom they presented from the Emperour six thousand Dollars, with promise of a greater reward. This Cast changed all the Game; and he vndertooke both to discouer the designes of *Bethlem Gabor*, and to crosse him in his Masters Court.

The Ministers of the Grand Signior hauing exhibited a second complaint to his Majesties Embassador, for some wrongs done vnto his subjects in the Gulph of Persia, he sent vnto them M
this ensuing Command, to obserue the antient Capitulations.

To

A

To all Gouernors, Admirals, Commanders of Ships, Or other his Maiesties Subiects trading in the Kingdome or Gulfe of Persia.

After our louing commendations:

B *WHereas Aly Bassa of Balsara, hath sent his Letters to this high Port by the hands of two of his seruants inhabiting in those parts, by them informing the Grand Signior, That the English Nation trading in the Persian Gulfe, in Ormus, Iasques, Mumbrun, and other parts of the Kingdome of Persia, do make prize and take the Vessels and Frigots of the Subiects of the Grand Signior dwelling in Balsara, Lasha, and the Coasts of Arabia, trading to Meschit, India, Goa, and Calicut; and that they make Slaues of all the passengers, Merchants or other, that they finde vpon the said Vessels, being Subiects of this Empire. Further, That they do vnite themselues with the Persian (now in warre with the Grand Signior) assisting him not onely with munition, but Vessels and Frigots; and that they help and teach the Persians (enemies of this Port) to build Gallies, Galliots, and other Vessels of warre to arme in those seas; prouiding them of Shipwrights and all other necessaries for the fitting of an Armado, therby to inuade or besiege the Port of Balsara, or Lasha, or to make incursions vpon the territories of this*
C *Empire. Which actions being alleadged to be contrarie to the Capitulations of his most sacred Majesty, and to the publique Peace and Commerce betweene these Kingdoms; I haue been called before the Chimacham, Deputie to the great Vizier, to make answer to these Obiections, and to prouide some timely remedie, before those proceedings should giue further occasion of discontent. To which accusations, I being able, concerning the fact, to say nothing; but that knowing such actions to be vniust and vnlawfull, and contrary to the will of his sacred Maiestie, and your Commissions and Instructions from the Companie and your Principals, for whom you serue: I do hope that herein you haue not offended, nor giuen any iust occasion of lament, vnlesse you haue been thereunto by like acts of hostilitie prouoked. Notwithstanding being vrged by the great Ministers of this Port; and that it will require so much time to informe his Maiestie, and to seeke redresse by so long a course, (to whom neuertheless the Grand Sig-*
D *nior will write his Letters of complaint, to require Iustice in such case) and for the preuention of future euils of very great importance to the Subiects of his Maiestie (which you may easily conceiue) and for the declaration of his Maiesties sincere and constant purpose to maintaine a good and iust Peace with the Grand Signior and all his Dominions, which I know to be his Maiesties royall will: and that I make no doubt of your obedience to all his Orders and purposes, like good Subiects that must answer your actions at the Tribunall of his High Iustice; I haue thought fit and very requisite to send you this our Declaration, and in the name of his Maiestie to admonish and require you, That you presume not to take or make prize of any of the Vessels or Subiects of the Grand Signior, trading in the Sea wheresoeuer; nor to make any spoyle of their goods, or hurt or detaine their persons: nor that you intermeddle in any inuasion or attempt of the King of Persia, to assist him or his Armies against the Subiects or Dominions of*
E *the Grand Signior, neither by Sea nor Land, nor by prouiding them of munition, Shipwrights, or other Artsmen, to teach them the vse of gallies, thereby to inuade the Territories or Subiects of this Empire; but that therein you carry your selues neutrally and indifferently, betweene two Princes both in Peace and Amitie with his Maiestie. Wishing you well to consider, the inconuenience which may arise to others, and the damage in time to your selues, by teaching a powerfull Nation to vse their strength in Sea causes, of which they are now vtterly ignorant, and of which practise wee haue a lamentable example in these Seas. And no way doubting, That like good Subiects, you will conforme your actions and proceedings in those Seas to the rules of his Maiestie (for that such is his will and pleasure, In declaration whereof I haue affixed his Royall Seale) yet I am inforced to protest, That the contrarie will*
F *giue occasion of much trouble and danger vnto your selues, and in the end losse and damage to your Principals.*

Giuen in Constantinople the third of September, in the yeare of Grace, 1627.

Halil Bassa made great Vizier vpon the rout of the army mentioned at Babylon, was sent to the war in the end of the last yeare, being arriued at Dierbecher, resolued to enter Persia (notwithstanding that the King had an Embassador at the Port treating of peace) and gaue order to certain Beglerbeghs to make another inuasion by Van; and did endeauour to draw *Abassa Bassa*, with his forces ioyned with the Georgians, to do the like on his frontier, who gaue good words, and hopes of due obedience. Whilest these designes were in preparation, the Persian by his General besieged Achiska, a city of great importance neer Arzirum: Whereupon *Halil* sent *Distenk* Bassa of Natolia, with six other Bassaes, to *Abassa*, to persuade him presently to performe his word, and to rise and vnite his strength with them. With these hee sent three thousand Ianizaries vnder twelue Captaines, with his owne Letters; who being arriued neere the City, he appointed them to incamp, and sent them prouision for a day or two, till he could put his affaires for his departure in order. These resting secure, in the night he set vpon them, and cut them in pieces, some few escaping to the Port. *Distenk* and another, *Muchmet Bassa*, were slaine; the Captaines that he tooke aliue, or came to him to treat, he sent to the Persian: whereby Achiska being in great distresse, and vnsuccoured, was presently surrendred to the Enemy. This newes being brought to the great Vizier, the next morning hee rose with all his whole army, laying aside all designe against Persia, and marched right to Arzirum; vowing to punish the Rebell, or there to end his life: who was strong, fortified, victualled, prouided, and resolute.

The Persian besieged Achiska

Notwithstanding all the colours, protestations, and perturbations of the Prince of Transyluania, That hee would finde occasion and quarrell to dissolue the treaty of Comaran, or that he would separate himselfe from the Turks; yet at last hee sent his Embassadour *Francis Microferentz* to the Grand Signior, about the later end of October, to acquaint him that the peace was concluded. And within a few dayes after, the Internuntio of the Emperor arriued with a branch of Oliues at the Port: And this Embassador and two Agents of *Gabor* went to the Chimacham with a Letter from their Master, vnder the Seale, of great secrecie; of fresh aduice, That the King of Denmarke was vtterly broken and fled into certaine Islands, all his Countrey, and Germany prostrate at the mercy of the Emperour (which newes the Imperials had formerly spread) counselling the Chimacham to make an end of their peace with the Emperor, and to dispatch and to accept of any conditions, and to send the Internuntio away with speed and content; lest the Austrians puffed vp with those victories, should take the aduantage of their delay, and present them worse termes, or refuse it absolutely. Whereupon the Ministers of the Port resolued easily to peace; changing their former Ænigmaticall letters, and hudled vp a hasty conclusion. They added further, That the Princes of Germany treated a Pacification, which was like also to take effect; and either way, that the Emperor would be at liberty to make war vpon him. Whether they feigned the first part, to accelerate the ratification; or feared the later, and that their Master should therein deseruedly be left out, was hard to iudge: but they only by this office (which the Turke did beleeue was sincere) merited of the Emperor the consummation of what was done; and thereupon they Both made their atonement with the Emperor according to their seuerall Capitulations.

Bethlem Gabor certificth the Port, of peace betweene him and the Emperor.

What was the secret cause and reason of this sudden alteration, (*Gabor* hauing made all demonstration, that he would continue the war; hauing proceeded euen to threats and protests against the Ministers of the Port; and being irritated anew after the conclusion of his owne Treaty, by the complaints and practises of the Emperors Agents, to bring him into disgrace or ruine; so that hee could repose no trust in an enemy newly reconciled, and so often prouoked) did breed much inquisition, and many doubted some great mysterie, either of his reuolt wholly to the Imperiall part, or that he had some other high designe in Poland. But those who were lesse speculatiue and curious, and looked only vpon euident matter, concluded, That the King of Denmarke being indeed distressed by *Walstein*, who vpon the priuat accord of *Gabor*, was let loose, and was become triumphant in Germany; and finding himself betrayed and forsaken by *Mortesa Bassa*, and that he could no longer disguise his owne ends, which were, To oblige the Emperour to him for the Peace if it were made; and to blinde the Turks, to conuert their force and authoritie to better his conditions in the Peace; and that hee foresaw so much renitencie and inconstancie in them to prosecute the warre, the vigor whereof depended vpon contingencies and the successe of the Visier in Asia; that he resolued to preuent

preuent being preuented, and discouered. For certainly if he had not roundly shut vp the occasion, by being the first that seemed to merit of both parts, by reconciling the difficulties hee himselfe had raised, he had bin stript naked, and left in the state of the Constable Count of *S. Pol*, between *Lewis* the 11 of France, and the Duke of Burgondie. This only was obserued by all, That whatsoeuer the ends of *Gabor* and *Mortesa* were while they were vnited in counsel, they did suffer the grand Signior to know no more, than conduced to their own ends; & that they had practised power to change the resolutions of the Port, with euery wind of rumor they pleased to obtrude: And that if *Gabor* had bin countenanced and nourished in his hopes, to wear the crown of Hungarie (which was the scope of all his intentions) that he had credit and wit enough to haue moulded the Turks (who saw the affairs of Christendom only thorow the glasse of his relations) to his own designes; and that hee would continue the War at his pleasure, and they at whose costs it had bin made, should haue bin the least and last, to know the internal motiue. For so it often happens, That great Princes and States haue bin involued in troubles, and shut vp with peaces, vnder the specious name of the publique good, by the passions, designes, or ambitions of their Allyes or Ministers, the causes and pretexts being seldom rightly distinguished.

It hath bin formerly intimated, That *Gabor* had secretly treated apart; and now the general peace being concluded, the Articles themselues will most cleerly discouer, either to what streits the Prince was driuen, or what were his intentions: the order of time giuing place to that of Story, we haue chosen this period to publish them.

Articles of Peace concluded between the Emperor of Germany, *Ferdinand*, and *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of Transylvania, in the moneth of December, 1626.

THe Prince of Transylvania doth promise by the faith of a Christian, neuer to moue arms, or vse any hostility against the Maiesty of the Emperour, or the House of Austria, or their Successors; much lesse to enter into their dominions with an army: Not to aid his Enemies, nor to keep correspondence with them: Not to plot any innouation in the kingdom of Hungary, or other Christian Countries; neither to stirre vp and prouoke the Turkes or Tartars, or others to inuade them: Not to entertain nor assist in any euill Counsell against his Maiesty, nor to giue ear to the requests and desires of his Enemies; but rather to reueale all their conspiracies and wickednesses which shall be made known vnto him, and by all means to demonstrate and shew a sincere minde, truly desirous of Peace, and solicitous of the Common good.

That the Prince shall instantly depart with his whole army out of the territories & cities of the Emperor; and that he shall restore as well all goods belonging to the Imperiall Treasure, as those of his faithfull subiects.

That he shall remoue from him the Rebel Mansfelt, *and all other his followers and Adherents desirous to inuade the dominions of the Emperor. And that he shall not aid any stranger whatsoeuer, who at his instance hath entred into the territories of his Maiesty with Count Mansfelt; to whom letters of publique safety shall be giuen, that they may returne by twenty or thirty in a troup; with condition, That in no place of their retreit they shall ioyne with the enemies of the Emperor.*

IV. *That seeing it is fit for the establishing of the Peace, that the Inhabitants of countries and cities belonging to the Prince, by the consent of the Emperor should remain during his life, in obedience and fidelitie to him; and that those inhabitants should do homage to the Emperour (sauing their corporall oath to the Prince) to keep inviolate these articles: That they should haue lease by Letters of full authority and power granted them by the Prince, in their first assemblies and conuentions to make such oath of Homage.* G

V. *That at the same time of the performing of the Homage and Oath, besides the Oath before the last War, they shall take a new oath, according to the agreement betweene the Prince and the Commissioners of the Emperor.*

VI. *The Prince shall procure, That all places vpon the confines which were taken by the Turkes in the last war, shall be restored, and that all Captiues on both sides shall be set at liberty: and that the Prince shall procure the freedom of all such the Emperours subiects as shall bee in the Turkish captiuitie.* H

VII. *That all the subiects of the Emperour, lately incited and drawn to the seruice of the Prince, shall be free from their oath; and if the Prince haue any of their letters of obligation in his hands, that he shall restore them: And that these conditions confirmed, all other things formerly treated, shall remain in their former state and vigor.*

VIII. *That if any other difficulties arise, they shall be accommodated with fidelitie and quietnesse, by Commissioners on both parts. And that all those who in the last commotion haue serued the Prince, shall be absolued, according to the treaty and agreement at Vienna.* I

IX. *That all the inhabitants of counties and cities which haue serued the Prince, shall be absolued; only those excepted who haue voluntarily taken vp arms against the Emperor, for whom he shall only intercide: excusing alwaies priuat men which haue done priuat wrongs, for they shall according to law and custom, seek their restitution by Ciuile Action.*

X. *That all other Articles of peace concluded at Nichilsburg and Vienna, shall remain in their former vigor and force; except vpon the behalfe of the Emperor, the paiment of thirty thousand Dollars to the Prince, and the care of the confines granted vnto him. And that all goods of the Emperors Clergy possessed by the Prince, shall be restored, from the year 1619, till this present day. Except the Abbies of Replana, belonging to the Seminarie of Strigonium; for which the Prince shall pay to the Emperor yearly fiue hundred florens.* K

At the arriuall of the Messenger sent from the commissioners of the Emperor, to the Port, with the news of the conclusion of the Treaty, and the ratification on the part of *Cæsar*, he presented this letter. L

The Emperors Letter to the grand Signior, a little before the ratification of the Peace.

F Ferdinand *the second, by the grace of God Emperor of Germanie, &c. We giue notice hereby to your Maiesty, That by the diligence and wisdome of our Commissioners on both parts, all controuersies which haue hertofore hapned, are wel accommodated, and all injuries and hostilities for the future preuented. Now for the better and more exact obseruance of this our said Treaty, we haue sent vnto your Maiesty our Internuntio* Stephano Baloco, *Captain* M

A *Captain of Tata, to giue you notice of the agreement betweene our said Commissioners, and to present you with the Capitulations, seuerally signed and sealed by them. Which wee pray your Maiesty to accept word for word; and hauing signed them with your Imperiall hand, that you will send them back vnto vs with all expedition: Not doubting but your Maiesty out of your benignitie and greatnesse, will obserue and keep the same, as we vpon our part do promise euer to do.*

Giuen in Prague the 21 of *Zilhege* (or September) in the yeare of the
B Messiah 1627.

Ferdinando.

Count Colalto *Counsellor.*

Sberinger *Secretary.*

C

Articles of peace agreed vpon between *Ferdinand* Emperor of Germany, and the grand Signior Sultan *Morat*, in Comaran, in the moneth of September, 1627.

D I *Sultan* Morat, *King of Kings, &c. To thee* Ferdinand, *honored King of the Romans, Almaines, Bohemians, Hungars, Croats, Austrians, Emperor of Germany, and most glorious Prince amongst Christians: whose last daies be euer happy.*

B*Y vertue of our Imperiall Commission granted to* Mortesa Bassa *our magnificent Vizier, vpon the frontiers of Buda; to the Beglerbegh of Agria,* Mehemet; *to the Mufti of Buda,* Issa; *to the Sanzack of Strigonium,* Achmet; *to the Bey of Sonluc,* Muharem; *to the Aga of Assapi,* Ghian; *and to* Michael Todolaghi *Embassador of* Bethlem Gabor, *on our behalfe: And the illustrous Palatine of Hungary, and the Chancellour* Stephano *and*
E *others, on the part of the Emperor. Which Commissioners being met in the field of Sona, and hauing found the peaces which had formerly bin concluded at Zitwa, Vienna, Comar, and Chiarman, to be disturbed by diuers insolencies and outrages don vpon the subiects of both parties. Wherupon the said Commissioners in the aforesaid place did treat and conclude a good peace for the space of twenty fiue years, in the current year of our great Prophet* Mahomet Mustapha *the Messenger of God,* 1037, *and of the Venerable Christ* 1627, *as appeareth by a sealed Capitulation containing eleuen Articles. And you also desiring and accepting the good peace for so long time, hauing sent the sacred Capitulation to our happy Port, by your esteemed and*
F *honored amongst Christians,* Stephano Baloco, *Captaine of Tata; desiring in your Letter, that it may be obserued word for word. And although we haue declared heretofore vpon our Imperial part, That we would haue made other Capitulations; yet since it hath euer bin our regal customs, affectionately to correspond with the intentions of those great princes that professe amitie,*

amity, deuotion and friendship to our high Port (by the immense fauour of God, the stay and refuge of great Lords and Princes;) We declare and demonstrate our singular greatnesse and magnificence, and approue sufficiently, and hold lawfull the confirmation of the Peace for the space of twenty fiue yeares, according to the said Letter, beginning from the yeare 1606. Wherupon our high Order is giuen out in writing, for ratifying and confirming of these our new Imperiall Capitulations. G

Thus much is the Preface, according to the stile of that Court: That which followeth is the Capitulation, as it was accepted and sent by the grand Signior; translated out of the Turkish word for word, without any alteration. H

THat seeing the Peace established formerly at Zitwa, Vienna, Comar, and Chiarman, hath remained in the same state, and in the same articles, without any alteration, it shal not be violated by any new occasion of contention.

That the difference of Vatz, whereof is made mention at the present, shall rest in the same state that the Commissioners on both sides shall agree.

That the new Forts built vpon the confines of Croatia, contrary to the Peace, shall be demolished. To which purpose our said Deputy Mehemet, *and our Visier* Mortesa Bassa, *shall meet vpon the frontiers of Buda with your Deputies, at the time appointed by the Treaty, and there vpon the places on both siaes shall cause to be demolished the Forts built contrary to the Peace: wherin if they find any impediment, they shall chuse able and valiant men to performe and execute the said seruice.* I

That after the approbation of this happy Peace, your great Embassadour shall come to Comar; and ours shall repaire with our Imperiall Letters to Strigonium: and there one of them aduising the other, yours shall set forward to our happy Port, and ours shall aduance to you. For so it is agreed by our Imperiall Order, both carrying with them the new Imperiall Capitulations. K

That all complaints of Villages subiect to both parts, shall bee layd aside, and no violences, taxes, or contribution, contrary to our former Conuention, shall be exacted. And all Forts built in the common confines shall be rased. And reciprocally it shall be made knowne, according to the antient Treaty, what great men doe dwell amongst our Tributaries. And for the execution of the sixteenth and seuenteenth Articles of the Peace of Zitwa, the tenth of Vienna, and the fourth of Comar and Chiarman (for such was then the agreement) two Capigi Bassa's of our high Port shall be deputed and dispeeded, the one to this side, and the other to that side of the Danuby. And vpon your part you shall send two such qualified persons to the same places: who being met together with the deputies of Mortesa Bassa *and the Palatine of Hungary shall rectifie all disorders, and see that good justice be done on both parties: for so it is our most high pleasure.* L

That the Slaues which haue been taken during this our Treaty, shall be freed and set at libertie without any ransome: and those who were taken before the said Treaty shall be exchanged and redeemed, according to their qualities and estates; by the interposition of Mortesa Bassa *and the Palatine of Hungary deputed for that purpose.* M

For the good of poor people on both sides, the Commissioners haue thought it fit to conclude this renued peace for 25 years, from 1627. Wherunto we haue giuen our Imperial assent.

That

A *That all Merchants, and other our subiects on both parts, shall haue safe passage and conduct through both our Dominions: and we haue giuen command to our Bassa's, Beglerbegs, Generalls, Beghes, and Captaines, vpon our confines, to apprehend, bring into justice, and punish all such as shall any way disturbe or molest them contrary to the peace. As likewise the Palatine of Hungary and other your Ministers shall doe on your part, if they finde any such offendors.* VIII.

That our Beglerbeghs, Sanzacks, Captains, and Gouernors; and your Generals, Commaunders, and Captaines, shall vpon occasion employ all such persons as are louers of the peace and common good. IX.

B *That there shall be no damage or hurt done to any of our subiects in any of your Kingdomes or Dominions, neither by sea nor land: as there shall none be done to yours in our Dominions.* X.

That all by-past wrongs, enmities, and vnkindenesses on both parts shall be forgotten and layed asleepe: and that this happy Peace shal be sincerely and firmely continued and kept inviolate. XI.

C *Vpon condition that the Emperor performe and obserue all the aforesaid Articles, and that there follow no action from any Ministers, contrary to the said Peace; We promise and swear by God our Creator, who made the whole world of nothing; and by the honor which we bear to our most high Prophet* Mahomet Mustapha, *That there shall not bee done during the whole term of the said Peace, the least hurt or damage to the Subiects, Countries, Kingdomes, Castles, or Forts of the said Emperor, by any of our Ministers or Armies, nor to any Christian slaues subiect to our happy Port.*

D I haue chosen the Capitulations as they were signed by the grand Signior, which though the Articles are very generall, and matters of greatest moment either referred, or not fully established; yet being therfore aduantagious for the Turk, who would not descend into particular definition, because by the vertue of former treaties, all places surprised ought to bee restored, and depredations satisfied, he would neither break, nor yet oblige himself to reparation: and indeed the difficulties were insuperable in respect of the Turkish Law; for no place can be surrendred to the Christian, where a Mosche hath been erected; which was the case of Vatz: And the Emperor could not consent to abandon his claime with charitie and honour, grounded on the articles of Zitwa. So that both sides were contented to bee appeased, rather than righted for the time, and both did thinke that they had the aduantage: The Emperor, In presuming his title; the Turke, In not declaring. So the one part accepting the signature of the other, without dispute, the bodies of the Treaties were very different, if not contrary: yet so desirous they were of peace, that they did wittingly ouersee one the arts of the other; and in effect there was no firm peace established, but that either side might finde iust matter, and ground it on the Capitulation it selfe, when occasion shall inuite them to breake. Therfore I obserue, That it is not the letter but the minde that makes a true peace: and I am persuaded, That the minds of these Princes, how soeuer necessitie hath restrained them, are so discrepant, that the first opportunitie wil discouer them in their own colours and nature. And this sort of conclusion was most fit for *Gabor* (not to haue matters soundly examined and healed) who was principally safe by an il intelligence, and maintaining of jealousie and subiect of new discord between those Empires.

F *Halil Bassa* General of the Army in Asia, whom we left furiously marching to be reuenged of the Rebel, was forced to rise from the siege of Arzirum; and retyring, *Abassa* followed him 7 days, and cut off all his rear, and took his treasure, cannon, and baggage, to the great discouragement of the Turkish state. The army afterward fel into mutiny, and sought to stone their General,

General. Whereupon he wrot to the grand Signior, That there was no hope of obedience, vnlesse the reuerence of his person did reuiue it. Yet he rested at Tocat, and the soldiers disbanded, and returned naked to the Port, as from an ouerthrow: and it was threatned, that those which did stay with the Vizier, would bring him to Constantinople perforce; so that in the next Spring, much trouble, if not a great desolation was presaged. Yet it was resolued to prosecute the Warre: for though the renitencie of the soldier, and many other impediments persuaded against it, yet not to haue moued at all, was thought too plain a discouery of their owne infirmitie, and would too much encourage the Enemy, especially *Abassa Bassa*, who had practised both the Tartars, Poles, and Cossackes. Whereupon *Husseruph Bassa* a Vizier, and late Aga of the Ianizaries, was chosen Conductor of the *Militia*, and sent ouer the water to Asia side with all prouision. Much new Ordnance was cast, which the grand Signior went in person to see in the Founders office. And from thence to the Arsenall, to giue order for the gallies. And it was concluded, That the new Generall should march directly to Diarbecher, to oppose the Persian, and there remaine as Bassa of the prouince, with one diuision of the Army. But secretly he was made great Vizier, and the Seale appointed to bee giuen him when he should be vpon the way. This was done partly to saue charges, because to that great degree appertained great expence in setting out; and partly for respect of *Halil Bassa* in Tocat, that he might not seeme to be displaced in disgrace, but that he should surrender to the other, and retyre to the Port, *salvo Honore*. And when *Husseruph* should be declared prime Vizier, he had order also to change his wayes, but whither, was not divulged. How soeuer it was iudged they could not attempt much that year, but only make shew to keep the field, and the reputation of an army.

1628. About the fist of April *Husseruph Bassa* was declared Vizier; who intended to march directly towards Babylon, for of *Abassa* they had enough the last year; who had writ a letter to the grand Signior, That he was his seruant and slaue, & would hold the prouince for him: but if he sought to force more, plainly that he would deliuer the possession to the Persian, against whom as the great Enemy, if they would prosecute the war, that he would doe all seruice hee could with his safety. And this was accepted as a full submission.

Whilst the grand Signior was thus busied to settle the affaires of Asia, and to reduce *Abassa Bassa* to obedience; the Tartar *Han* was openly declared a Rebel, and Enemy to the Turkish Empire: and his brother *Shachin Gheray* hauing exacted a tribute of the Princes of Bugdania and Wallachia, had receiued an ouerthrow of *Cante-Emir* a Tartar, his Æmulous, but obedient to the grand Signior. Whereupon it was suddenly resolued to take *Ghian Gheray* (formerly deposed) out of the Rhodes, and to send the Captaine Bassa with the whole Armado to establish him Prince, and to displace the other. So that for that year the Mediterran was like to be free, and the Turkish Empire ingaged in so many troubles, that euerie thing seemed to worke toward their subuersion. But great bodies haue strong luctations, and die not with one fit, or by one blow; and such was the miserie and iniquitie of the times, that while Christian princes contended for ambitious and enuious, rather than iust quarels; that none of them had leisure to help to push down that enemy, who tottered by his owne weight; nor to vindicate the Christian Honour; nor the Holy Land, oppressed and possessed by a Tyrant, that onely subsisted by their dissentions: and I feare, the losse of the opportunitie hath lost the Grace that gaue it; and that a common repentance will requite a common sinne and folly.

Hauing drawn our Historie for matters concerning the Temporal estate, and the revolutions therin, vnto a period, of our own knowledge or practise, it will not be impertinent nor vnprofitable, to make some relation of the Greek Church, and the affaires therof, which suffered many perturbations and assaults during these times; as if one influence had disposed all things to vniuersall trouble: but the causes were far differing. There are yet remaining vnder the Patriark of Constantinople 111 Metropolitans and Bishops, who liue with freedome of conscience and Religion vnder the grand Signior, and gouerne the Christian Flocke vnder their seuerall Iurisdictions. Who haue their antient Churches, with some competent reuenue

reuenue in their owne possession, teaching, preaching, and administring of the holy Sacraments according to their owne Rites, without any molestation for matters of Religion. The present Patriarch is called *Cyrillus*, formerly gouerning the See of Alexandria, a reuerend and learned man, who hath desired to reforme many errors, and to enlighten much of the blindenesse of his Church; insensibly preuailing, for want of Lectures, Schooles, and Books, and by the mixture of Barbarisme. His reuenue, (though very good) and that of his Bishops, not arising wholly out of visible lands and rents, but by secret contribution, and other duties; and the simplicity of their life and habit, without shew or pompe, giuing no occasion formerly to the Turks, to expect any profit by vexing them, as is vsually practised vpon other lay Christians, they liued in great peace and tranquility; vntill of late yeares the Church of Rome, hoping either by the pouerty of the one, and the greatnesse of the other, to force the Greeks to a submission, or perhaps, enuious of their quiet, to weary them by trouble, or to subuert them. To this end a Greeke Colledge was by the last *Gregory* erected in Rome, to breed vp the Youth of that Nation, where they had liberty of all their owne Rites, only acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope, which they must do, or not be admitted: and that ground being layd, for point of doctrine it matters not; there is enough gained to make him that had sworne obedience, to accept of all the rest. By this foundation the Pope hoped to breed Proselites enow in time to possesse all the Bishoprickes, and to subdue the whole Church. For these Students returned admired men for their education and knowledge, and wanted not meanes to promoue their preferment; which was a great aduantage ouer the ignorant breeding and discipline of the meere Greeke. But by the foresight and wisedome of *Cyrillus* this plot taking little effect, as it did irritate the Pope and Cardinals against his person, so it did incite them to seeke other more powerfull meanes of corruption, or to ruine him. And both were put in practise. To this end a Congregation was erected to take care of the Easterne Church, and to direct the practises vpon it; whereof a principall Cardinall was made Protector: and many Consistories were held, by which way to reduce the Greeke Church to obedience, or to root out all those that opposed it. It was resolued to make titular Bishops of almost all the Sees (especially in the Islands) where any Greeke Bishop had residence; so that there were many Pastors without a flocke. But these Emissaries being discouered to be supplanters and disturbers of the poor Church, were also resisted, and some cast into prison; and some ashamed of their empty honour, voluntarily returned. But all these deuises failing, they fell at last vpon the round and most assured way of force, to worke their ends by the Embassadors of Christian princes of the Romish Religion residing at Constantinople; and the most potent, of bribery and corruption: making vse of the impotency of the Turkish Ministers, who they knew would sell *Mahomet* himselfe for gold: *Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta mouebo.* From this resolution did all the danger and mischiefe spring: and certainely the zeale of the Romish Church is cloathed with so much honour and solicitousnes, that in that only it prouoketh enuy. But whether they haue in this pursuit and cause proceeded with the rules of Christian charity, in that place, among False-Beleeuers, where euery scandall did concern the honour of Christ himself, or not; I leaue to the judgement of euery ingenious man. And because this Part, of the quarrels betweene the Roman and Greeke Church, though acted in seuerell yeres, hath beene related entirely by a sincere Pen, in a Letter directed to a noble Senator of Venice, whereby the passages will be more cleere and continuous, than if they had beene mingled and interrupted with other affaires; I haue rather chosen mine owne ease and the Readers profit, by translating that Letter, to serue it in all at once, than by peeces and fragments. The occasion whereof arising (as I am informed) from the variety of reports and Printed pamphlets, of the last Act concerning the banishment of the Iesuits, and a rumor spread, that they were restored: the truth whereof it seemes that Senator did desire to know, and therefore prouoked some Friends to satisfie him. And so without other prejudice, I referre the Reader to the Text it selfe following.

The Copy of a Letter written to a Senator of Venice, concerning the contentions betweene the Roman and Greeke Churches in Constantinople.

G

My Lord,

YOur Letter hath laied vpon me a charge, that (if I were able to performe) is so full of enuy, and subject to diuers censures, according to the preparations of the hearers of a matter of that nature, that I would haue chosen to haue obeyed you in any other way, rather than in that of a Relator. For I perceiue by you, some prejudice is already gone out, and hath taken possession of a part of the World, harder to remoue than to teach a new heresie. But hoping that you seeke the satisfaction of your owne curiosity, and that you purpose not to controuert, I will not refuse, against my owne reason, and little leisure, to returne you assurance, how far you haue power ouer them and me. H

IT is now ten moneths since this conflict between the Greeke Church, and the Iesuits here fell out, but not the first time they haue been in trouble, imprisonment and oblegation. They were settled in Galata by the Grand Signiors License, vnder the French protection, about twenty fiue yeares since; in which time they had gotten a good Seat, builded much, gathered together a faire Library, and won greatly vpon the weaker Sect, and age, women and children. I speake of the Greeks; forwith the Romanists they had least credit, who adhered to their antient Orders of S. *Francis* and *Dominicke*; and were affraid that this new Society would be too busie, and cast them into danger of their old priuiledges: for the Turks are plaine, and yet rash, and easily apprehend euery innouation. I

The pretence of this Colledge was, To teach children for nothing, or charity, Grammer, the Arts and Tongues. And there being no open Schoole in those parts, and few bookes for want of Printing, the Greekes (who loue learning best, when it is best cheape) were content their children should gleane tares in any field, to saue their purses: and their wiues were won by eloquence and affability, to open their sins to them, who had more witty penances than Greekish shrift and fasting, which did decay their beauty, and deject their countenances. But the wiser sort, especially the Patriarch *Cyrillus*, and his Bishops, discouered *Anguem in herba*; and did foresee, That by this seeming benefit, the Youth of their Nation might be corrupted (*Seruabit odorem testa diu*) and their owne bosomes tempted by the Daughters of *Eue*: And they likewise did feare, That vpon this foundation might be nourished Proselites to Rome, that in time would vndermine the whole Church. And therefore did as modestly as they could (to preuent an open dissention) seeke to withdraw both, from this bait of seducement. *Hinc illæ lachrimæ*: For when the Iesuits did discouer they were discouered, they began to practise that by force, which they had long designed in the darke. The first open warre brake out in February 1622; when these Fathers (protected by the French Embassador) attempted to depose the Patriarch, and to place another Greeke in his Chayre, who had secretly submitted to the Pope, and promised to render new obedience to the See of Rome. K L

Whereupon *Cyrillus* consulted his friends, how to auoyd their enuy. He resolued to proceed with mildenesse and charity; and first to deale with the seduced Bishop, as one of his owne Flocke: and the Sunday following hee preached and published the Counsels held against him, and the danger of his Church; not naming the Iesuits, otherwise than by admonition, to beware of certaine fiery Organs and Instruments, against whom he should be enforced to proceed with more seuerity, if they desisted not. And then being assisted with foure Archbishops, and the Clergy present, he excommunicated that Greeke joyned with his enemies: hoping by this gentle Exhortation to the one, and Example on the other, to obtaine the blessing of Peace, recommended by Christ to his Church. The pretence of this quarrel from M

A from Rome and present disdaine, was published by the French Party, to haue root, because that the Patriarch kept company with Lutherans and Heretiques, and therefore must needs sauour of the same Leauen. This modest course of the Patriarch did but exasperate; for the Iesuits hauing a Visier fit for them, in Aprill following, by subornation of others, did accuse *Cyrillus* of a practise to betray an Island in the * Arches, to the Florentines; and by the promise of twenty thousand Dollars for the establishment of the excommunicated Bishop, they prevailed to haue the Patriarch apprehended, deposed, and sent prisoner to Rhodes, where he suffered many miseries and outrages, and their Friend to be placed in his Seat. But the Greeke Church, though they durst not oppose the present fury, yet they would neither acknowledge *Pastorem qui non intrauit per Portam*, nor resort to the Cathedrall, nor contribute B any money to pay the fine due to the Grand Signior vpon remoue, vpon which the French relyed, for though they had promise from Rome of aid, yet was it not leuied. Whereby finding themselues in a streight, they made meanes to a silly Archbishop of Adrianople, who was rich, to take the charge; the other willingly resigning vnto him: who accepted the offer, aduanced part of the Symony, and leuied the rest by force of Turkish Commands vpon the poore Greeks; and so he was in appearance fully, if not Canonically seated. Their purpose was not long to suffer this man to continue, but only to hold the See full, vntill supply came from the Pope, and then to depose him, and place one fitted for their designes. By this mutation they hoped to recouer all the Greekes to the Catholique Cause, and Spaine. And in these changes the Patriarchat was robbed of most of the antient Manuscripts, and other Or- C naments of the Church.

In September following, *Cyrillus* by helpe of friends, and force of money, was restored to liberty, and returned to Constantinople. Where being arriued, all the Greekes flocked to him: Which the Archbishop of Adrianople obseruing, and knowing himselfe an Intruder, (the true Patriarch neither resigning, nor being Canonically depriued) secretly and voluntarily came and submitted, and offered to surrender the charge to him. But *Cyrillus* not daring to accept it, vntill meanes were made to the State, or that he were recalled by a Synod, was content the Church should be vacant, to see what would of it selfe emerge. The French Embassador hearing of this sudden defection from him, by the counsell of his Iesuits, fetched their Archbishop into his house, and encouraged him to resume his place; promising him D protection from the Pope, from the King his Master, and to spend forty thousand Dollars for his sustentation. And thus, partly by faire words abusing the impotency, and partly by force compelling him, they won the weake man to yeeld: and then the French Embassador sent his Interpreters and Ianizaries to re-seat him in the Cathedrall, and in Galata proclaimed him Patriarch, and threatened all those that would not obey and acknowledge him. An insolence full of proportion to the designe, to maintain an ill cause by worse meanes.

But the Clergy and people knowing the vnlawfulnesse of this intrusion, and the vnduc consecration, and foreseeing the ruine to come, if so pernicious example should preualle, did still adhere to their old Pastor. Which the new better weighing in his owne retiednesse, than in the French House, where his ambion was fomented; and fearing that if *Cyrillus* should reco- E uer his just right by the same way he had done his liberty, some greater disgrace or punishment might fall vpon him; without further consulting his high Protector, in the night quitted the See, and came to his Patriarch and cast himselfe into his mercy, asking absolution; and vtterly renouncing French, Spanish, or Romane Factions, freely resigned. Herewith *Cyrillus* encouraged, by the strength of money and friends was againe with the Letters of the Grand Signior restored, in despight of the Enemy, who now found himselfe ouermatched. But this strife did cost the Greeks threescore thousand Dollars, taken at Interest, almost to the destruction of the Church, especially to haue discouered to the Turks away to extort great sums by changes, from them, who formerly were esteemed poore Monks: which will neuer be forgotten, and will finally ruine the See. This was the effect of pretended zeale to F Religion, and a Romish charity.

Now all men hoped for Peace; but there brake out another storme. In Ianuary following, a Coloyre was sent from Rome, called *Archemadrita*, and was receiued by the French into his house; who brought a promise from the Congregation *de propaganda Fide*, That notwithstanding the first faile for want of money, that now twenty thousand Dollars should be ready

* Marcæ. gum.

ready and returned thither, if they could make sure the deposition of *Cyrillus*, and place an obedient Sonne in his roome. To this end it was promised, that ten thousand Dollars giuen by a widow in France to charitable vses, should by the Popes authority be conuerted. And thus new practises and new accusations were aduanced; but being timely discouered, they were preuented: yet againe it cost the poore Church a round summe of money.

The next yeare the persecution was calmed in outward appearance, but more subtile and close machinations supplied it: for it was then resolued in Rome, to corrupt *Cyrillus*, and so to winnd him: then to discredit him with his friends, and to lay him open and vnto him. To this purpose were sent from Rome about February 1624, two seuerall Agents, one called *Padre Berillus*, to ingage the Patriarch in a practise with the Cossackes, which was treason: and a lesuited Greeke bred in the Colledge at Rome, named *Cannachi Rossi*. To whom were giuen instructions vnder the hand and seale of Cardinall *Bandini*, to make ouerture to *Cyrillus* of reconciliation, with great conditionall promises of supplies and this following Commission. But Sir, because you will best judge of the scope of this negotiation, by the copy it selfe, the originall vnder the seale, remaining with the English Embassador, and from whence this hatred tooke root; I, that haue onely taken vpon me the part of a Relator, haue made it here a Parenthesis, and leaue your judgement to collect your owne sence.

Instruttioni per Canacchio Rossi.

1 *NOn vi essendo lettere ne del Patriarcha, ne de' Prelati non le si può rispondere se non in voce, conformandosi alla relatione del messo.*

2 *La chiesa Romana ha sempre desiderata l'unione & pace con tutte le Chiese, specialmente con l'Orientali, tanto per altri tempi bene merita della Chiesa Catolica, e non solo ne' tempi antichi mà vltimamente ancôra, nel tempo de Patriarcha* Hieremia *ha fato quel che ha potuto per aiutarla, e reunrisela, non perdonando in ciò ne à spese, ne à fatiche, Anzi per questo stesso fine hà fondato, & mantiene il Collegio de giouani Greci con li sui renditi, acciò quella natione si nobile & ingegniosa ritorni a fiorire in pietà & in lettere, come altre volte ha fiorito.*

3 *Nel particolar proposto del Patriarcha presente: Nostro Seigniore (tanto grand fautore, & Padre della Natione Greca in particolare, come voi stesso sapete, & hauete veduto congli occhi) volentaria mente spenderebbe ogni gran summa di denaro per riunir si nobile membro alla Chiesa, & aiutare in particolare quella sedia dalla quale dipende il rimamente del'Oriente; ma supposte le relationi, che di Constantinopoli sono venute, & vengono continouamente del Patriarcha, non veda in che maniera si possa fare.*

4 *Di lui siamo auisati, che nega l'Inuocatione de Santi, il colto & veneratione dell'Imagini, & Reliquie de Sante, la Presenza reale de Christo nell'Eucharistia, la Liberta del Arbitrio, l'Autorita de sacri Concilij, le Traditioni, l'Autorità de Santi* Padri, *la necessità della Confessione auriculare, & lo spiegare in essa li Peccati della mente, & che in loco di lei hauesse introdotto vna certa Confessione fatta a Dio publicamente con parole generali, che manda li giouani a studiare nell'Vniuersità d'Inghilterra, & di Germania, doue s'insegna questa dottrina; per poter poi per mezzo di loro disseminarla per il Leuante. Che a questo fine ha fatto stampare, & egli stesso dissemina, dandoli alli Vescoui, come Chatechesi, pieni di questi, & simili errori condannati già, tanti anni fà, non solo dalla fede Apostolica & dal Concilio Tridentino, ma dalli suoi Predecessori anchora, come egli stesso testifica nella*

nella professione della fede lasciata tanti anni fa in mano del Arciuescouo di Leopoli riconoscendo questa, & simili altre dottrine per heresie & dicendo che per questo era impossibile, che la chiesa Greca s'unisse mai con li Protestanti; che a contemplatione delli Ambasciatori Hugonotti (con li quali liberamente communica) ha tolto via il Sinodico, & ha lasciato di far riuerenza alla santissima Eucharistia.

5 *Che desiderarebbe sua Santita che tutte queste cose fossero false & che lui come Capo de si nobile natione fosse tale quale rechiedono li bisogni presenti, e spirituali, & temporali de' suoi subditi per poter con bona faccia, & conscienza, mettere mano ad auitarlo.*

6 *Che si queste sono calumnie, & le pare di poter far constare a sua Santita la sua innocenza, ne faccia Capace l'Ambasciatore di Francia, ò dell'Imperatore, che alla relatione loro per essere persone di tanta autorita & virtu, si prestera ogni fede, & per mezzo loro mandi a N. S. la confessione della sua fede, nella quale accetti il Concilio Fiorentino, & danni li errori de' Caluinisti & Luterani, dannati prima da suoi Antecessori, che non manchera la sede Apostolica d'ogni aiuto & fauore per aiutare & rimettere in piedi la Chiesa di Constantinopoli & tutte l'altre dependenti da lei.*

7 *Che non e per richieder S. Santita ne da lui, ne da gli altri Prelati Greci, altre conditioni, se non quelle che si sono conchiuse & stabilite nel sacro Concilio Fiorentino, per che come fin hora ha fatta la Chiesa Greca, condanni & anathematizi le biastemie delli heretici Settentrionali, cioè Luterani, Caliuinisti, & simili.*

Roma xxj. Febraro, 1625.

Il Cardinale Bandini.

Locus Sigilli.

Translated.

Instructions giuen to *Cannachi Rossi.*

1 *HAuing neither brought me Letters from the Patriarch, nor from any other Prelate, we cannot giue an answer other than by word of mouth, conforming to the relation you haue deliuered.*

2 *The Church of Rome hath alwaies desired an vnion and peace with all other Churches, but especially with those of the East, (who haue heretofore so well merited of the Catholique Church) and not only in antient times, but euen lately in the life of the Patriarch* Hieremy, *she hath done what she could possible, to assist and vnite the Greeke Church vnto her: not sparing therein either cost or labour: yea, to effect the same, she hath founded, and doth yet maintaine a Colledge of young Greekes with her owne renenue, to the end that, that noble and ingenious Nation should flourish in godlinesse and learning, as in former ages it hath done.*

3 *Concerning the proposition of the present Patriarch, our Lord and Master the Pope (a Fauourer and Father of the Greeke Nation, as particularly your selfe haue knowne and seene) would disburse a round sum of money to re-unite so noble a Member to the Church of Rome, and assist in particular that See, vpon which the rest of the Easterne Churches doe depend. But considering the reports which haue been spread, and continually do come from Constantinople, of the Patriarch, we do not see in what manner it can possibly be effected.*

4 *Con-*

4 *Concerning him, we are aduised, That he denieth the Inuocation of Saints, the worship and vene-* G
ration of Images and reliques of the Saints, the Reall presence of Christ in the Eucharist, Free-will, the authoritie of Sacred Councels, and Traditions, the authoritie of Holy Fathers, the necessitie of Auricular Confession, and in it, the reuealing of secret sinnes: In stead of which he hath introduced a publike Confession made to God in generall words. That he sends young men to study in the English and Germane Academies, where this Doctrine is taught and professed: that by their means he may spread it in the Leuant. And to this end, that he hath caused to be printed, and that he himselfe hath dispersed and giuen to some Bishops, certaine Catechismes full of this and other like erroneous Doctrine, condemned long ago, not only by the Apostolique See, and the Councell of Trent, but euen of his owne Predecessors, as he himselfe hath testified in that Confession of Faith which he left many yeres since in the hands of the Archbishop of Lepoli, acknowledging this and the like Doctrine for heresie, and therefore concluding, That it was impos- H
*sible that the Greeke Church should euer vnite it selfe with the Protestants. And that in contemplation of the Hugonot Embassadours (with whom he doth freely conuerse) he hath taken away the * Sinodicon, and hath laid aside the reuerence due to the most holy Eucharist.*

* It signifieth an Assembly: I take it to bee the power of Excommunication. But enquire how it is vsed by the Romish Church.

5 *His Holinesse doth desire, That all these reports were false, and that he being the head of so noble a Nation, should be such a one as the present condition, both in matters spiritual and temporall of the flock vnder his Iurisdiction doth require; that he might with a cheerfull countenance and safe conscience extend his liberalitie and aid vnto him.*

6 *If these shal proue calumnies, and that the Patriarch doth think he can make his innocence appeare before his Holinesse, let him iustifie himselfe to the French or the Emperors Embassador: to whose relation (being persons of great vertue and authoritie) credit and faith will be giuen: and by their meanes let* I
him send to his Sanctitie the Confession of his Faith, in which he doth accept the Councell of Florence, and condemne the errors of Caluin *and* Luther, *condemned alreadie by his Predecessors. And the Apostolique See will not be wanting in all fauour and assistance, to raise vp the Church of Constantinople, and all others on it depending.*

7 *That his Holinesse will not require either of him or the other Prelates of Greece, any conditions but such as were concluded and established in the sacred Florentine Councell, so that (according as the Grecian Church hath alway done) hee condemne and anathematise the blasphemie of the Septentrionall Heretiques; to say, of Caluinists, Lutherans, and such like.*

Rome, the xxj. of February, 1625. K

Cardinall *Bandini.*

The place of his Seale.

This *Channachi Rossi* arriuing with his Commission at Constantinople, became an vndertaker of his owne accord, to merit of the Church of Rome, to conuert the Patriarch (who was a- L
mased at the boldnesse, and feared both waies; either to answer, and so to be ingaged in a penwarre; or to be silent, and condemned as standing mute. But at last hee resolued, that seeing the Cardinall vouchsafed not to write directly to him, to take no notice; but to see how patience would deliuer him out of this snare. But the Iesuits content with no temper, but present subscription, stirred vp some Bishops now made of their faction, anew to depose him; and there was offered twenty thousand Dollars to establish one of them. This tempest forced *Cyrillus* to retyre and hide, vntill his Friends had reuealed to the State the mysterie of this forked practise, and opened the treacherie of both of these Ministers, imploied only to introduce a change aduantagious to the Pope, and dangerous to the Grand Signior. Yet such is the custome of this Court, that his peace was againe bought at the expence of ten thousand M
Dollars.

Once more the Patriarch expected peace and securitie; but the Congregation at Rome fell vpon a new counsell: First, better to fortifie themselues before they attempted their enemies. And to this end, vpon diuers pretences, it was resolued to send to Constantinople, an Anti-

A Anti-Patriarch from the Pope, qualified with absolute authority, but vnder the title of *Suffraganeo Apostolico*, and with him a Treasurer for the Church (for Saint *Peter* durst not trust the French Embassador with money) yet with these to ioyne him, for his zeale and countenance, and the Iesuits for their Counsell. To this Triumuirate was giuen all power to plant, displant, to sow, and root out, and finally to do all things that might aduance the Romane cause. For their better strength & abetting, it was also decreed to create new Romish Bishops in Smyrna, Naxia, and many Islands (a shift learned at Trent) to oppose the Greeks, and by aduantage of learning, to supplant them. Of this mission there was great expectation.

About December, 1626, the Suffraganeo arriued at Naxia, whither the French embassador sent the Romane Bishop of that place his Chaplein, and two Iesuits to receiue him: who con- B
ducted him as far as Scio, where he was accepted with great Ceremonie. But beginning his office too roughly and too soon (for he should not haue declared himselfe vntill he had crept to Constantinople vnder the French wings, and had bin setled by degrees) many took offence at this noueltie. The Lay-men feared some prejudice in their right of Patronage ouer the Churches: the wisest foresaw the danger of Christian libertie, and that their practises in this innouation would inuolue all others into a suspition of some conspiracie: and if any scandall should from hence arise, the Turks would not distinguish betweene the guilty and the innocent, beeing in one Liuerie by the name of Frankes. Yea, the Friers could not endure a power so neere aboue them, but refused him lodging in their Conuents. The Greeke Clergy began euidently to discouer the subuersion of their authority, and antient Faith. Only the Iesu- C
its triumphed, and thought the prize now their owne. But desperation forced some, and charity others to defend their possessions. Thus encouraged by strong friends to oppose this fatall blow, all the plot was opened to the Vizier, and their design quietly and without scandal frustrated. The Suffraganeo retired without noise; their new Bishops made by subreptitious Licences were imprisoned, their Letters of Priuiledge taken from them, to the extreme anguish and disgrace of their Protector. This last repulse made them furious; but *Infestis animis deerat occasio.*

In Iune, 1627, here arriued vpon an English ship one *Nicodemo Mataxa*, a Coloyre borne in Cephalonia: he brought with him the Greek stamp made at his expence, and diuers bookes printed in London, as he pretended, for the benefit of his Nation, drowned almost in inuinci- D
ble ignorance, especially for want of means to learn and study. As soon as he came ashore, and had spoken with the Patriarch, and made knowne his zeale to that Church, hee was from him by the Archbishop of Corinth recommended to the English Embassador, to assist this pious intention, to passe these heauy commodities through the Custome-house without suspition. In which though he foresaw some trouble, yet he willingly vndertook the protection. But first consulting with *Cyrillus* of Constantinople, and *Gelasius* Patriarch of Alexandria, (then for his priuate affairs at the Port) and with the Resident of the vnited Prouinces, he was of opinion, That in a matter of that nature, which was in it selfe honest and iustifiable, it was requisite to proceed openly, and with leaue: which hauing obtained of the Vizier, tooke vp, and brought both stampe and Bookes to his house. Now supposing all the difficultie had been ouercome, E
and neuer suspecting any scandall from Christians, for that which hee thought did not, nor ought not to offend them, hee gaue countenance and helpe to *Mataxa* to put his industry in order.

The Patriarch desired the Stamp might worke in the English House; but the Embassador for priuate respects would not consent, but offered to take a House, and to giue both it and them his protection. Which he did, not far from his owne, and neerer to the French Embassadors: who pretending the vnion of the two Churches, there appeared no feare of him, that he should enuy a Christian worke, or do any act that might separate them for euer. As soone as *Mataxa* was setled, and his print in order, the French and the Iesuits tooke offence at it, as set vp to publish Bookes against the Church of Rome, or at least to take away their trade of tea- F
ching, and seducing children by his printing of catechisms, *Magna est* Diana *Ephesiorum.* First, they attempted to draw him into their gouernment, inuiting him to their Monasterie, intimating, That adhering to them would take off some ill suspition raised on him for hauing studied in England. When he could not be woon by flatteries, they reported him to be an Heretique and a Lutheran, because he took sanctuarie from the English. Against the stamp they excepted

excepted, at the Armes of the King of Great Britain, which they said was scandalous, and being in the Frontispeece of euery Booke, was *malum augurium*; and did foreshew, that within they must fauor of heresie: for, What could be expected from an hereticall Fountain, or from the Man that conuersed with Heretiques. G

These obloquies little moued the English Embassador, who knew their malice proceeded from the matter of one Author that wrote against the Supremacie. But the rage extended so far, that it was reuealed to *Mataxa*, That he should be murthered in his bed, or in the street, as he passed in the night from the English to his owne house. Whereupon at his great instance the Embassador was content for his person to giue him lodging. So in the day he continued his worke, and at euening retyred vnder protection.

Melchior, Pat. Alex.

As yet they found no occasion to worke their purpose: but the Patriarch sent a little Treatise to the Presse, made by himself (being an exposition of the Faith, and Tenets of the Greek church, without any mention of controuersie, or censuring the opinions of others; principally to satisfie the world in those calumnies spred, That he had introduced new Doctrines, to the scandall of his own Flocke) which he had resolued to dedicate to the King of England; but now hauing opportunitie to print at home, prepared an Epistle fit for it. This prouoked the Iesuites, who not able to endure any application of the East Church to that Monarch, could no longer containe themselues, but conspired with their Embassadors to ouerthrow both the Author, Worke, and Workman: and hauing gotten another Booke written by the Patriarch, printed in England, and brought by *Mataxa* against the Iews, they found some passages which did modestly condemne the opinions of the Turks. When they had this supposed aduantage, they practised with a Buffone, but a crafty knaue, who had credit with the Vizier, and had bin Vayuod of Galata, to inform him, That this *Mataxa* was a Captain sent hither to raise sedition, and that vnder the colour of printing Bookes for children, hee dispersed others against the Alcaron; That they were brought from England secretly, and that the English Embassador protected him and his designes: That these Bookes were written by the Patriarch, to stir the Greeks, and to draw them into defection; and many of them sent to the Cossacks, to prouoke them to vnite vpon the occasion of the Grand Signiors expedition into Asia, that was then rumored. H I

These accusations were capitall, as they concerned *Cyrillus* and *Mataxa*; and sufficient to impaire the credit of the English Embassador, if not to ruine him in the affairs for which he did reside. K

The Vizier without further consideration resolued to assault the house of *Mataxa*, and surprise him in the act of Sin, of printing against their Law; and gaue order to a Captaine and companie of Ianizaries to execute it. Which was out of course, to set at liberty vnruly soldiers, that seldome containe themselues within their Order, or can be appeased without booty. The exploit should haue bin done on Friday the fourth of Ianuarie: but the French Embassador hearing the English had inuited the Patriarch, & Venetian Baylo, to some entertainment on the day of Epiphanie, he stayd it two daies, as he said, to make sauce to their Feast. On that day at high noone, a hundred and fifty Ianizaries armed beset *Mataxa's* house, and guarded all the passages to the English: all was full of fears and rumor, and no man knew the cause. In this tumult, the English Embassadors Secretarie and *Mataxa* returning from Church at Galata, passed by; and some of the Coloyres seruants that were apprehended, shewed their Master, to free themselues: but he being in a hat, and the Secretarie answering he was one of his Lords Followers, he escaped safely, and got into the English house. The Captaine missing him the Principall, bound all his seruants, brake open his chests, and carried all away, stamp, books, papers, plate, mony, cloths, and whatsoeuer was portable, as the goods of a traitor, to the value of seuen thousand Dollars. And returning thus full, a French * Drogaman told them, That the Offendor was fled to the English Embassador: but the Turk, that had more charity, answered, he had no order to follow him thither. L

* Interpreter.

Now the English Embassador thought himselfe interessed; yet that day not to seeme to bee moued, made as merry as such rumours would beare; That hee had practised against the State; others, That the Stampe was to counterfeit the Grand Signiors Letters; others, To make false money; and other such as Ignorance and Accusation beget among the Multitude. M

The

A The next day the books were examined by two Greek Renegado's, and the Folio by the Iesuits noted where the blasphemy should be: the place was interpreted before the Vizier and some * Mulla's, but there was nothing found that by law could touch the life of the author or printer; yet the Patriark was conuented, and many crimes obiected to him without proof or probabilitie.

* Churchmen and Lawyers.

There yet rested some diffidence in the Vizier, at the report, That *Mataxa* was a man of war, and held correspondence with the Cossacks, and that he should liue vnder the English protection; which was nourished by shewing the Armes of England on the frontis-piece of that book. But when the Mufti had giuen sentence, That euery doctrine against their opinions was not blasphemy, nor criminal; and that the grand Signior giuing leaue to Christians to teach their own law, and to preach matters contrary to Mahometism, it could not be thought but it was daily don in their Churches, for which they were not punishable; so they could not be culpable of treason for writing the same, so long as they did not scandal their Law, but only oppose it. The main obiection being thus fallen, it was more easie to refell the accessaries grounded vpon it. B

The third day the English Embassadour shewed himselfe openly, and went to the Vizier, and professed, That he had receiued that *Mataxa* into his house, to keepe him from the fury; but that he should be ready to maintain his innocencie. He put him in mind, That this businesse and man accused he himselfe knew, that hee was a Gentleman of Coloyre, a subiect of the Senat, and presented vnto him by the Venice Baylo; and that he had giuen leaue to land and vse the stamp, and that nothing was done without his communication and consent: That therefore he much admired that he would be so rash to suspect his friends, and so scandalously to assault their houses, to spoile their goods at the instigation of those whom hee had cause to know for enemies; and to be so far transported at the winde of an occasion, without acquainting him, to send souldiors that might haue done mischiefe to bee too late repented. C

When the Visier had called to minde the man, and all circumstances, and remembred whom the matter concerned (the English Embassador, with whom he had confidence) hee was ashamed of his precipitation, and protested he had no doubt of him, nor purpose to affront him: That hee wondered at the impudence of those that had so grossely abused him; and concluded with this profession (as the English Embassador for his credit did publish) That if against his will he had done him wrong, when he should see all the goods of *Mataxa* restored, their honour repaired, and those that had procured this scandall, fallen into the snare they had made for others, and exemplarily punished, then hee desired to be acquitted of injustice, and to be esteemed still his true friend. By this office the Patriarch was wholly cleared, and restored to the good opinion of the Vizier, and afterward of the Mufti; to whom the English went immediatly, to instruct him of the malice of the one part, and innocencie of the other. D

Within few daies, the Vizier sent home to the Embassadors house all the stamp and print, (except some few letters lost in the tumult) and all the books and papers that were seised, in publique satisfaction, attended with Officers and souldiers: in which he shewed so much respect and care to recouer euery particular, that there was not much missing of any value. Amongst those books, there was printed Bishop *Iewels* Apologie translated into Greeke, a Catechisme and Confession of the Patriarch, and some new Treatises at the Presse; but one, and one only Iewel was missed, and can neuer be recouered: There was presented to the English Embassador a Manuscript that had with great veneration and care bin preserued in the library of a Bishop, and was averred and beleeued the only copy in the world, of the Lectures and controuersies against the Bishop and Church of Rome; read cathedrally by the most famous and learned *Photius* Patriarch of Constantinople. This booke the Embassador highly esteeming as the raritie of the East, had deliuered to *Mataxa*, to be transcribed by his Deacons that attended the correction of the print; that hauing double copies, so great a riches might not perish in one bottom. But this too much care to saue it, lost it: for beeing halfe finished, and in the assault of the Ianizaries amongst other surprised, neither the original nor any leafe could euer be recouered. Such was the diligence of the setters and ouerseers of this conspi- E F

racie. The Embassador mooued the Visier, who vsed all his power: the Patriarch published an Excommunication for many moneths, if perchance any Greek had bought it of the souldiers, to return it: but all in vain. Wherby it was reasonably concluded, That this book was a principal envy of the Iesuits, who feared the publication; and that their ministers beeing Spies and in part Actors of the assault, had so especiall an eye vpon it, that it fel into their vnredeemable power, and so by them either sent to Purgatorie or the Vatican. G

The next day after the fury, *Cannachi Rossi* the Agent of Cardinall *Bandini*, went to the Patriarch to braue him in aduersitie: who mildly asking him, How long they would tempt his patience by wicked conspiracies? and, What had driuen them to this extremitie to seek his life? he replied, That they were scandalised at him for two things; for fauouring *Mataxa*, and suffering him to preach, being an heretike, and liuing in the house of an heretique. Secondly, That he had begun to print a book ful of heresies, dedicated to the King of England the head of Heretiques. But if he would retract the one and renounce the other, the French Embassador should procure his accommodation. H

With the next Post after this trouble, there came from Rome a copy of a Consistory held in the house of Cardinal *Bandini*, entituled for Constantinople; wherin this practise against the Patriark was debated and resolued: the cause grounded vpon his conuersation with Calvinists, and sending of students to be brought vp in their Schooles; that therfore he should be accused of contriuing an insurrection against the *Ottoman* empire. And the execution of this plot commended to the Embassadors of the Potentates residing in this Court, fauorers of the Catholique cause. Which Councel being compared with the last practise, it did euidently appear, that one was dependant on the other. Which the Patriarch wel considering, and finding that he had no more safety in patience, resolued to vse his friends, to send them away that would not let him liue in peace. And the English Embassador taking deep offence at the insolence of *Cannachi Rossi*, vsed to the name of his king; it is thought that they, together with the help of a good friend no lesse powerful than either of them, vnited to banish the Iesuites; and to shew their Protector, that they had no lesse power to offend, because they had lesse malice and desire to do it. I

For the way they wrought (to omit other obseruable circumstances) it is true, the English Embassador was angry, and declared; and had good credit, and was seen often abroad: but hee was not alone, for the Patriark (that is a wise man) knew he striued not now for victory, but for life. The Iesuits guilty of deseruing a iust reuenge, retyred all to the French Embassador his house, where they lay hid about fourteen daies: but in that time hearing no noise, and hoping that all was secure, and that the Patriark and English Embassador trauelled onely in their defence, and to recouer their losses, they returned to their house triumphant; when suddenly we heard that a messenger came to them, to let them know that some Greeke women were come to make confession, and stayed for them in their garden. To whom two of them came downe, and were presently arested by the Viziers officers, who then entred their lodgings and apprehended another. This was done without any noise or scandall, and the actors had such care, That their Church was sealed, all their altars and plate saued, and whatsoeuer appertained to them, inviolated: only their persons and Library, *per Legem Talionis*, were caried to the Visiers house, where they were kept in irons about a moneth, and their bookes likewise visited; in which were found much more aduantage to haue drawne them within compasse of the Turkish law, than their discouerie on the Patriark. And the same instant *Cannachi Rossi* was also taken and his papers in his lodging, and caried to bear them sad company. The French Embassador desired audience, but could not obtain it: he visited euery great mans port, especially the Mufti, where he had no other acceptance, than admonition to carry himself with more temper, and to meddle with the busines for which he was imploied. Hee vsed all meanes, but could no where preuail for relief: he threatned a breach of amitie, and to surrender the Capitulations, and interdicted the Traffique; but the Turkes were prouided with answers, That they would inform his master the French King, and giue him satisfaction. In conclusion, the Iesuites weary, and in feare of death (for there was crime enough) the English Embassador, whom they supposed their Enemy, to auoid scandall and the effusion of Christian bloud, interposed for them, and obtained their liues; and after many Consultations, it was agreed to K L M banish

A banish their Order out of all the grand Signiors dominions, to deliuer back their books; and this grace at the intercession of him, of whom they had not merited that courtesie. That it might clearly appear there was no purpose of robbery, nor to take the goods that were innocent, and in the French Kings protection. In prosecution of which Councel there were commands sent to Scio, Smyrna, Aleppo, and Cyprus, to discharge those places from the practise of this fraternitie; who had a design to get the Sepulchre at Ierusalem into their hands, and to supplant the Franciscans (which controuersie is wel known at Rome, and would make a long Section in this narration:) and finally they were put into a Barque, with good gard, in their irons, and sent to Scio; with order to ship them and their fellowes vpon the next vessell that went for Christendome, and in the mean time to keep them prisoners. When they came to B the castles on the Hellespont, the French Embassadour had procured, that the Castellane would not suffer them to passe, for want of the Captain Bassa's Letter; and so they were returned to Constantinople, but still kept in their Gaol: and suddenly it was rumored, they were revoked, and should be re-established. But when the Vizier heard his authoritie was contemned, and this trick put vpon him, he was so much inraged, that again their liues were in danger. But the present fury appeased euen by their supposed Enemie, they were returned, banished first to Scio, and so shipt for Italy. I must confesse that I haue not obserued any one sorry but the French Embassador, scarce his houshold; all other Catholiques, especially the Orders of Friers, and the Franciscans of Ierusalem, were glad they were eased of their Dominion, and the fears of their designes. And I haue heard it reported, That themselues did ingen- C niously confesse an obligation to the English Embassadour; and in their relations to Rome laid all the fault vpon the precipitation of their Protector.

There was another command sent to Smyrna, to apprehend a couple that had crept in vnder the French Consuls protection: who at first hid themselues; but being aduised to giue place, and a means opened to them to escape, fled secretly; there beeing no other purpose in their persecutors, but to be rid of such negotiating fathers.

And thus Sr you haue a true relation of what I haue obserued, & for your satisfaction collected of those that had better means to know particulars than I, who am busie enough if I do myne own businesse. There rests only to tell you, That during the English Embassadors stay (which was about fiue months after) the French sate down and stirred not. But considering D that his credit in France depended much from Rome, and from an opinion of his zeale to the Catholique cause, and his power to support it; hauing made the Colledge of Cardinals beleeue that he would subdue the Greek Church (wherein wise men thought hee did disseruice both to the Cause and his Master: for the ready way to vndoe the Catholiques, was to innovate any thing in their antient maner of life, gouernment, and priuiledges, which they enjoyed with their consciences freely) he thought himselfe vtterly lost, if he did not do somewhat to recouer his reputation there, by a seeming restitution of the Iesuites. Vpon which deliberation, hauing yet two of them refuged to his house, and hid there a moneth after the departure of the English embassador; he petitioned the grand Signior, That his Chapleins might haue leaue to bury his Dead, and do other offices of their Function. Which being granted, it was E published, That he had restored the Iesuites.

And because you are so curious to know all, and in what estate that restitution now stands, I conclude with the true copy of the command obtained, and leaue it to your iudgment, whether the breach be made vp so whole as is supposed. For euery plaister is not a sound cure.

The Grand Signiors Command, directed to *Assan Bassa* Captaine of the Sea; and to the Caddee of Galata.

G

*AT the sight of this our high and Imperial Signature, you shal take notice, That the French Embassador by an * Arz giuen to our happy Port, hath made vs to vnderstand, That (their Law and Religion being not like to that of other Christians which liue in our wel gouerned Empire) they with our Imperiall Licence did procure to come from the kingdome of France certain* Religious *men called Iesuites, who for the space of twenty fiue years haue had their abode in the Church of Saint* Benet *appointed to them in Galata; and lately by sinister information made against them, were sent away to their owne countrey: from which time the said Church being shut vp, and hauing no other Religious who could assist in the necessary Offices of men ready to die, or dead; haue therfore petitioned for our noble Command. To which end (excepting alway the aboue named* * Religious, *sent away, and others of other Nations) that he may place in the said Church such persons of Religious French, and French Religion, which are found at this present here, elect, and appointed by him, without molestation or injury to be done vnto them by any whomsoeuer. Therefore in conformitie to his request, this my Command is obtained; and I doe command, That at the sight of this my Imperiall Order it be obeyed and executed: That because, as is before pretended, the French haue not those* * Religious *who can performe the Functions necessary for the Dead (excepting alway those* Religious *already banished, and all others comming from the countries of our Enemies) that they may put into the said Church such persons for Religious men, as are naturall Frenchmen, and of their owne Nation, which at present are found in Galata, and that shall by them bee appointed: and that so long as they commit no faults in their charge, and that they practise nothing contrary to our Imperiall will, that they be of no man molested.*

* Petition.

* In the original it signifies an Order.

* or Orders.

H

I

K

Vpon the obtaining of this Command, the two Iesuits in the French house were solemnly and with great ostentation caried to S. *Benetto's* Church, and placed there as the Embassadors Chapleins; and an opinion spread, of an absolute re-establishment of their Order, and so it was divulged in Rome. But it was not supposed by the French, that this Copy should bee seene by any but himselfe; and then the Act would haue appeared as truth. But some Critical and captious men haue made many *Quare's* vpon this matter: First they haue asked, What then is the French Religion, if it differ from all other Christians in the Grand Signiors Dominions; when in Galata there were fiue Romish Churches and Monasteries, with French Capuchins, Dominicans, Franciscans, and others? Secondly they haue asked, What Ceremonies are necessarie to a Frenchman, in danger of death, or after it, that none of these Orders can assist or performe? Again they aske, Who are restored by this priuiledge, if the *Religiosi supra nominati*, and Strangers are excepted? What is meant by French Religion, and the same Religion? To which it is answered first, That this new French Religion is onely Iesuitical, not approued by the most Christian King, improoued by the Sorbons, and reproued by all the louers of the libertie of the Gallican Church. To the second, That they dying must be absolued only by a Iesuite, or buried in his habit, or shut out of Paradice. Again they answer, They finde none restored but a new French Religion, and such men as were personally then in Galata; that is, two Chapleins only to assist in case of death, but no Order of Iesuits. And they finally conclude, That the French Embassador hath more dishonoured his nation, to restraine their Religion to the Iesuites; and the whole Clergy, to renounce all other Orders;

L

M

A Orders; that he hath done benefit to the Iesuites, except he had need of some colour in stead of truth.

Sir, I will not comment at all; to obey you I haue gon thus far extra provinciam meam: *And now I return home to my selfe, to assure you that I haue been, and will so die,*

Your true, &c.

Galata *ix. Novembr.* 1628.

B

This Trage-Comedie being ended, and a seeming peace returning with the Spring; whilst the new Vizier marched towards Babylon, to settle the affaires of those parts, Sir *Thomas Rowe*, then his Maiesties Embassador resident at the Port, procured his leaue to return home, and was recalled. By whom the grand Signior writ this insuing Letter to his Majestie of great Britain.

C

The grand Signiors Letter to his Majestie of Great Britaine.

TO the most glorious amongst the greatest Maiesties of the Princes of Iesus, most reverenced amongst the people of the Messiah, sole Director of the important affaires of the Nazaren Nation; Lord of the limits of Honour and Power; and Patron of Grace and Authoritie, CHARLES, *King of Great Britain and Ireland: To whose last dayes we wish all compleat and true happinesse.*

D

BE it known vnto your Maiesty at the sight of this Letter, That your Embassador Sir Thomas Rowe, *respected and beloued amongst Christians, to whom we wish a happy end; (being heretofore sent to reside as your Embassador at our happy Port, to be watchfull ouer all offices of good correspondence between vs, and that all requisit terms of honor should be fulfilled; and to renew the Mantle of our affection) hath from his first arriuall here, vntill this present, most perfectly attended vpon the charge imposed vpon him, and in all his actions proceeded with extraordinary diligence and industry, for the high honour and great fame of your Maiesty his Soueraign. And now your Maiesty hauing sent in his place one of the chiefe of your most esteemed, Sir* Peter Wyche, *to reside at our Imperiall Port, and that the said Sir* Thomas Rowe *hath taken resolution to return to your Maiesty with our Imperiall consent: We send them vnto you with these our Imperiall Letters; hoping in the most high God, that when he is safely arriued with you, out of your abundant and innate clemencie, and your singular and sincere goodnesse, in respect of his good and faithfull seruice, that you will see him honored and rewarded. And to the end that the great affection and loue which we nourish to your Maiestie, may be daily encreased, we desire you readily to imploy your benigne care in the keeping and obseruing of this our Imperiall Capitulations, with euery Article therein contained; as we on our part will likewise do in all things that are meet to bee done concerning their perfect obseruation: wherof you shall find a good and clear testimony by the future effects.*

E

F

Giuen at Constantinople, 1628.

Though

Though impertinent to the History of Turky, yet a conflict happing betweene the ship G
which transported Sir *Thomas Rowe* to Italy (returning from Constantinople) & the gallies of Malta; I haue thought it would not be an vngrateful conclusion, to obserue and record the mighty deliuerance of those whom God is pleased to keep; by communicating the copy of a relation made of that fight.

On the eleuenth of August, about ten of the Clocke in the forenoone, the *Sampson* being becalmed before Malta, the sea as smooth as glasse, not a breath of winde, wee discouered foure Gallies to rowe from the Towne. They came vp all abrest, right with the starre-boord quarter of our ship; which warned us to fit our sailes and our selues to fight, not knowing their purpose. When they came neere, the Admirall Galley, without sending boat, or speaking with us, made a shot, which fell short; then rowing neerer, made another which did al- H
most reach vs. And comming still on, the Vice-Admiral gaue a third, all demy-Cannon, that flew ouer vs between our masts. These we supposed they made to try the length of their ordnance, and to lie there for battery; for they stopped, and piked halfe their oares. Whereuponwee sent them a Culverin shot, that grazed vnder the Admirall's starre-boord bow; and so we began a sharpe fight betweene twelue and one. The Gallies were full of Caualiers and souldiers as they could stand: They lay on that quarter about three houres, changing shot with vs, often hitting one the other. Then Captaine *William Rainsborow* (who behaued himselfe with braue courage and temper) finding a breath of winde to giue the ship motion; considering that he was a great marke on the broad side, and the Gallies very narrow, keeping their prowes sharpe toward him, and that he could beare little vpon them, trimmed his sailes I
before the winde, and brought them to a Sterne fight, where they continued their batterie two houres more; and the Sampson could then beare vpon them two whole Culverin in her Sterne-Chase, and two transom Culverins in the Gunne-roome, and two Sakers in the great Cabbin; and by yawing of either side both her quarters, and some pieces forward on: This gauled them, and they found it hot. Their manner of fight was, when they were all laden, they rowed vp, and brought all the masts of our Ship together, and then gaue all their guns; hauing fired, they fell asterne; and this in order, *Alternis vicibus*: but yet we reached them. The Admirall of the Gallies gaue eight Pieces at once, so that she appeared all fire: one demy-Cannon of twenty fiue pound bullet, two demy-Culverin, fiue Saker and Minion. All the rest were alike armed, and they plyed their Ordnance very hard, and often dangerou- K
sly. Being afterneat first, they shot at the masts and yards of our ship, and maimed them almost all in a line; hoping to see some fall, and then they had layne by vs. But it was so calme that the masts strained not, though they were almost spoyled. The Gallies kept a man on the end of their after-most Oare, to obserue where their shot fel; and sent boats often off, of which one returned well-wished. About fiue a clocke they paused, and the Admirall sent to his fleet; whereupon they tooke a resolution, either to boord, dismay, or sinke vs; and came vp on our larboord quarter all abrest, within pistoll shot, and their swords drawne, and Trumpets sounding; bidding vs Amaine for Malta. The Captaine caused one from the poope to waft them aboord, and answered a point of Warre. Then began an hot fight, and too hot for them; for the *Sampson* forbare, and gaue them not a shot vntil they were very neer, L
and almost vnder vs, and then poured in two Culverin, and two demy-Culverin, and one Saker with a round shot and a case, that raked them fore and aft: and they hauing giuen vs all their Gunnes together, began to fall againe asterne. But wee tacked and sent them a broad side at parting; and so they lay and renewed their Sterne batterie vntill Sunne-set. What blowes we receiued is in a note following: What harme the Enemie receiued we knew not; only this we saw, the Admirals foremast was shot by boord, his poop caried away into the sea, one culverin round shot and case that fel in the bow, and went out in the quarter thorow the banks of Rowers; and many other that raked them through. The Admiral lay athwart a good space to men sonwhat, & let men down her sides in baskets; and neuer came more vp: for that shot that brake out her poop, made them all at once take in their flags; which being an vnu- M
suall thing, we conjectured that their Generall was slaine. And so they left vs, and hoysing their sailes, and rowing, made all haste into their port, in sight whereof they fought. The last shot they made came into the gun-roome of the *Sampson*, the force being spent, yet hurt three men:

A men: and she hauing a Culverin laden, sent it to take leaue of them; which raked the Admirall. When they came vp with vs, they did not expect such bullets, but hoped to batter vs to the water out of our shot. They left vs at halfe houre past six a clocke; so that the fight lasted seuen houres. The Gallies gaue the *Sampson* 400 shot, and hit her in the hull, masts, yards, or rigging, with more than a hundred and twenty; and we shot fifty six whole Culverin, & spent in all aboue ten barrels of pouder. Neuer Gallies had so much advantage of a time, nor did so bravely, but they were at their own dores. By Gods grace we had but one man a passenger slain, foure hurt, and some bruised; but our ship terribly bastered, her masts, yards, sailes, and ropes all torn. That night continued with little winde, and the sea smooth, and wee plugged vp our wounds the best we could. The next day we were inforced to stand out of the way to B Southward of the Island Lampadosa, when we found our danger; and there we lay fiue daies without sail, to fish our masts and yards, and mend our sailes, and to make firme our breaches by and vnder water. Which we could not haue don if it had not continued calme; for those demy-cannon bullets of twenty fiue pounds made too great holes, and split all plankes and timbers; and the Carpenter was forced to hang like a Tortoise vpon the water, and driue many naile vnder the sending of the sea, washing him ouer continually; eight shot either with, or within three fingers of the water. So if that night or the next day there had bin any sea, we had neuer made this Relation, for the pumpes of our ship were as well exercised as the men. But God helped vs.

A Note

G

A Note of the shot and damnage received by the Sampson in fight.

In the Rigging:

H

FOur main shrouds cut by seuerall shot.
Main Runner. Main Tye.
Main top-Mast-stay. Main top-gallant Halliers.
Main top-gallant bouces.
Three Main top-gallant shrouds.
Main tack. Main top-sail Sheats.
Main Buntlines. Foreback stay.
One fore shroud.
The chain that slung the main yards cut all to pieces.
Three parrels of the main yard.

I

Shot in the Sailes.

Misen top sail two shot. Misen one.
Main sail in the Brailes fourteen. Main top sail thirteen.
Fore sail nine. Fore top sail fine.

In the Masts and Yards, Demy-cannon of twenty five pound weight.

K

The main Mast shot through half way between the deck and head.
The main Yard close by the parrels.
The Fore Mast half way between the deck and head.

Demy Culverin.

The Spritsail yard through by the slings, and spoiled.

Dangerous shot through the Hull; being all Demy-cannon of twenty
L
five pound the bullet: besides many Demy-Culverin, Saker, and Minion, that did not or not much damage vs.

Demy Cannon.

Three in the Sterne close by the water, through the bread room and bread, into sacks of wooll.
One in the Sterne and the gunne room, under the transome port, hurt three men.
One through the Cuddy.
Two through the great Cabbin killed a Parrat.
M
One grazed vpon the fleeredge, and caried away the Bend.
Two by the maine Mast: one through the Cabbins killed a Iew a passenger: the other brake the larboord rufter, and three timber heads.
One through the forecastle into the furnace, hurt two men.

One

A

One ouer the fore castle killed two sheep, and caried away a timber head.
On the starboord side nine; whereof one in the quarter, and three forward on by the edge of the water. Fiue between decks, among our men and ordinance.
On the Larboord side four all below the deck; whereof two between wind and water, the other two not much above: and one between Decks, that split the bits.
One shot that crackt the sheat anchor at the flouk.
One that staued the Ladder in the chaines.

B

These eight shot between wind & water were all dangerous, they staued on out lower deck two barrels of beef, two of pease, a Butt of wine; some of the shot passing through nineteen inches of plank and timber, pierced into bales of Grograns, and caried one into another: two went thorow all the bread and two sacks of stiued wools: They bare in whole planks, shooke and split the timbers, and started the trunnels, and made vs very leaky.

When we anined at Ligorn, we vnderstood of eighteen knights of Malta killed in the fight; but after by an Englishman that came from thence it was knowne, That the Generall of the Gallies was slain, and thirty six Knights and Officers, and two hundred fifty four slaues Rowers and Souldiers. Which was too great an exchange for one Iew. But
C
such is the reward of arrogance, & shall be the protection euer of a good cause, and of them that trust not in the broken reed of Flesh, but in Almighty God.

A briefe Discourse of the greatnesse of the Turkish Empire: As also wherein the greatest strength thereof consisteth: And of what power the bordering Princes, as well Mahometans as Christians, are in comparison of it.

By RICHARD KNOLLES.

THE History of the Turks (being indeed nothing else but the true Record of the woefull ruines of the greater part of the Christian Commonweale) that as before passed through, and at length brought to an end; and their Empire (of all others now vpon earth (as the greatest) as a proud Champion still standing vp as it were in defiance of the whole world: I thought it good for the conclusion of this my Labour, to propose vnto the view of the zealous Christian, the greatnesse thereof, and so neere as I could, to set down the bounds and limits within the which it is (by the goodnesse of God) as yet contained, together with the strength and power thereof, as also in what regard it hath the neighbor princes bordering or confining vpon it; with some other particularities tending to the same purpose. All or the most part therof, although it be by the Considerate wel to be gathered out of the whole course of the history before going, yet shal it more plainly here together in the ful therof appear, than by the long and particular consideration of the rising and increase therof be perceiued: not much vnlike the ouergrown tree, at the greatnesse whereof euery man wondereth, no man in the meane time either perceiuing or marking, how by little and little in tract of time it grew vp to that bignes, as now to ouertop al the rest of the wood. The Imperial seat of this so dreadful an empire, is the most famous city of Constantinople, sometime the glory of the Greeke Empire, but now the place where *Achmet* the first of that name, and fourteenth of the *Othomans* Emperors, acknowledging no man like himselfe, triumpheth ouer many nations; a city fatally founded to command, and by the great Conqueror *Tamerlane*, of all others thought to be the best seated for the Empire of the world. In which city (taken from the Turks by *Mahomet* the second, by the Turks symamed the Great, and the Greeke Empire by him subuerted) as the *Othomans* Emperours haue euer since seated themselues, so haue they wonderfully, euen to the astonishment of the World, out of the ruines of that so glorious a State, increased both their strength and empire, almost altogether first euen in the selfe same kingdoms, countries, and regions, as was sometimes that; though not as yet (God be thanked) able to attain to the vttermost bounds that that empire sometimes had, especially in Europ, albeit that it hath oftentimes in pride therof most mightily swolne, and in some few places therof somwhat also exceeded the same. Among the rest of the *Othomans* emperors, this great Monarch of whom we speak (namely *Achmet* the first, which now reigneth in that most stately and Imperial city) hath at this present vnder his command and Empire, the chiefe and most fruitful parts of the three first known parts of the world: onely *America* remaining free from him, not more happy in the rich mines therof, than in that it is so far from out of his reach; for in Europ hee hath all the sea coast, from the confines of Epidamnus (the vttermost bound of his Empire in Europe Westward) vnto the mouth of the riuer Tanais, now called Don, with whatsoeuer lieth betwixt Budain Hungary, and the Imperial City of Constantinople: in which space is comprehended the better part of all Hungary, all *Bosna*, Servia, Bulgaria, with a great part of Dalmatia, Epirus, Macedonia, Greeia, Peloponesus, Thrasia, the Archipelago, with the rich Islands contained therin. In Africa he possesseth all the

The bounds of the Turkish Empire.

the sea coast from Velez (or as some call it Belis) De Gomera, or more truly to say, from the G
Riuer Muluia (the boundes of the Kingdome of Fez) euen vnto the Arabian Gulfe, or Red
Sea Eastward, except some few places vpon the sinuse of the sea hidden by the King of Spain;
viz. Mersalcabir, Melilla, Oran, and Pennon and from Alexandria Northward vnto the city of
Asna, called of old Scine, Southward: in which space are contained the famous Kingdomes of
Tremizen, Algiers, Tunis, and Ægypt, with diuers other great Cities and Prouinces. In Asia
all is his from the streits of Hellespontus Westward, vnto the great city of Tauris Eastward:
and from Derbent neer vnto the Caspian Sea Northward, vnto Adena vpon the Gulfe of Ara-
bia Southward. The greatnesse of this his Empire may the better be conceiued by the great-
nesse of some parts thereof: the Meere of Meotis, which is all at the Turkish Emperors com-
mand, being in compasse a thousand miles; and the Euxine or Blacke Sea in circuit two H
thousand and seuen hundred; and the Mediterranean coast which is subiect vnto him con-
taining in compasse about eight thousand miles. But to speake of his whole territory to-
gether; he goeth in his owne dominion from Tauris to Buda, about three thousand two hun-
dred miles. The like distance is from Derbent vnto Adena. From Balsera vpon the Persian
Gulfe vnto Tremisena in Barbarie, are counted little lesse than foure thousand miles. Hee
hath also in the Sea the most noble Islands of Cyprus, Euboea, Rhodus, Samos, Chios, Les-
bos, and others of the Archipelago. In this so large and spacious an Empire are contained ma-
ny great and large countries, sometime most famous Kingdomes, abounding with all manner
of worldly blessings and natures store: For what Kingdome or countrey is more fruitfull than
Ægypt, Syria, and a great part of Asia? What countrey more wealthfull or more plentifull I
of all good things, than was sometime Hungarie, Greecia, and Thracia? In which countries
he hath also many rich and famous Cities, but especially foure, which hee of greatest wealth
and trade; namely Constantinople, Caire, Aleppo, and Tauris. Constantinople for multitude
of people exceedeth all the Cities of Europe, wherein are deemed to be aboue seuen hundred
thousand men; which if it be so, is almost equall to two such Cities as Paris in France. Alep-
po is the greatest City of Syria, and as it were the centre whereunto all the merchandise of
Asia repaire. Tauris, of late the Royall seat of the Persian Kings, and one of the greatest Ci-
ties of that Kingdome, from whom it was in this our age taken by *Amurath* the third, hath in
it aboue two hundred thousand men. Caire amongst all the Cities of Africa is the chief, lea-
uing all others farre behinde it (although that some make the City of Cairo equall vnto it in K
greatnesse) beeing as it were the stone-house not of Ægypt onely, and of a great part of Afri-
ca, but of India also; the riches whereof being brought by the Red Sea to Suez, and from
thence vpon Camels to Caire, and so downe the riuer Nilus to Alexandria, are thence dis-
persed into these Westerne parts: albeit that this rich trade hath of late time been much im-
paired, and so like more to be; the Christians (especially the Portugals) trafficquing into the
East-Indies, and by the east Ocean transporting the rich commodities of those Easterne
Countries into the West, to the great hinderance of the Grand Signior his customes in
Caire.

The foure chief cities for trade in the Turks Empire.

The *Othoman* gouernment in this his so great an empire is altogether like the gouernment
of the Master ouer his slaue, and indeed meere tyrannicall: for the great Sultan is so absolute a L
Lord of all things within the compasse of his empire, that all his subiects and people, be they
neuer so great, do call themselues his slaues, and not his subiects: neither hath any man power
ouer himselfe, much lesse is hee Lord of the house wherein hee dwelleth, or of the land which
hee tilleth, except some few families in Constantinople, to whom some few such things were
by way of reward, and vpon especiall fauor giuen by *Mahomet* the second, at such time as hee
won the same. Neither is any man in that empire so great, or yet so far in fauor with the great
Sultan, as that he can assure himselfe of his life, much lesse of his present fortune or state, lon-
ger than it pleaseth the Sultan. In which so absolute a soueraignty (by any free borne people
not to be endured) the tyrant preferreth himselfe by two most speciall means: first, by taking
off all armes from his naturall subiects; and then by putting the same and all things else con-
cerning the state and gouernment thereof into the hands of the Apostata or Renegate Chri-
stians, whom for most part, euery third, fourth, or fift yeare (or oftner if his need so require)
hee taketh in their childehood from their miserable parents as his tenths or tribute children. M

Whereby

A Whereby he gaineth two great commodities: first, for that in so doing he spoileth the Pro-
uinces, hee most feareth, of the flowre, sinues, and strength of the people; theirs being still
made of the strongest youths, and fittest for war: then, for that with these as with his owne
creatures he armeth himselfe, and by them assureth his state; for they in their childehood ta-
ken from their parents laps, and deliuered in charge to one or other appointed for that pur-
pose, quickly and before they be aware become Mahometans, and so no more acknowled-
ging father or mother, depend wholly on the great Sultan, who to make vse of them, both
feeds them and fosters them, at whose hands onely they looke for all things, and whom alone
they thanke for all. Of which fry so taken from their Christian parents (the only seminarie of
his wars) some become horsmen, some footmen, and so in time the greatest Commanders of
B his state and Empire next vnto himselfe; the naturall Turks in the meane time giuing them-
selues wholly vnto the trade of merchandise, and other their mechanicall occupations; or
else to the feeding of cattell, their most antient and naturall vocation, not interme dling at all
with matters of gouernment or state. So that if vnto those his souldiers, all of the Christian
race, ou ioyne also his fleet and mony, you haue as it were the whole strength of his Empire:
for in these foure, his horsemen, his footmen, his fleet and money, especially consisteth his
great force and power: whereof to speake more particularly, and first concerning his money:
It is commonly thought, that his ordinary reuenue exceedeth not eight millions of gold: and
albeit that it might seeme, that he might of so large an Empire receiue a far greater reuenue,
yet doth hee not, for that both hee and his men of warre (in whose power all things are) haue *The Turks ordi-*
C their greatest and almost onely care vpon armes, fitter by nature to wast and destroy coun- *nary reuenues*
tries, than to preserue and enrich them: insomuch that for the preseruation of their armies,
and furtherance of their expeditions (euery yeare to do) they most grieuously spoyle euen
their owne people and Prouinces whereby they passe, scarce leauing them necessaries where-
with to liue: so that the subiects despairing to enioy the fruits of the earth, much lesse the ri-
ches which by their industrie and labour they might get vnto themselues, do now *the* fur-
therende amour themselues either to husbandrie or trafficque than they needs must, yea, than
very necessity it selfe inforceth them. For to what end availeth it to sow that another man
must reape? or to reape that which another man is ready to deuoure? Whereupon it com-
meth, that in the territories of the *Othoman* countrey, yea euen in the most fruitfull countries
D of Macedonia and Greece are seen great forrests, all euery where wast, few cities well peopled,
and the greatest part of those countries lying desolate and desart: so that husbandry (in all
well ordered commonweales the Princes greatest store) decaying, the earth neither yeeldeth
her increase vnto the painefull husbandman, neither the matter vnto the artificer, neither the
artificer wares to furnish the Merchant with, all together with the plough running into ruine
and decay. As for the trade of merchandise, it is almost all in the hands of the Iewes, or the
Christians of Europe, *viz.* the Ragusians, Venetians, Genowaies, French, or English; the na-
turall Turks hauing therein the least to do, holding in that their so large an Empire no other
famous Cities for trade, more than the foure above named, *viz.* Constantinople, Tauris, Al-
eppo and Caire: whereunto may be added Caffa and Thessalonica in Europe; Damascus,
E Tripolis, and Aden in Asia; Alexandria and Algiers in Africke. In our countries here in this
West part of Europe, of the abundance of people oftentimes ariseth dearth; but in many
parts of the Turks dominions, for want of men to manure the ground: most part of the poore
countrey people drawne from their owne dwellings, being inforced with victuals and other
necessaries to follow their great armies in their long expeditions, of whom scarce one of ten
euer returne home to their dwellings againe, there by the way perishing, if not by the ene-
mies sword, yet by the wants, the intemperateness of the aire, or immoderate paines taking.
But to come neerer to our purpose, although the great Turks ordinary reuenues bee no grea-
ter than is aforesaid, yet are his extraordinarie escheats to be greatly accounted of, especially
his confiscations, forfeitures, fines, amerciaments (which are right many) his tributes, customs
F tythes and tenths of all preyes taken by sea or land, with diuers other such like, far exceeding
his standing and certaine reuenue: his Bassaes and other his great Officers like raueningHar-
pies as it were sucking out the bloud of his poore subiects, and heaping vp innumerable trea-
sures, which for the most part fall againe into the Grand Signior his coffers. *Ibrahim* Vizier

Bassa

Bassa (who indeed long since) is supposed to have brought with him from Cair to the value of six millions and [illegible] ducats of the Vizier was thought to have had a farre greater sum. His presents also were not a great matter; for no Embassadour can come before him without great gifts; no man is admitted for any commodious office or preferment without money, no man may without presents come in the presence of him forgeat a Prince, either from the province he hath the charge of, or from any great expedition he comes sent vpon; neither vnto forgeat and mighty Princes are rifles presented. The Vaynods of Moldavia, Valachia, and Transylvania, before their inauguration, by gifts purchased themselues in their principalities, being almost daily changed, especially in Valachia and Moldavia: for those Honours are by the grand Signior sold to the verie Bashaes, who give most, who to performe what they had offered, miserably oppressed the people, and brought their provinces into great poverte. In briefe, as a thing it is from the great Turke no small occasion for him at his pleasure to take away many mens life, together with his wealth, be it never so great, for that he cannot well be said to lack money, so long as any of his subjects hath it. Moreover he slew the last Persian, and forgiuing the late conquered Sultan Tomumbey his enemie, and enhanced his treasure, that all over his empire throughout Christendome beyond all credit is spread, insomuch that a Chequine was vnto forgeat the Turke fine Bodies that, the coral whereof thing gold and silver was made, was forbidden, that it gave occasion vnto the Ianizaries to sedition vpon the city of Constantinople, not the greatest vnto vse of the vulgar sort only, but of the grand Signior himself also. And in the city of Aleppo only were in the name of the great Sultan 60000 chequines taken vp in peces of the merchants there, which how well they were repaid I leave for them to report.

Now albeit that the Turke conquests be not forgeat as the largenesse of his Empire and the fruitfulnesse of his countries might seem to afford, all the faile being his treasure hath bee in his dominion a commoditie of far greater value and vse than are the conquests themselues; which is the multitude of the Timariots or Pensioners, which are all horsemen, so called of *Timaro*, that is a stipend which they have of the great Sultan, *viz.* the possession of certaine villages and towns, which they hold during their life, and for which they stand bound, for every thirtie foure ducats they have of yearly revenue, to maintaine one horseman, either with bow and arrowes, or else with sargot and Lance, and that as well in time of peace as warre for the Ottoman Emperors take vnto themselues all such lands as they by the sword winne from their enemies, yea all Mahometanes as Christians, all which they diuide into Timers, or as we call them, Commendams, which they give vnto their souldiers of good desert for terme of life, vpon condition that they shall (as is aforesaid) according to the proportion thereof, keepe certaine men and horses for for seruice always ready whensoever they shall bee called vpon. Wherein consisteth the greatest policie of the Turke, and the finest meane for the preservation of their Empire. For if by this meanes the care of maintaining the ground were not committed vnto the souldier, for the profit they hope thereof, but left in the hand of the plaine painfull husbandman, all would in that forme like an Empire lie waste and desolate; the Turkes themselues commonly saying, That wheresoever the Grand Seignious horse setteth his foot, there the Gaffle will grow no more; meaning the destruction that their great armies being in all places where they come. The institution of these Timariots, and the taking vpon of the Iannigiens (for so they call those children which are taken from their Christian parents to be brought vp for Ianizaries) are the two chief pillars of the Turkes Empire, and the strength of their warre, both which seem to be deuised vnto the imitation of the Romans, saue diuers things are in the Turkish gouernment: for the Romane Emperours vsed their own subjects in the warres, and of them consisted the Prætorian army, which neuer departed from the Emperors side, but were still to guard his person, as doe the Ianizaries the great Turk. And in the Romane empire should neuer gaue vnto souldiers of good desert, for them to take the profit of during their lives, in stead of their good seruice and valour, which were called *Beneficia* and they which had them, *Beneficiarij*, or as we term them, Benefices, and beneficed men. *Alexander Seuerus* granted such souldiers, heirs that might injoy those lands & commendams, conditionally that they themselues should seruce and had their fathers, elsnot. *Constantine* the Great also gaue vnto his Capteines that had well deserued of him, certaine lands for

The one chiefe pillars of the Ottoman Empire.

for them to liue vpon during the terme of their life. The like seruice [illegible] *Feuds*, were of Temporaries made perpetuities by these their last Kings. These Timariots horsemen in the Turkish Empire serue to two great and rarie notable purposes: whereof the first is, That by them the Grand Seignior, as with a bridle, keepes the rebel of his subjects in every part of his great Empire in awe, so that they cannot so forwardly, but that they shall have these his Timariots as falcons in their neches; for to this purpose they are disperst all over his dominion and Empire. The other vse of them (and not lesse profitable than the former) is, that out of them he is alwaies able to draw into the field an hundred and fifty thousand horsemen well armed, ready to goe whithersoever he shall commaund them: with all whom he is not at one farthing charge. Which so great a power of horsemen cannot conuenitly be maintained for lesse than fourteene millions of ducats yearly. Wherefore it is to be marvelled, that some comparing the Turkes receiues with the Christians, make no mention of this so great a part of the *Ottoman* Emperors wealth and strength, serving him first for the suppressing of all such tumults as might arise in his Empire, and then as a most principall strength of his continuall Warres, alwayes ready to serue him in his greatest expeditions. The number of these Timariots horsemen is now grown very great, reaching in records together with the Turks Empire. It is reported, That *Amurath* the third, grandfather vnto *Achmat* that now reigneth, in his late warres against the Persians, subdued so much territorie as serued him to erect therein forty thousand Timariots; and appointed to Tamis a new Receit, which was yearely worth vnto him a million of gold. These Timariots in all are reckoned to bee seuen hundred and nineteene thousand fighting men, of whom 257000 have their dwelling in Europ, and 462000 in Asia and Africk.

The number of the Timariots.

Besides these Timariots, the grand Seignior hath a great number of other horsemen, whom he giueth pay, which are his Spahi, Vlufagi, and Cetupiri of his Court, being indeed the nurseries and seminaries of the great officers and gouernors of his Empire, for from among them are ordinarily chosen the Sanzachs, which afterwards through their good desert or the Soltans great fauour, become Viziers, Beglerbegs, and Bassas, the chiefe rulers of this so mighty a monarchy.

Spahi, Vlufagi, and Cetupiri.

He hath also still in his army a great multitude of other horsemen, called Acanzi, being indeed but rural clowns, yet for certain priuiledges which they haue are bound to goe vnto the warre, being euen of the Turks themselues accounted of small worth or value in comparison of the Timariots. Hee receiueth great aid also from the Tartar in his warre, as also from the Valachians and Moldavians (vntil that by the example of the Transylvanians, they to the great benefit of the rest of that side of Christendom reuolted from him) all which are to bee accounted as the Romans *Auxiliarij*, that is to say, such as come to aid and assist him. And thus much for his horsemen.

The Acanzi.

Another great part of his strength consisteth in his footmen, and especially in his Ianizaries; in whom two things are to be considered, their Nation, and dexteritie in Armes. Concerning their Nation, such of the Azamoglans as are born in Asia are not ordinarily inuolled in the number of the Ianizaries, but such as are borne in Europ, for they of Asia are accounted more effeminat, as they haue been alwaies, more ready to fly than to fight. Whereas the people of Europ haue euen in the East been accounted for better and more valiant souldiers, leaving there to their immortal glory, set vp the notable trophies of their most glorious victories. The souldiers of Asia be called Turkes, after the name of their Nation, and not of their Country, (no country being indeed so properly called) and they of Europ, Romi, that is to say, *Romani*, or Romans; as the Country, especially about Constantinople, is called by the name of Rum-Ili, that is, the Romen Country, as it was in antient time, of the noble Roman Colonies therein, known by the name of Romania. Now as concerning their dexteritie, such male children are called out from the Christians, as in whom appeareth the greatest signes of strength, actiuitie, and courage; for these three qualities are in a souldier especially required. This choice is made every third yeare, except necessitie infoorce it to bee sooner; as it happened in the late Persian Warre, wherein not onely of ouer choice was made, but they were glad to vse the Azamoglans also, a thing never before by them done. For those Youths (the Children of Christian parents) being by them [illegible]

The ianizaries.

vp (brought to Constantinople, [illegible] the Sign of the Janizaries) who consisteth no
be sighted the name of the [illegible] of this Order, and the country wherein hee
was born. Which done, [illegible] the lesser Asia (now called Natolia) and
other prouinces, where learning the Turkish language and [illegible] they are [illegible] with the vi-
cious manners of them, with the Turkish time, and [illegible] Mahome-
tans. And those of them, that [illegible], are distributed into Cloisters
which the grand Signior hath in Constantinople and Pera, of which the finest and most
handsome are appointed for the Ianglio of the [illegible] Gate. All the time that
these Youths [illegible] the Turkish [illegible], they are
not appointed to any certaine exercise, but [illegible] some in building, some in gar-
dening, some in [illegible] idle, but always
occupied in painfull labour, whereof certaine [illegible] to labour and
painstaking, they are called [illegible] (for so they are called all
the time until they be inrolled in the number of the Ianizaries) and are delivered vnto
certaine specially appointed to the charge of them, who keep them still exercised
in painfull [illegible] well in their dyet, as in their
apparell and lodging: they lodge [illegible] like vnto the religious Domito-
ries, wherein are [illegible] they may
not stirre out of their places. There they learn to shoot [illegible] piece, the vse of
the Scimiter, with many feats of activitie, and being well trained in these exercises, are in-
rolled amongst the Ianizaries and Spahi; of whom the Ianizaries receiue no lesse than fiue
aspers, nor more than eight for their daily pay, and the Spahi ten. Being recorded amongst
the Ianizaries, they are either sent away into the wars, or into some Garrison, or else attend at
the Court. These last haue [illegible] three Monasteries
in the City of Constantinople. There they liue vnder their Governours to them deputed,
the younger with great obedience and silence serving the elder, in buying of things for
them, in dressing their meat, and such like seruices. They lie [illegible] line
together at one table, and sleep in long walkes. If any of them vpon occasion haue leaue to lie
all night abroad, without leaue, the next morning he is notably beaten, with such nurture and
discipline, that after his beating he like an Ape kisseth the Governours hands that so corre-
cted him. These Ianizaries haue many large priuileges, are honoured, although they bee
most insolent, and are feared of all men, yea even of the grand Sultan himselfe, who is still
glad to make friends with them. In their expeditions and marches they rob the poore
Christian cottages and houses, whom they haue by vse vnto vnto the contrary. When they buy
any thing, they give for it how much they list themselues: they can be iudged by none but their
Aga, neither can they be executed without danger of an insurrection; and therefore such exe-
cution is very seldom done, and that very secretly. They haue a thousand royalties: some of
them are appointed to the keeping of Ambassadours sent from forreine princes: other some
of them are assigned to accompany Strangers Travellers, especially those that be men of the
better sort, to the intent they may safely passe in the Turks dominions, for which seruice they
are commonly rewarded. They haue also the choice of their prince, namely *Solyman* the first,
his father *Bajaet* yet liuing. Neither can any the Turks Bassaes account themselues fully in-
stalled in the Imperiall dignitie, or allowed of their estate, until they be by them approued
and proclaimed. Bee it one of their Bassaes, or his first comming to the Empire doth give
them some gift, and seruice the better to please them, increaseth also their pay.
In many great expeditions some of them get funds with their Aga or his Lieutenant, and are
the stuff of all their fight. There is no office among the Turks that more enuy at, than at the of-
fice of the Aga of the Ianizaries, for the great stuff of his authoritie and command: onely he
and the Beglerbeg of Grecia do not receiue their [illegible], but haue them nominated vnto
them by the grand Signior. Vnto this great man the Aga of the Ianizaries nothing can par-
take, saue certaine [illegible] to be of the [illegible] for then is he of the great Sultan
distrusted, [illegible] and so occasion sought to take him out of the way. The num-
ber of the [illegible] Ianizaries is betwixt 20 and 12000. This [illegible] like Order of souldiers is
in these [illegible] for now [illegible] all Turks are taken in for Ianizaries, as are al-

so

A so the people of Asia; whereas in former times none were admitted into that Order but the Christians of Europe only: beside that, they marry wives also, contrary to their ancient cu-
stome, which is not now forbidden them. And because of their long lying still at Constanti-
nople (a city abounding with all manner of pleasure) they are become much more effeminate
and slothfull, but withall most insolent, or more truely to say, intolerable. It is commonly
reported, the strength of the Turkish Empire to consist in this Order of the Ianizaries, which
is not altogether so; for albeit that they be indeed the Turks best footmen, and stiffest gard of
the great Sultans person, yet vndoubtedly the greatest strength of his state and empire resteth
nothing so much in them, as in the great multitude of his horsemen, especially his Timariots.
Beside these Ianizaries, the Turkish Emperour hath a great number of base footmen, whom
B the Turks call Asapi, better acquainted with the spade than with the sword, serving rather
to the weaking of their enemies with their multitude, than the vanquishing of them with
their valour: with whose dead bodies the Ianizaries vse to fill vp the ditches of towns besie-
ged, or to serue them for ladders to clime ouer the enemies walls vpon. But as the Romans
had both their old Legionary, and other vntrained souldiers which they called Tirones; of
whom the first were the chiefe strength of their wars, and the other but as it were an ayd and
supply: euen so the Turke accounteth his Timariot horsemen the strength of his army, and
the Acanzij (which is another sort of base and common horsemen) but as an accessory: and so
amongst his footmen he esteemeth of his Ianizaries, as did the Romans of the Prætorian le-
gions, but of his Asapi as of shadows. The Ianizaries are by none to be commanded, more
C than by the great Sultan himselfe, and their Aga: as for the Bassaes, they much regard them
not, but in their rage oftentimes foule entreat euen the greatest of them. The Asapi, as they
are but base and common souldiers, so haue they also their ordinary captains and comman-
ders, men of no great place or marke.

The whole state of the great Empire of the Turks is commanded by the great Sultan, by the graue aduice and counsell of the Vizier Bassaes, which were not wont to be in number a-
boue foure, so prouiding for the secrecy of his high designes or important resolutions, hard-
ly by a great multitude to be concealed: howbeit that the Sultans of later time haue had
sometimes moe, sometimes fewer, as their pleasure was. These men are of all others in that
Empire the greatest, and for their high places most honoured: vnto them euen the greatest
D Princes that haue any thing to do in the Turks court, sue and send their honourable presents.
By their aduice the great Sultan taketh his war in hand, neither without them concludeth he
any peace. They giue audience vnto the Embassadours of forreine Princes, who from them
receiue their dispatch. The greatest honors and preferments (which are many in that so great
and large an Empire) are all by their means to be obtained: which maketh them of all others
to be sought vnto. Some one or other of them are still Generals ouer the great armies of the
Turks, especially in these their late wars, their three last Emperors never themselues going
forth into the field (excepting once that *Mahomet* the third for the maintenance of his credit
with his men of war, came downe into Hungary, and there won the city of Agria:) which
leading of such mighty armies is still with great emulation and ambition of the Visier Bas-
E saes amongst themselues sought after, as well for the great profit thereby vnto them arising,
as for the honour thereof, which is of all other the greatest. But leaving these great ones, the
chiefe counsellors for his state; the whole body of his so large and mighty an Empire (all in
the hands of martall men) is gouerned by other great Bassaes, whom they by a most proud
barbarous name call Beglerbegs, that is to say, Lords of Lords, euery one of them having
vnder him certaine Begs or Sanzacks, who are lords and rulers also ouer some particular Ci-
ties and Countries, with the Timariots therein; yet all still at the command and beck of
their Beglerbeg. In antient time there was wont to be but two of these proud Beglerbegs in
all the Turks Empire: the one commanding ouer all the Prouinces the Turke had in Europe;
and the other ouer all that he had in the lesser Asia, now of the Turks called Natolia. But
F the Turkish Empire greatly augmented in Asia by *Selymus* the first, and also afterward much
enlarged both in Europe and Asia by *Solyman* his son, the number of the Beglerbegs were by
him encreased, and in some sort also changed: who although that they be all Beglerbegs, and
that one of them (especially in the time of peace) in the managing of his souldiers, and affaires

The great commander of the Turkes Empire.

of

of his country, is not subject to any other, but is onely at the command of the Great Turke; G
yet notwithstanding in the time of war, where the Beglerbeg of Romania is, all are obedient
vnto him, as the chiefest of the rest; insomuch that none of them but only he and the Bassa of
Natolia are called by the stately name of Beglerbegs, the others being then only called the
Bassaes of such and such places, as of Buda, Aleppo, and such like; although indeed they are
in nature Beglerbegs, and so written in their Records. For the more manifesting of which
their government, as also that they which come hereafter may by comparing of that which
is here written, with the state that then shall be, see how much this great Empire in the meane
time encreaseth or diminisheth, I have thought good here briefely to set downe all the said
Beglerbegs, with their Sanzacks and Timariots, and as neere as I could (either by reading, or
the credible relation of others well travelled in those countries) together, and as it were at H
one shew, set forth the whole strength and power of this so mighty an Empire, as also in what
Countries and Provinces the same is especially placed.

The Beglerbeghs or great Commanders of the Turks Empire in EVROPE.

2 The Beglerbeg of Romania chiefe of the Beglerbegs of the Turkes Empire in Europe.

The first and chiefest of all the Beglerbegs in the Turkish Empire, is the Beglerbeg of Romania or Grecia, called of the Turks Rum-Ili (as we say the Roman country) the principal residence of whose Beglerbeg ship is at Sophia, a city of Bulgaria, so appointed for the commodious scituation thereof, for the better command of the rest of the prouinces of Europe; I
howbeit that he for the most part, or rather altogether abideth at the court: which the other Beglerbegs cannot do, for they are bound not to depart from the gouernment of their Prouinces: in which charge they ordinarily continue but three yeares only, the great Sultan still changing and altering them at his pleasure. This Beglerbeg hath vnder his own ensigne and command forty thousand Timariots alwaies ready at his call, vnder the conduct of these and twenty Sanzacks following, namely, the

Sanzack of:
1 *Sophia* in *Bulgaria*.
2 *Nicopolis*.
3 *Cliffe*, or *Quadraginta Ecclesiæ*.
4 *Vyza* in *Thracia*.
5 *Kirmen*
6 *Silistria* } all in *Macedonia*.
7 *Giustandil*
8 *Bender*, neere vnto the Euxine.
9 *Achermann*, in the confines of *Moldauia*.
10 *Vsupia*.
11 *Prisrom*
12 *Salonichi* } all in *Thessalia*.
13 *Trichala*
14 *Misitra*, of old called *Sparta*, in *Morea*. K
15 *Palaepatra*, in the same Prouince.
16 *Ioannina*, in *Aitolia*.
17 *Dolchna* } both in *Achaia*.
18 *Ellassun*
19 *Aculona* or *Aulona* in *Albania*.
20 *Dorogin* in *Epirus*.
21 *Isandra*, or *Scodra*, in *Albania*.

2 The Beglerbeg of Buda.

The Beglerbeg of Buda, who there resideth in the frontiers of the Turkish Empire, hauing vnder his charge eight thousand Timariots, beside 12000 other soldiers, which in continuall pay lie still ready in garison in the confines of Hungary, Croatia, Stiria, and other places bor- L
dering vpon the Christians, but especially the territories belonging to the House of Austria. He had of late vnder his ensigne and command these fifteene Sanzackes, *viz.* the

Sanzack of:
1 *Montegrade*.
2 *Fitik*.
3 *Setschen*.
4 *Zolnock*.
5 *Gran*, or *Strigonium*.
6 *Segedin*.
7 *Alba Regalis*.
8 *Seccud*.
9 *Simontorna*.
10 *Gapan*.
11 *Mokatz*.
12 *Zigeth*, or *Sefuar*.
13 *Petschau*, or *Quinque-Ecclesiæ*.
14 *Siemium*.
15 *Samandria*. M

Of which, Fitick, Zetschen, and Strigonium are in these late wars won from the Turks by the Imperials, and so yet by them holden; as was also Alba Regalis, which but of late was by the Turks againe recouered.

The

A The Beglerbegh of Temeswar in Hungary, who there hath his abode, hauing vnder his command seuen thousand Timariots, with these eight Sanzackes, the 3 The Beglerbeg of Temeswar.

Sanzacke of:
1 *Temeswar*.
2 *Mudaua*.
3 *Vilaeswar*.
4 *Tschinnad*.
5 *Wischitirni*.
6 *Iswornick*.
7 *Vidim*.
8 *Lippa*.

The Beglerbeg of Bosna, who lyeth at Bagnialuca, hath vnder him these Sanzackes, the 4 The Beglerbeg of Bosna.

Sanzacke of:
1 *Bagnialuca*.
2 *Poschega*.
3 *Cliffa*.
4 *Hertzegouina*.
5 *Lika*.
6 *Sazeschna*.
7 *Ginla*.
8 *Brisrem*.
9 *Alatschia-chissar*.

B

The Beglerbeg of Coffe or Capha, who there resideth in Taurica Chersonesus, and beside the Countrey thereabout, commandeth ouer all the Sanzackes neer vnto the great Riuer Tanais, and the Fennes of Meotis. It was at first but a Sanzacheship, subject to the Beglerbeg of Grecia; and is in truth rather a Beglerbegs place in name, than in strength and power. 5 The Beglerbeg of Coffe or Capha.

The Beglerbeghs or great Commanders of the Turks Empire in Asia.

C

The Beglerbegh of:
1 *Anatolia*, who hath his residence in *Cutaie*, the Metropolitical city of the greater *Phrygia* (called in antient time *Catyas*) and hath vnder his ensigne and command thirty thousand of the Timariot horsemen, with twelue Sanzackes. The Beglerbegs of the Turkes empire in Asia.
2 *Caramania*, who hath his abode at *Caisaria* (in antient time called *Cesarea*) a City of Cilicia, and hath vnder him seuen Sanzackes, with twenty thousand Timariots.
3 *Siuas*, who hath his abiding at *Sebastia*, a city of the lesser *Armenia*, and hath vnder his gouernment ten thousand Timariots.
4 *Tocatun*, who resideth at *Amasia*, the Metropolis of *Cappadocia*, and hath vnder him fiue Sanzackes.
5 *Dulgadir*, sometime part of the Kingdome of *Aladeules*, and commandeth ouer foure Sanzackes.
6 *Halep*, commonly called *Aleppo*, a City of *Syria*, and one of the most famous Marts of the East, who hath vnder his Regiment fiue and twenty thousand Timariots.
7 *Sham*, otherwise called *Damasco*, a most famous city of *Syria*, who commandeth ouer forty thousand Timariots.
8 *Tarapolis*, or *Trapolis*, commonly called *Tripolis*, another famous city of *Syria*.
9 *Maras*, a city vpon the great riuer Euphrates, betwixt *Aleppo* and *Mesopotamia*, who hath vnder his command ten thousand Timariots.
10 *Diarbekir*, otherwise called *Mesopotamia*, who making his abode at the city of *Amida*, or as the Turks call it, *Cara hemid*, who commandeth ouer twelue Sanzackes, and thirty thousand Timariots.
11 *Bagdat*, or new *Babylon*, where he resideth, not far from the ruines of old *Babylon*, who hath vnder him forty thousand Timariots.
12 *Balsara*, not far from *Bagdat*, vpon the Persian gulfe, who hath vnder his rule or gouernment fifteene thousand Timariots.
13 *Baxa*, towards *Ormus*, and neere vnto the Persian, hath vnder his regiment ten thousand Timariots.
14 *Gemen* and *Aden*, two famous cities in *Arabia Felix*, vpon the coast of the Red-Sea, who hath vnder him thirty thousand Timariots.
15 *Chebetz*, or *Zebet*, vpon the coast of the Arabian gulfe, neere vnto the Kingdome of the great Æthiopian King *Prejanni*, commonly (but corruptly) called *Presbiter Iohn*.

D

E

F

16 *Cypru*, who lieth at *Nicosia* or *Famagusta*, commandeth ouer all that great Island, sometime of it selfe a Kingdome. G

17 *Sebchanzal* in *Assyria*, bordering vpon the Persian, who hath vnder his gouernment ten thousand Timariots.

18 *Wan*, a city in the confines of the greater *Armenia* towards *Media*, who hath vnder him twelue thousand Timariots.

19 *Artzerum*, or *Erzerum* in the borders of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, about foure daies journey from *Trapezond*, who commandeth ouer twenty thousand Timariots.

20 *Teflis*, neere vnto the Georgians, erected by *Mustapha Bassa*, Generall of *Amurath* the third his army against the Persian, in the yeare 1578.

21 *Sinan*, or *Media*, erected by the same *Mustapha*, and at the same time, commandeth ouer all that great country, sometime a famous Kingdome. H

22 *Temir Capi*, or *Derbent*, neere vnto the Caspian Sea, taken by *Osman Bassa* the same yeare 1578. who hauing slaine *Sehchanzal Chan* his father in law, reduced that country into the forme of a Beglerbeghship.

The Beglerbegh of

23 *Cars*, a city of *Armenia* the greater, distant from *Artzerum* foure daies journey, by *Mustapha Bassa* made a Beglerbeghship in the yeare 1578.

24 *Tschilder* or *Tzilder*, in the confines of the Georgians, erected by the same Generall *Mustapha*, in the yeare 1579.

25 *Fassa*, or *Phasis*, in *Mingrelia*, neere vnto the Georgians, erected by *Vluzales*, the Turks Admirall, the same yeare 1579. I

26 *Seclum*, in the borders of the Georgians, erected by the great Bassa *Sinan*, in the yeare 1580.

27 *Batin*, there erected also by the same *Sinan Bassa*.

28 *Reiwan*, erected by *Ferat Bassa*, Generall of the Turks Army, taken from *Tohomac Chan* the Persian in the yeare 1582, whereof *Cicala Bassa* was the first Beglerbeg.

29 *Sumachia*, in the Country of *Media*, erected by *Osman Bassa* in the yeare 1583.

30 *Tauris*, a most famous city of *Armenia* the greater, sometime the Regall seat of the Persian Kings, but of late taken from them by *Osman Bassa*, and conuerted into a Beglerbeghship in the same yeare 1583. K

But these late erected honours, namely the Beglerbeghships of Teflis, Sinan, Temir-Capi, Cars, Tschilder, Fassa, and the rest gained by *Amurath* from the Persians and the Georgians, although they containe a great territory, are not of themselues any of them worthy of those proud titles, or yet able to maintaine the same (Sinan, Reiwan, and Tauris only exceptedd) but were by the great Bassa's, *Mustapha*, *Sinan*, *Ferat*, and *Osman*, *Amurath* his Lieuetenants, for their owne greater honour, and the encouraging of them which were to defend those their new conquests, erected; being indeed nothing either in power or strength comparable with the other most ancient Beglerbeghs either in Europe or Asia. But having thus passed through the great Kingdomes and Prouinces by the Turks holden in Europe and Asia, with their proud honours therein, let vs go forward now and the South, to see what great Kingdomes and territories they at this present hold in Africke also. L

The Beglerbeghs or great Commanders of the Turks Empire in AFRICKE.

The Beglerbegh of

1 *Missar*, who still making his abode at the great city of *Caire*, hath vnder his command all the Kingdome of *Egypt*, with fifteene Sanzackes, and an hundred thousand Timariots. M

2 *Cesair*, in ancient time called *Iulia Cesaria*, but now commonly *Algiers*, where the Beglerbegh still residing, commandeth ouer all that Kingdome, wherein are forty thousand Timariots.

3 *Tunis*

A The Beglerbegh of

3 *Tunis*, where he still remaining as Viceroy, commandeth all that great and large Kingdome.

4 *Tripoli*, the seat of his Beglerbeghship, by *Sinan Bassa* taken from the Knights of Malta in the yeare 1551.

These are beside these, two other Kingdomes in Africke inrolled in the Turks records as their owne; although they be not as yet by them brought into the forme of Beglerbeghships, namely the Kingdomes of Fez and Morocco, but are as yet holden by them as their tributaries and Vassals.

But hauing thus as it were taken view of the greatnesse and forces of this so mighty a monarchie Empire by land, and so in some sort bounded it out, let vs consider also his power by B sea. With whose great Ocean he much medleth not, more than a little in the gulfes of Persia and Arabia, neither his territories lying vpon the Mediterranean and Euxine sea, or else more inwardly into the heart of Asia neere to no sea. Now for these seas, no Prince in the World hath greater or better meanes to set forth his fleets than hath he: for the ouergreat woods of Epirus and Cilicia, and more than they, those of Nicomedia and Trapezond, are so grauy and thicke, and so full of tall trees fit for the building of ships and gallies of all sorts, as is almost incredible. Neither wanteth he store of shipwriters & carpenters for the fashioning of these so great store of timber, large pay drawing euen the Christians skilfull carpenters and workmen into his Arsenals at Constantinople, Synope, Callipolis, and elsewhere. For proofe whereof it is worth the noting, that *Selymus* the second in our fresh remembrance, the same yeare after that notable ouerthrow by him received at the Echinades (commonly called the Iland of Lepanto) rigged vp a fleet wherewith *Vluzales* his Admirall was so afraid to face the C whole power of the confederate Christian Princes at Cerigo. Neither hath the Turke euer wanted good store of expert seamen after the manner of those seas, for beside those he hath in store at Callipolis and Sinope, out of his gallies which he hath alwaies in readinesse at Lesbos, Chios, Rhodus, Cyprus, and Alexandria, and from the pyrates which he continually receiueth into the ports of Tunis, Bugia, Tripolis, and Algiers, he can and doth from them when need is, chuse captaines, mariners, and rowers sufficient for the manning and storing of his fleet. What he is able to do in those seas, was well seene in our time, by those fleets which he had at Malta, Cyprus, the Echinades, and Guletta. He hath beside of all necessary and warlike prouision abundant store, and of great ordnance to furnish himselfe withall both by sea D and land an infinite quantity. Out of Hungary he hath carried aboue 5000 great pieces, out of Cyprus 500, and few lesse from Guletta, not to speake what he hath euer got from the Christians in diuers other places also. What store he hath of shot and powder he shewed at Malta, where hee discharged aboue 60000 great shot; at Famagusta, where hee bestowed 118000; and at Guletta, where in the space of 39 daies he by the fury of his great ordnance ouerthrew the fortifications which the Christians had bin 40 yeares in building. So that to returne againe to our purpose, the great Turke so well prouided of men, money, shipping, and great ordnance, and hauing done so great matters at seas as is before rehearsed, is not in reason otherwise to be accounted of, than as of a most mighty and puissant Prince as well by sea as E land: which to be so, the greatnesse of his Denizi Beglerbeg or great Admirall (commonly called *Capitan Bassa*, of whom we haue not yet spoken) well declareth. This great man hauing charge of all the grand Signiors strength at sea, is alwaies one of the Visier Bassaes, and bound still to follow the court, as the other Visiers be, but alwaies or for most part resideth at Constantinople or Callipolis, so to be the neerer vnto his charge. He that now hath this honourable place is called of the Turks *Cigala Bassa*, descended of an honorable family of that name in Genoa: who commonly residing at Constantinople or Callipolis, hath vnder him fourteene Sanzacks, all of them great commanders and men of great place: namely, the

The great power of the Turke in the Mediterranean and Euxine sea.

The Turkes Beglerbeg.

F Sanzacks of

1 *Gallipolis*, or *Callipolis*.	8 *Negropont*, or *Euboea*.
2 *Galata*, or *Pera*.	9 *Rhodus*.
3 *Nicomedia*.	10 *Cavala* in the frontiers of *Macedonia*.
4 *Lemnos*, or *Lemnus*.	11 *Napolidi Romania*.
5 *Mitylene*, or *Lesbos*.	12 *Lepanto*, or *Naupactus*.
6 *Chios*, or *Scio*.	13 *S. Maura*.
7 *Mezia*, or *Moeum*.	14 *Alexandria*.

The Princes as well Mahometans as Christians, are very ignorant of the great Empire of the Turk, considerd of, and of what power they are in comparison of the Turkes.

The greatnesse, number, and strength of this foresaydy an Empire, as well by Sea and Land, thus in fame foretdeclared, let vs now see, vpon what Princes it stands or stands, and of what power every one of them is in comparison of it, for to make a ground of a Sense. The Turke toward the East border vpon the Persians, according to a right line drawne by imagination from Tauris to Balsora, vpon the Persian gulfe, and so these little wise to-wards the South vnto the Red Sea, vpon the Ethiopian King *Barjaus*, commonly called *Prester John*, towards the South, in Africa, vpon the King of Morocco, and in Europe, vpon the Kingdome of Naples, with some part of the Venetian signiory, towards the North vpon the Polonian, and the Emperor of the house of Austria. Now in regard of the Persian, the great Turke standeth in feare of nothing, for that he hath bin of late years, since some, for *Mahomet* the Great, in plaine battell ouercome the Persian *Assan Cassan*: *Selym* the first, and also *Solyman* his sonne, vanquished the Persian King, and taken from the Persians all Media, with the greater Armenia, both for some time from King *Ismaym* together with the Metropolitan City of Tauris. Now the Turke for a reuenge, is by reason of his fortune, which the Persians hath, and of things past, and more especiall of the Persians hath neither fleet nor fortresses, and although the Persians by reason of their inbecilitie have sometime in great field foiled the Turks, yet have they still left some part of their country, *Solyman* taking from them Mesopotamia, and *Amurat* Media and Armenia. Neither did the Persians alone fortie the Turkes, and leese their owne, but added their Confederates also, *Selym* the first spoiling the Mamelukes of Egypt and Syria, and vtterly putting them from off the face of the earth, and *Solyman* his sonne having brought to a low ebbe the warlike Georgians, both of them the Persian Kings friends and confederates. Now is not the Turke so much to be feared for the Persian, but rather he is so much to be wished for for the Persian, in that he hath bin vnto them their foe more than once to the Turks cost, not only in the East Indies, the Persians hauing in those rich but remote countries, many fine hundred paces, yea, since countries and territories bounding with victuals and all prouision necessary for shipping, with some also of those great Indian princes their allies and confederates, whereas the Turke on the other side hath nothing in the Persian gulfe strong, besides Balsora, the sea coast of Arabia, which might stand him in shell-stead, hauing no more but some seruants, and those also not of great worth. So that there, as also in the Red sea, it is a matter of exceeding great difficulty for him to set out any great fleet into those seas, for that those countries are vtterly destitute of wood fit to make ships of. For which cause, those few times that he prepared his fleets in the Red sea (to haue cut off the Portugals trade into the East Indies) being vnable to performe the same in the Persian gulf, he was inforced to bring the timber for the building of his gallies out of the Port of Bithynia and Cilicia (out of another World, as it were) vp the Nile vnto Caire, and from thence vpon camels by land to Suez, where he built his fleet, a thing almost incredible. And yet hauing done what he could, as soon as he had made an end of an expedition against them, he euer gained any thing but stiffe and diuers times in the yeare 1538 at the city of Diuen, and in the yeare 1551 at the Island of Samme, and after that at Mombasa, where some of the Turks gallies with a great fleet, which by the fauour of the King of Mombasa had thought to haue fitted in those seas, were by the Portugals taken, who shillings a special regard and care that the Turks should not haue sufficient in those seas, those seasons they procure them to prepare any fleet, they finde with for vpon them, and so haue end of their prouidence without resistance enter into the Red sea. *Prester John*, of whom although men speake much, yet is he nothing in strength to be compared vnto the Turke, but far inferior vnto him both for Gouernors and souldiers, as also for munition and munition for that great Prince hath a great kingdome without fortification, and a multitude of souldiers without gouernors, opposed by the ouerthrow of *Barnagasso* his Lieutenant vnto the Red Sea, who having lost all that Sea coast vnto the Turks, yet thought it better seruing, that to haue peace with them, he yielded to pay vnto them a yearly tribute of a hundred ounces of gold. In Africke the Turke hath more Territories than hath the King of Morocco, whose wife called the *Xerif*, for he possesseth all that there lyeth beyond the Red sea and the kingdome of Fez but the *Xerif* hath the better part, the richer, stronger, and more united, yet dare neither of them challenge vpon the other, for

for the greatnesse of the King of Spaine, enemie vnto them both. Now the other remaineth the rest of the Christian Princes bordering vpon the Turke, and first the King of Polonia. What these two Princes can do the one against the other, hath bin seen in diuers expeditions, wherein the Polonian had still the worse; yet in the third time the Turke hath not bin greatly desirous to moue the Polonian once more, for that being gouerned by diuers occasions (namely in the reigne of *Henry* the third, in the time of *Iohn* the Vayuod of Valachia had with the Turkes, many Polonians hereupon from the said Vayuod, though not indeed sent from the King: and in the time of *Sigismund* the Polonian Coffacks hauing diuers incursions not a little troubled them: besides the late motions of *Iohn Zamosky* the great Chancellor, and Generall of the Polonian forces, for the flying of the Tartars by the Turks sent for) he hath bin content to compound the same, and hereof with his wonted pride sought to be thereof reuenged, as he hath for his lesse vpon some other princes. *And on the other side, the Polonians since the vnfortunate expedition of King Ladislaus*, neuer made vpon them any wares against the Turkes, neither gaue such aide as they should, vnto the Valachians their Confederates, but suffered to be taken from them the Towns they had towards the Euxine or Blacke Sea: a thing imputed rather vnto the weakenesse of their Kings, than in the Nobility of that Kingdome. *Sigismund* the first being by Pope *Leo* X. inuited to the war against the Turks, answered them in these few words: Sirs, you the Christian Princes at vnity amongst themselues, and I for my part will not be wanting. *Sigismund* the second so abhorred the wars, that he not only declined the Turks, but prouoked by the Muscouites, never sought to reuenge the same. King *Stephen* (by the commendations of *Amurath* chosen King of Polonia) an indifferent esteemer both of his enemies Forces and his owne; thought it a most dangerous thing to joyne battell with the Turke, and yet in priuate talke with his friends, would oftentimes say, That with thirty thousand foot, joyned vnto his Polonian horsemen, he durst well to vndertake an expedition against the Turke: which he was supposed oftentimes to haue thought vpon. The Emperour, with the rest of the Princes of the House of Austria, are by a longer tract of ground joyned vnto this great empire of the Turks, than any one other Prince of the World, and be sides in fortifications and maintenance of their garrisons, (wherein they haue continually aboue twenty thousand horse and foot) the greatest part of their reuenues euen in the time of peace, much more in these their long wars: and with the German forces joyned vnto their own, are more carefull how to defend that they haue yet left, than how to recouer that they haue already lost, or to enlarge their Empire. The Emperor *Ferdinand* with greater force than successe vndertooke the vnfortunate expedition of Buda and Possega: which so euill fell out, not for that his forces were not sufficient or strong enough, but for that they wanted agility and dexterity. The truth is, those his armies were strong enough, and sufficiently furnished with all things necessary, but consisted for the most part of Germans and Bohemians, slow and heavy people, vnfit to encounter with the Turks, a more ready and nimble kinde of souldiers. The Venetians also confrontier the Turks by many hundred miles, both by sea and land, and defend themselues rather by peaceable policy than force of armes: notably fortifying their strong Holds vpon their frontiers, declining by all meanes the dangers and chaunces of war, by Embassages and rich presents, leaning nothing vnattempted (their liberty and state preserued) rather than to fall to wars. To say the truth of them, although they had both coyne and victuals like prouision sufficient, yet want they men and victuals sufficiente to so great a war against so puissant an Enemy. There remaineth onely the King of Spaine, of all other the great Princes either Christians or Mahometans bordering vpon him, the best able to deale with him, his yearely reuenues so farre exceeding those of the Turks, as that they are also probably thought to countervaile the greatest part of his Tiranies and his great Dominions in Spaine, Portugall, Naples, Sicilia, Millaine, Sardinia, and the Low Countries (if they were with him at vnity) able to afford vnto him so great and powerfull a strength both by sea and land, as might make him dreadfull euen vnto the Great Turke whose heart swelleth in his greatest pride: but considering how his Forces are distracted for the maintenance of his wars at once in diuers places; as also for the necessary defence and keeping of his so large and dispersed territories, not all the best of them sufficient to the Spanish gouernment,

The King of Spaine of all other Princes bordering vpon the Turks, best able to vnderstand him.

men, he is not onely holding so [illegible] G
Turke, [illegible] upon him. [illegible] by this [illegible] al-
ready said, [illegible] Turke is [illegible] the neigh-
bor Princes, either [illegible] or Christians, [illegible] the [illegible] of
them the more feared. Yet [illegible] Turke, [illegible] Christ [illegible] H
[illegible] his little flocke,
[illegible] of the Christian Commonwealth [illegible] enemy
before declared (the greatnesse of his Dominion or Empire considered) yet is he not to be
thought therefore either invincible, or his power indeed so great, as in a flow-footed sort for so
he his Timariots (in his greatest strength) dispersed over his whole empire, being never
possible the one half of them by him to be gathered into the body of one army, neither if
they were so, possible in such a multitude long to keepe together, living upon no pay of his,
but upon such thrice and position only as they bring with them from their Timariot, never suf-
ficient long to maintaine them. Besides, the policy of his state hardly or never suffereth
him to draw above a third part of his Timariots out of his countries where they dwell, for
feare left the rest of the people, by their filthie pouder, should in their absence rise upon
against him in defence of themselves and their ancient liberty, or rather to offer the greatest part of
those poore oppressed Soules, as well Mahometans as Christians in every Province of his
Empire, awaiting but the opportunity, most desirously longeth. So that more than two I
parts of them being always to be left at home for the necessary defence of the spacious bor-
ders of his so large an Empire, as also for the keeping in obedience of so many discontented
Nations; it is a great matter, if he can in his greatest wrath draw together of these kinde
of souldiers the full number of an hundred and fifty thousand strong, making up the rest of
his huge multitude with his Acanzij, living of no pay of his, but upon the spoile of the ene-
my onely, the fifth part whereof they pay unto him also. All which put together, what man-
ner of men they be, and of what valour, not onely the small Armies of the Christians under
the leading of their worthy Chieftaines, *Huniades*, *Scanderbeg*, King *Matthias*, and others,
have to their immortall glory in former times made good proofe: but even in this our age,
and that as it were but the other day, the Transylvanian Prince, with divers other Captaines K
and Commanders yet living, have done the like also, as well witnesseth the dare battell of
Agria, wherein the Christians, in number not halfe so many as the Turks, by plaine valour
drave the great Sultan *Mahomet* himselfe, (with *Ibrahim Bassa* his Lieutenant Generall) out of
the field, and had of him had the most noble victory that ever was got against that Ene-
my, had they not by too much carelessnesse and unmeasurable desire of spoyle, themselves tha-
fully interrupted the same. But thus to let his horsemen passe, the chiefe strength of his foot-
men are his Ianizaries, never in number exceeding twelve or fourteene thousand, yet seldome
times halfe so many even in his greatest armies, except he himselfe be there in person present
in the middest of them, which beside the small number of them, in the time of these their
late voluptuous and effeminate Emperors, corrupted with the pleasures of Constantinople, L
and forsaken of their wonted discipline, have together with their ancient obedience and pa-
tience, lost also a great part of their former reputation and valour: all the rest of his footmen
filling up the body of his populous Army, being his *Asapi*, rather pioners than souldiers,
men of small worth, and so accounted of both by the Turks and their Enemies also. So
that all things well considered, his best souldiers being the least part of his greatest armies,
and they also farre unlike their predecessors the fierce followers of the former *Mahomets*
Kings and Emperors, but now grown to pleasure and delight; it is not otherwise to be
thought, but that he bringeth into the field more men than good souldiers, more bouste-
ry than true valour, more show than worth, his multitude being his chiefest strength, his sup-
posed greatnesse the terrour of his neighbour Princes, and both together the very stayes of M
his Empire. Which although it be indeed very strong, for the reasons before alledged, yet is
it by many probably thought to be now [illegible] declining head, their late Emperors in their
[illegible] persons [illegible] their souldiers generally

The figures of the declining of the Turkish Empire.

giving

A giving themselves to unwonted pleasures, their antient discipline of warre neglected, their su-
perstition not with so much zeale as of old regarded, and rebellions in divers parts of his
Empire of late strangely raised, and mightily supported: all the signes of a declining State.
Which were they not at all to be seene, as indeed they be very pregnant; yet the greatnesse
of the Empire being such, as that it laboureth nothing more than with the weightinesse of it
selfe, it must needs (after the manner of worldly things) of it selfe fall, and againe come to
nought, no man knowing when nor how so great a worke should be brought to passe, but he
in whose deepe counsels all these great revolutions of Empires and Kingdomes are from
eternity shut up: who at his pleasure shall in due time by such meanes as he seeth best, ac-
complish the same, to the vnspeakeable comfort of his poore afflicted flocke, in one place or
B other still in danger to be by this roaring Lyon devoured. Which worke of so great won-
der, He for his sonne our Saviour Christ his sake, the glory of his name, and comfort of many
thousand oppressed Christians, fed with the bread of carefulnesse amidst the fur-
nace of tribulation, in mercy hasten, that we with them, and they with us, all
as members of one body, may continually sing. *Vnto him be
all honour and praise World without end.*

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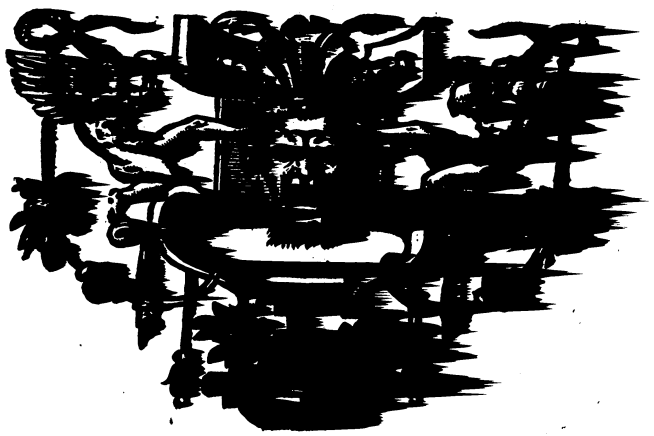

TO THE HONORABLE

Sr THOMAS ROWE.

Sir,

AS your Vertues haue made you eminent, so your Fortunes haue confirmed that eminence, not only with knowing discerners, but others the most ignorant, that informe themselues from mens outsides, and the Glosse which successe sets vpon their actions. Amongst those vertues, your φιλανθρωπία with all it's significations, hath not the least place; being one free to cherish worthy endeauors in others, by condescending to their defects: And in this assurance, I (a stranger) am bold to present my following labors to be judged of by you; and to the sentence you passe vpon them, all other censures shall subscribe. I confesse I wish some of my few yeares had been spent abroad, where I might haue informed my selfe better from obseruation, than from report: for my contemplatiue knowledge renders me more subject to errors, than a practiue would haue done. Yet if the ensuing hath an allowance from you, your known judgemnt will command in all men a good opinion of it, and my defects herein be made excuseable, by the slendernesse of my intelligence. My desire is to be reckoned amongst the humblest of your Seruants,

THOMAS NABBES.

1628.

A CONTINVATION OF THE TVRKISH HISTORIE, FROM THE YEARE OF OVR LORD 1628, TO THE END OF THE YEARE 1637.

Collected out of the Dispatches of Sr PETER WYCHE *Knight, Embassador at Constantinople, and others:*

By THOMAS NABBES.

DEmurrer Hee I begin with a seeming impertinencie, if it appear an error, it is voluntarie and [illegible] consideratione, and therefore let the following reasons satisfie or excuse it. Actions [illegible] that may be presidents to posteritie, ought to have their records, and merit a care- [illegible] full prescription. This (if wee consider the person, designe, or successe) will be allowed both honourable and imitable, though subject to diversitie of censures, till clear judgments confirme it from the circumstances. Why it should or may take place here, is, That the Scene of its execution was in places belonging to the Turkes, and by consequence had, or at least it's required a determination of justice by the grand Signior.

SIR *Kenelme Digby* (authorised by his Majestie of Great Britaines special Commission under the great Seale of England, for a designe against the French, then his Majestie's enemies (the period of which designe pointed at those parts) with six ships, of which his own were Admirall, after many encounters by the way, vpon the 10 of June 1628, came before cape Congure, where hee lay at Hull faire all that night. The Cape is about ten leagues from Scanderon; whence on the morrow in the afternoone he sent his boat well manned to descry the road, and to bring him some intelligence. Which they did the next morning, having met with some Venetian boats that were fishing, with which Venetians they passed for Maltezes: for there were in Sr *Kenelmes* boat both Maltezes and Greeks. They brought word that there were at anchor in the road two Venetian Galliasses, (which the English call Galligrosses) two other Gallions, two English ships, and some French Vessels; one of which came in but the day before, being very rich, and having as yet vnladed nothing. Sir *Kenelme* spent

1628. spent all the night following in onely seeing the preparations for fight and fitting in his foure-
G all ships; for that he expected [illegible] day from the Venetians, who had de-
clared themselues [illegible] sink all the Englishmen of [illegible] Signi-
ors foes. [illegible] not but [illegible] not yet S^r [illegible] This moued
judgement he [illegible]

And here though in [illegible] the Curious) let me inferta report of his [illegible] the palace of his [illegible] in the way
of caution, That he was neither so simple or superstitious, [illegible] to build a faith upon
H any [illegible] of diuination, such as the [illegible] which [illegible] much relied upon,
and of which [illegible] examples, [illegible] some no
lesse than Oracles: yet thus it happed to S^r [illegible] with [illegible] and desi-
rous to sleep upon the poop, till [illegible] other cogi-
tation, the remembrance of these [illegible] accident [illegible] he
him was reading *Virgil*. Which S^r [illegible] taking, hauing first examined the chance of a
number for the verse which hee should take; upon that lotte where hee opened the booke,
these two following presented themselues:

[illegible]
Carpebat somnos, rebus quos ille parabat.

In's lofty ship [illegible] bent to rage,
Slept, at all points prepar'd to meet his foe.

Which falling out so fit to the present circumstances, and the relation they had to the Ex-
pedition insuing for [illegible] was received [illegible] fit and [illegible] for a very good omen, and be-
came the instrument of [illegible] encouragement, by being made the conclusion of a short speech
to his men. For it seemed no [illegible] their resolutions, and preuent the disturbance of them,
by any dispute that might arise concerning the [illegible] of Sir [illegible] designe and pro-
K ceeding.

But his independent [illegible] suspecting [illegible] and that the [illegible]
selfe of it might [illegible] of [illegible] suspecting [illegible]
ding his Honour, be forced any [illegible] (the [illegible] and [illegible] he sent his
Sattie in the force to the Venetian General (the Galliasse having [illegible] anchor, and being
come within halfe a league of his ships) with [illegible] declared to the Venetia-
ans, That his voyage [illegible] of all respect and friendship, and that the French were the onely obiects of his attempts, for
which he had sufficient Warrant. To the two English ships he likewise sent letters, to [illegible]
the disquiet he [illegible] satisfaction, That his
L hostilities [illegible] to giue them [illegible]
abood to deliuer [illegible] the Galliasse of the Venetians discharged seuen or
right shots, the first of which lighting short, [illegible] a salute, and returned with a
piece [illegible] of the [illegible] hitting his ship, and one shot at his flag-staffe
with the Sattie [illegible] S^r [illegible] to let them
know, that his [illegible] of their strength and ad-
uantage, hauing [illegible] the head of their [illegible]
rie shot space, which did [illegible] the French and the Venetians, (who found
M presence by this time, [illegible] of the French, which they had
undertaken) [illegible] and [illegible] distance. In the mean
time Sr *Kenelme* playd [illegible] and left the Vessels to their [illegible] guidance. The Galliasse then coming up
to their succour, received [illegible] away, to flacker them-
selues under the English ships [illegible] in the sand. Which policie was a fine defence to
them;

A them; for Sr *Kenelme* was so cautious, that he would rather lose an opportunitie of offending 1628.
his enemies, than take hold of it to his countrymens offence. The Galliasse thus leaning
action, to be witnesse of it only at that safe distance, the galliots were in great danger, their
men being stowed vnder hatches; but that Sr *Kenelme* directing all his indeauors against the
French (from whom hee had receiued the most dammage) gaue way to their quiet without
much disturbance, more than what proceeded from their owne feares; and perceiuing the
French to come vp close (their ships being lusty Vessels, some hauing six and twenty pieces
of ordnance) he first directed his two lesser ships to deal with them: but quickly taking no-
tice of the aduantage, sent the rere Admirall to their succor; by which means the three ships
boorded and took each of them a seuerall prize; the fourth French ship being run aground at
B the beginning of the fight: to which this successe gaue an end after three houres.

It is remarkable, That in this fight not one of Sr *Kenelmes* men received a hurt to death; and
of the Venetians and French there were slain ninety nine persons: of whom one was comman-
der of the Venetian land souldiers, a brauie and generous man, whose losse was much lamented
by them, and pitied by Sr *Kenelme*. The Admirall Galliasse of the Venetians was the onely
one of those foure which the Venetians sent to the King of Spain, that returned from the ba-
tel of 88; where she fought with Sr *Martin Frobisher* in the Triumph of the Queen, whilst the
other three were sunk or fired. Since when, she hath been preserued by putting in of new pie-
ces where need required (as they say the Athenians did the gally of Salamine) so that now
nothing of her was remaining of those times but the mould.

C This action and successe of Sr *Kenelme*, though perhaps clear in it selfe, became questiona-
ble by the grand Signiors Ministers, through the complaints of the French and Venetians;
so that the Bassa of Aleppo and the Cadi of Scanderon took hold of the occasion, to practise
& exact an Auanie vpon the English Merchants, taking from the English Consul at Aleppo
a large sum, which he through feare of any ships retention delivered without much resistance,
and so appeased and calmed that ruggednesse, which notwithstanding proued afterwards an
aggregation in other causes.

For shortly after, *William Bundock* captain of an English ship called the Safe Bonaventure,
hauing lien some time at Zant in harbor, went out to sea for purchase, and fell vpon a ship tra-
ding betwixt Messina and Malta, that belonged to *Haggi Chiffum*, *Cosmo Orlando*, and others,
D subiects of the grand Signior, and had letters of safe conduct from the Imperiall Port. This
ship Captain *Bundock* making prize of, the complaint arriued at the Port, to a sudden disturb-
ance of Sr *Peter Wyche* the English Embassador there residing. Which complaint made
the more noise, for that the Chimacham, Captaine Bassa, and other principall ministers pre-
tended themselues interessed therein, hauing committed monies to the charge of the Cap-
taine of the ship taken, for the redemption of Turkish captiues at Messina, Malta, and other
places. Which particular pleading, with their aptnesse to make any thing a cause for possis-
ses vpon strangers, the Vizier sent his expresse command for the detention of two English
ships then in the Port, called the London and the William, so to compell a restitution. Vp-
on which the Embassador went to the grand Signiors Court, and after much arguing, and a
E second repair to the principal Ministers, making it appear, what a disrespect it would bee to
his Majesty of England, and how vniust it would seem to the world, obtained a release for the
present, but without any final determination.

The Embassador in this business made vse of all faire endeauors and policies, for the gai-
ning of time; til his delaies bringing him into some suspition of a neglect, the Ianizaries a-
new inforced the Vizier, by reuiuing it, with a pretence of losse which they received by *Bun-*
dock; and procured a peremptory order, that all should be made good presently. Which Or-
der being notified to the Embassador by a Chiaus, he replied and sent it by a Druggerman:
which notwithstanding gaue no satisfaction to the passion of the Vizier, who to insinuate
himselfe with the Ianizaries, gaue way to moost of their outrages. So that the Embassador
F to preuent his house being assaulted, was inforced to giue 500 Dollars amongst the Ianiza-
ries, and so all was calmed again, till some following accidents of like nature renuited the me-
morie of it.

The grand Signiors Letter to his Majesty of Great Britaine.

G

TO the glorious amongst the great Monarchs of the Christian Princes, and renowned of the great Potentates of the people of Messiah, Director of the eminent affairs of the Nation of Nazareth, true Lord of the Rule of Honor and Grace, and Patron of greatnesse and glory; CHARLES King of England, whose daies the Lord accomplish with happinesse.

H

AT the arrivall of this our sublime and Imperiall Signet here is informed, That at the blessed Throne of our high Port, which at this present (by the mercy of the Divine Majestie of the high and iust God, and the celestiall protection and care of our Prophet Mahomet Musstapha, the Sun of this and the other world) is the most fortunate of the Princes of the world, and the refuge of the Emperors of the present age; there arrived your Majesties Royall Letters, sent with your Embassador, who honored amongst the people of Messias, the esteemed and famous Lord, and your trusty Sir Peter Wyche; whose end be happy. The intent whereof being by our honoured high Counsellors and Pensioners declared and interpreted, and presented to our Imperiall Throne, we have entertained our particular affaire thereof into our peculiar knowledge, and dismissed the aforesaid Sir Peter Wyche, with your former Embassador Sir Thomas Roe, to be admitted to our Imperiall Divan, and with all acceptance, Royall courtesie, honour and gratitude, entertained and honoured; both of them being graced and rewarded with having kissed our Imperiall Vest. The former we have dispatched to your Majestie with our Imperiall Letters, and his successor is settled in our blessed Port in charge of his Embassage; both of them be blessed, in regard they have borne themselves loyally, and at ease proceeded nicely, in all morally and commendable wise procuring the continuance of friendship, from both parts, and duly observing the Articles of our good Peace: The worthinesse of whom is derived from your Majesties most sincere affection; which is also the cause of the increase of our love and respect. For as when the root of the tree is found and nourishing, it bringeth forth good and perfect fruit, so the Sentiments of gratious and wise Princes are ever like effects and produce.

I

The chiefe particular in your Majesties Letters contained (and of which also your Embassador Sir Peter Wych hath informed us) is, That our Vizier Bassa Musstapha hath been sent to examine certaine grievances in Natolia; arising in the parts of Bugrand, hath wrongfully taken four thousand Dollars from your Consull. As some are informed at our knowledge, That he had contrary to the honorable Justice [illegible] before our blessed throne, and to the example and discipline of other [illegible] hath been found punishment. For to this end, in his Letters, it is our Imperiall will that the losse of iuurie be examined, and the particular [illegible] shall be satisfied, and appeare to reason.

The grand Signior remits the custom of English cloath.

K

He hath further solicited [illegible] to be imposed upon cloath, which from your Realme of England [illegible] Dominions, might be discontinued: which we have [illegible] Friendship, or answerable to the termes of [illegible] Peace. [illegible] we have been ever accustomed to observe and honor those gratious Princes, that with sincere and loyall minds have shewn purchase and affection [illegible] Imperiall Throne; at whose requests we are

L

A are ready to imploy our sublime care and attention, so that whilst your Majestie shall continue in the direct way to be constant in love and affection, our friendship shall certainly be, as it ever hath been, firm and inviolable.

Your Majesty shall understand, That Haggi Cassum and Coloma, Owners, inhabitants of our well fortified city of Constantinople (the Centre of our Empire) going in their Vessell from Ligorne in Messina, towards Maina, to redeeme certain Mussulmans Captives, were incountred by an English Captaine named William Bundocke, who boarded them, and tooke from them ninety fillies, pieces of ordnance, with other goods and marchandises belonging to the ship, to the value of 34000 Dollars. Of which presumptuous action (so contrary to our

B good peace and friendship) we being informed, have thought is requisite and necessary to acquaint your Majesty, and have therefore expressed it in these our Imperiall Letters, to the end that your Majesty may cause the 34000 Dollars to be restored to the aforesaid Haggi Cassum and Coloma the true Owners. Therefore it is necessary at the arrivall hereof, That in conformitie to the great love and sincere affection which your Majesty beareth to our sublime Port, your Majesty cause the aforesaid Captaine to restore the said foure and thirty thousand dollars to the inforsmen aid: that hereafter the conditions and articles of peace and friendship hereunto we concluded and established, may be observed and kept inviolable; as on our

C part the aforesaid articles and agreements of peace and friendship hereunto, and shall ever be continued: where upon peace and good correspondence shall not only increase and flourish every day, but produce more good and profitable effects.

To conclude, Your Majesty hereby shall be no wise to our consent, That in the dominions of our Empire the [illegible] may be done to any: and therefore if your Majesty remain constant and firm in the friendship and amitie professed, and desire we should observe the good peace and correspondence, your Majesty will cause the said Captaine to restore the full value of the money and goods to the wronged Owners; and punish the said Captaine, that hereafter he shall dare

D to commit such like hostile actions, so contrary to our good peace and friendship.

Written in the middle of the month Rabiul Eual (which is November) in the yeare 1029, which is 1620.

Given in our well fortified and Imperiall City of Constantinople.

Upon the receit of these Letters from the grand Signior, his majestie returned this answer following.

E

CHARLES, by the grace of the most high God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; the most [illegible] dor of the true Christian Faith, &c.

F

TO the most high and mighty Emperour, Chief Prince, Lord, and Commander of the Mussulmans, King of Kings, and Prince of Princes of the Eastern Empire, &c. [illegible]

Right

1628. RIght high, right excellent, and right mighty Emperour: By your Princely letters, of the tenth of November 1628, [illegible] of June last, we have understood of the receipt of our Letters directed to your Majesty by our faithfull servant Sir Peter Wyche, our Embassador resident in your Imperiall Port at Constantinople, and with [illegible] of your princely favour [illegible] tice of your Princely favour, in admitting our said servant Embassador to your Imperiall presence, whereby expressing your [illegible] amity with us; which we do embrace with all [illegible], and shall be ready to performe all good offices [illegible] same. In our said Letters we [illegible] Majesties [illegible] on satisfaction might be made [illegible] Constantinople, for Dollars, 4000, [illegible] Consull resident in Smyrna, by Mustapha Bassa, [illegible] ment hath been inflicted according [illegible] faction, as we expected out of your [illegible] againe become humble petitioners [illegible] Imperiall Majesty, desiring that [illegible] not doubt, in [illegible] lingnesse to correspond in amity with us [illegible] the influence of our Embassador [illegible] such Cloath as shall be brought [illegible] your prudent respect to [illegible] your Dominions, for the profit of [illegible] friendship, and good [illegible] Kingdomes.

And to testifie [illegible] peace and friendship with your Imperiall Majesty, and as far as it [illegible] to your [illegible] Letter concerning the complaint made by Haggi Callum and Cosmo Orlando, against William Bundocke our subject, That he should have [illegible] ship belonging to the said Haggi Callum and Cosmo [illegible] to the ship, to the value of 3,4000 Dollars, [illegible] in our high Court of Admiralty, [illegible] examination of the said Bundocke and many others of his ship company, and some of the [illegible] belonging to the ship of Cosmo, taken upon Oath: Thereby appeareth, That he took [illegible] many goods, above the value of 2,000 Dollars, which we caused to be [illegible] immediately upon the arrivall of the said Bundocke, in our Court of Admiralty, where there doth lie a Legall proceeding before our Judge. And for that our [illegible] the said [illegible] Procures from the Proprietors of [illegible] prosecute the suite, and in the same time our Ambassador [illegible] of the Duke of Florence, having received a sufficient [illegible] and authentick proofes from Cosmo Orlando, hath obtained [illegible] to the value of [illegible] within your maiesties royall City of [illegible] resident to any other, which may pretend interest in the said money and goods, and to that purpose our Embassador

Embassador is fully instructed, and shall receiue authentick Copies of the whole proceedings in our Court of Admiralty, to whom your maiesty may please to give credit. And as it will plainly appeare unto your Princely maiesty, with what affection and readinesse we have expressed our care and princely attention to do iustice to all your subiects, and to entertaine and cherish all occasions to testifie our sincere loue and friendship, and to maintaine the termes of our good neighbourhood and correspondency betweene vs. So if your maiesty shall desire to maintaine and continue the said peace and friendship together with vs, we shall expect from your highnesse the like correspondency of iustice to our Subiects. Assuring your maiesty it shall be much displeasing unto vs, when any occasion shall be offered by any our Subiects, to call in question the antient friendship inuiolably on our parts continued, but weare our royall Progenitors and the mighty Monarchs of the Othoman Empire. And although we cannot doubt but that your maiesty with like affection and sincerity, doth embrace our Princely loue and friendship; yet our Subiects trading in your highnesse Dominions, haue lately made humble Petition unto vs, lamenting their wrongs, and insufferable iniuries and damages done unto them by your Ministers and Officers in Aleppo, by imprisoning their Consull, seizing up their Warehouse-dores, and extorting from them 50000 Dollars in money at the least, we cause at all being given by our said merchants, or any of them, the particulars whereof, our Embassador is able to informe your maiesty at large, praying your maiesty to take into your Princely consideration, that satisfaction may be given for so great an oppression, and the Offenders punished, as in iustice their offence should deserue. Considering how much it doth import vs in our Princely honour, to take care that our Subiects may be righted in their iust grieuances, and that it is also necessary, in conformity to the loue, and sincere affection that your maiesty beareth to vs and our friendship, that our Subiects may be maintained in their peaceable trade, within your Dominions, and freed from exactions, extortions, and oppressions. And that all such as shall agrieue them therewith, may be held as contemners and violaters of the sincere Peace and Amity betweene vs, and receiue punishment according to the offence of so high a nature. We haue also thought good to signifie unto your maiesty, That whereas of late yeares, diuers of our Subiects haue letten out to fraight unto the Venetians some of their shipping, both as well to, as from your maiesties Ports, and therby beare the Colours of the State of Venice, to the great dishonour of our Person and Soueraignetie, contrary to the expresse command by vs given unto our Subiects, and do also deny to pay unto our Consull, such ancient duties as hath beene vsuall, and accustomed, and belonging unto vs, by our Capitulations, and Commandements from your maiestie in that behalfe, pretending that your maiestie hath of late given your royall commaund unto the Venetian Embassador resident in Constantinople, That they shall neither pay those antient duties, nor beare our Flags in our owne shipping, whilest they remaine in their seruice. The particulars whereof we shall referre to our Embassador, expecting that your maiestie, both herein, and in all other causes of our Subiects iust complaints, will do nothing contrary to the Law of Nations, the dishonour of our selfe, and the preiudice of the amity and friendship betweene vs, which on our part shall be kept inuiolable. And so we wish you health and true happinesse.

Given at our Royall Honour of Hampton Court, the eleuenth day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1629, and of our reigne of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, the fifth.

The

1629. The grand Signior [illegible] having [illegible], made proviſion to renew his War in G Perſia, as the only [illegible] of [illegible] conſequence. For though the Turkiſh Empire, ingaged in many troubles, [illegible] more than common providence to keepe it upright [illegible] ſhew of declination now than ever; yet the diſgrace of Halil Baſſa [illegible] and the loſſe of the [illegible] and [illegible] Vizier Huſſeph Baſſa, that he minded nothing but a vindication upon the Perſian. Neither did it [illegible] ground of policie; for had he not declared himſelfe [illegible] he might have flowed in Halil Baſſa's puniſhment, which [illegible] from his great authority of Vizier, which notwithſtanding no Halil might [illegible] imputed a diſgrace, ſince the fault [illegible] of [illegible] fortune.

H Huſſeph Baſſa [illegible] great Vizier having made proviſion the yeare before, and all things being [illegible] with the army into the plains of [illegible], upon the 27 of May, 1629, [illegible] proceeded in his march towards Babylon. In the meane time the Captaine Baſſa went forth with the gallies into the Mediterranian, [illegible] by the way to Rhodes, whilſt he remained there in harbor he ſent Huſſein [illegible] with ſome veſſels to diſcover the Enemies coaſts. Where Huſſein [illegible] with a [illegible] of Gemelders with ſpices, made prize of it, and having manned it with twelve Turks, [illegible] the port. By the way a ſhip of London called the Golden Cocke, of which John Barker was maſter, meeting with this Saetia, again repriſed her, and carried her away to Zant. Upon which the Captaine Baſſa ſent his I complaint to the Engliſh Embaſſador, to his great diſturbance, and almoſt a danger of deſtroying all Engliſh trade in the Levant. For the Captaine Baſſa preſently to revenge it commanded [illegible] Engliſh ſhip called [illegible] to be detained and carried into the Port of Scio. Which ſhip by the Embaſſadors [illegible], and the expence of ſome money, being releaſed, [illegible] of the former complaint [illegible] detained: which drew new troubles upon the Embaſſadour, that could not end in a ſucceſſe, untill the grand Signior had diſpatched his letters of complaint to his Majeſty of England, drawne from the articles and capitulations of peace concluded upon, and on the Engliſh part in this particular violated. Which letters had this forme following. K

The Grand Signiors Letter to his Majeſty of Great Britaine.

To the glorious among the [illegible] Majeſties of Chriſtian Princes, and [illegible] among the great Potentates of the people of the Meſſias, the Director of the [illegible] of the Nation of the Nazarites, and [illegible] Lord of the [illegible] Honour and [illegible] of Glory, CHARLES *King of England,* [illegible] *Imperiall Forme,* L

When [illegible] your Majeſties perſon, the [illegible] of good correſpondence have alwaies bin [illegible] with the happy Port and our Imperiall Houſe, and that the ſtipulated conditions of the Peace and amitie between us [illegible], [illegible] your Merchants that uſe to trade by ſea, and your ſubiects ſhips which come to our bright Port, meeting at ſea with the Turkiſh ſhips M *and others, they have not done them any moleſtation or damage; your ſaid ſhips comming and going alwaies in theſe parts with all friendly manners, and likewiſe there not being committed by our ſubiects any action or thing contrary to our Imperial Command, [illegible] againſt the conditions of our good Peace, which hath bin [illegible] by us in the yeare paſt: The Sanderbegh of [illegible], the worſhipfull among*

1629. A *mong the noble Captaines, called* Huſſein *Begh, he being charged by our Imperiall Command to go and inquire newes from the coaſt and enemies parts, and to get ſome knowledge of their forme of actions; being arrived with his Galley neer unto the ſaid Enemies country, hee hath met with a pinnace of the Enemies which came from the parts of the Indies, laden with pepper, Cinnamon, Sugar, and other Indian commodities; and the men in the ſame ſeeing the ſaid Captaine, and not being able to reſiſt him, fled on ſhore and left the Pinnace empty. The ſaid Captain took her, and made it his prize, and put twelve Turkiſh men of his into her, without taking any the leaſt thing out of her, and ſo ſent and directed her thus untoyled, unto our happy Port; and afterwards he returned to performe the ſervice committed to his charge, to inquire after newes. Which twelve Turks conducting and bringing hither the ſaid Prize, beeing arrived neer the Iſle of Zant, ſubiect to the Venetians, an Engliſh ſhip called the Golden Cocke, of which* Iohn B *Barker was Maſter, incountred with her, and going upon her, tooke all the Turks which were in the ſayd Pinnace, into his ſhip, and examined them. They having told him the truth of the ſucceſſe and caſe iuſt as it is before related, he permitted ten of them to go away, and with great vexation gave the torture to the two remaining, telling them, That they muſt ſay the ſaid Pinnace was a prize taken from them of Algier, or otherwiſe he would cauſe them to be ſlain. Which untruth the two men would not conſent to ſay, but related the ſame to him in the manner aforeſaid. Neverthleſſe he would not beleeve them, but tooke the ſaid Pinnace uniuſtly out of their hands, and brought her to Zant, and cauſed to be emptied out of her into his own ſhip, all the wares and merchandiſes which were found in her, which goods amounted to* 80000 *Dollars. And after that, the ſaid Captaine by his Letter to our high Port certified, That the ſaid Maſter afterwards ſold the ſaid Pinnace in the ſaid place of Zant. There came alſo one of thoſe two that had been* C *tortured by him, and did tell and relate it all: and there being at that inſtant one of your Gallions detained here at our happy Port, and that on the behalfe our ſea Generall, there were letters written and ſent to the Governour of Zant, to the end that the ſaid pinnace might be recovered out of his hands, there comming a letter and anſwer from the ſaid Governour of Zant, That before the ſaid letters were arrived, the ſaid ſhip-maſter had already emptied all the goods of the ſaid Pinnace into his owne ſhip, and had ſold the ſaid pinnace, and with great ſpeed was departed for England. And this beeing intimated to our Imperiall preſence, ſuch deeds of the ſaid ſhip-maſter being a thing proceeding much againſt the good peace and covenants, our Imperiall command was given, That your ſaid Gallion ſhould not be permitted to depart. But there being a new petition made to our Imperiall Throne by our aforeſaid ſea Generall, That your Embaſſader now here in our happy port prayed, that your aforeſaid Gallion might be ſet at libertie, and that hee* D *would ſee the goods and merchandiſes recovered, that were uniuſtly taken out of the ſaid Pinnace: We accepted of the petition and requeſt of your ſaid Embaſſader, and of the ſurety given to our ſea General, That the ſhip-maſter who committed ſuch an act ſo contrary to our good friendſhip, ſhall be puniſhed and chaſtiſed, and that all the goods and merchandiſes which were taken out of the ſaid Pinnace, ſhall be ſent back to our high Port: We gave our Imperiall command, That your ſaid Gallion ſhould be permitted to depart in manner. Becauſe your Maieſty ſhould be pleaſed not to conſent, that any action be committed by any one contrary to the ſame our good peace, we have writ and ſent unto you this our preſent Imperial letter; at the arrivall whereof it is required, That according to the ſincere friendſhip and loving affection which your Maieſty beareth unto us, and unto our happy Houſe, you would uſe your benigne care and favour in this particular buſineſſe, and to give order that the ſaid ſhip-maſter may be found, who hath violated the* E *covenants of the good peace contracted between us; and to do ſo, that all the goods and merchandiſes may be wholly recovered, or the monies for the ſame, which were levied and taken out of the ſaid Pinnace, and that all of it may be conſigned and ſent hither to our high Port: and that ſuch deſerved puniſhment and chaſtiſement may be inflicted upon the ſaid ſhip-maſter, who hath bin bold with ſuch indignation to interrupt and cauſe the diſturbance of the good friendſhip betweene us, which now for ſo long time hath beene proſperouſly advanced, that he may ſerve for an evident example, and a good leſſon for after ages, that in time to come, not any one in the leaſt maner whatſoever, may have any more inclination, or bee diſpoſed to preiudice our good peace. Finally, Since on our part and our Captains that go to ſea, there is not any moleſtation or wrong done to any the ſhips or merchants your ſubiects, but that they go and come ſafely and ſecurely into our Dominions, and the articles of the good peace and amitie between us are punctually by us* F *obſerved; it is evident and clear, that ſuch unreaſonable and evill deeds committed by your ſubiects, ſhall never be praiſed or admitted by wiſe perſons. Therefore we remain confident, that your Maieſty will not only ſhew your love herein, and not in any maner permit any conditions that ſhall tend to the preiudice of the good foundation of our ſaid good peace and beſt correſpondence, but alſo according to our Imperiall deſire, will make that all the aforeſaid goods taken out of the ſaid pinnace ſhall be wholly recovered from the*

1629. said Shipmaster, and that the same be sent unto us for a warre our high Port, assuring your selfe that by giving him his due punishment, your Majesty will manifest and shew your sincerenesse and affection that you have unto our high Port. and so we rest, expecting that you will advise us with the first to have effected it all. G

Written in the Moneth of December 1629.

The Captaine Basha all this while practised according to his inclination, with Turkish violence and liberty in any vse of occasion, according to *Menander* (though I presume the Captaines learning deriued it not thence) [illegible]: Occasion is more powerfull than Lawes. Sorbeit what force he did, though unjust, his pretences excused and glossed with a show of lawfulnesse; untill his Majesty of England returned a satisfaction to the Grand Signior by his Letters royall, whereinto the punishment of *Barker* by imprisonment was notified, together with his Majesties commaund for restitution (which was accordingly performed by the Embassador, notwithstanding, some practises of the *Venetian Bayle*, who argued to deale underhand, and thereby obtaine some pretences of his owne, which the Embassador conceiued might be prejudiciall to his Majesties justice) forbad all the sé disputes by a release from the Grand Signior. The forme of which release, followeth his Majesties Letter. H

I

CHARLES, by the grace of the most high God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, the most puissant Defendor of the true Christian Faith.

TO the most high and mighty Emperor, Sultan Morat Han, chiefe Lord and Commander of the Mussulmans Kingdome, sole and supreme Monarch of the Eastern Empire, Sendeth Greeting. K

RIght high, right excellent, and right Mighty Emperor, There are now fifty yeares past, since a friendly correspondency of peace and amity hath beene instituted and continued betweene the imperiall Ottoman Family, and our Royall State, and is now without interruption descended to the present time of your Imperiall Majesty, and our Royall Selfe; which the eternall God continue with length of yeares and all other felicities.

Now forasmuch as it is impossible that friendship betweene States so distant and remote, should continue sincere, without a casuall and unpreuentable misunderstandings, vnlesse there were vsed the intercessions of intermuniant Ministers for negotiations; We for our parts in prosecution of the laudable proceedings of our Royall Progenitors have continued our honourable Embassadors as your Royall Port, whereat the present is residing for vs our worthy Servant Sir Peter Wyche, *Knight one of the Gentlemen of our privy Chamber, being the eighth in number that hath successively resided for that purpose; whose mediations upon all requisite occasions, as they have beene heretofore, so we are time expected, and do yet hope, that no occurrence, howsoever represented by ill affected Ministers, shall disappoint the expectation of successfull issue of so necessary a meanes for continuance of peace and friendship. For whose more ready access to passe, that of late time, we finde that neither the presence of our said Embassador at your Port, nor other our publike Ministers elsewhere residing in your Dominions, can prevaile to accommodate dispatches for our honour, nor defend and keepe in safety the Persons, and States of our Subjects the Merchants, from the injustice of your subordinate Governors, but that upon every false pretence and suggestion, they are so wrongfully troubled, and heavily oppressed, that besides many great and importunate sums of money latelyexacted from them, they have beene generally exposed to the fury of such, as have both disturbed them in the prosecution of their trade, and endangered their lives and persons.* L M

And

A *And whereas upon former complaints of our said Subjects, we addressed our Princely Letters of the eleventh of October last, to your Majesty, thereby representing sundry great and unsufferable injuries and oppressions imposed upon them by your Ministers, whereupon no manner duties, but upon receit of our said Letters, your Majesty in your Princely justice will afford to our said Subjects such reliefe and reparation in their grievances, as may stand with the league of amity and good correspondency so long and happily continued betweene vs, our kingdomes, and people, and we to settle some effectuall order for the peaceable and quiet trading of our Subjects in your Dominions, as they may have no further cause of lament unto vs, nor we of representing the same unto your Imperiall Majesty.* 1629.

Since which Dates, upon sundrie and great complaints of our Subjects, we could doe lesse out of the true sence of our care, duties, and justice to our Subjects, than to represent the same by those our sec and B *Letters to your Imperiall Majesty, thereby signifying the wrong and damage done them by your Captaine Bassa in detaining one of their great Ships, bound for your Imperiall Port; upon pretence that one Barker, a Subject of ours had taken a Sattie pretended to be formerly taken by Hussein Begh, Captaine of a Gally belonging to Corone: Herein as we are tender that our Subjects should not suffer vnjustly, so shall it always be our Princely care that they neither offer nor doe wrong to the Subjects of any Prince in amity with vs. And therefore we have given especiall order, That the said business be duly examined, and whether truth thereof shall be made manifest, then we shall proceed therein, as may be agreeable to justice, and the mutuall amity betweene your Majesty and Vs; meane while, we have caused the said Barker to be imprisoned, and his person secured to answer the said fact. And because it cannot otherwise fall out during our warre with the King of Spaine, who is likewise in warre with your Imperiall Majesty, but that Ships of our Subjects which by vertue of our Commission, make prizes of such as aff st* C *that King with armes or any kinde of munition, or such Ships as are laden with Spanish goods, and for that purpose frequenting the Seas, as well within the Streits as without, may happily under that pretence commit some acts which may be offensive to your Majesty. We in regard thereof, have of late daies forbidden, and from henceforth do expressly forbid all our Subjects, (Merchants only excepted) to enter with their Shipping within the Steights: whereby may appeare our former intention, to live in peace and good correspondency with your Majesty.*

And further, we do likewise represent unto your Majesty a great and insupportable injury of a high nature, done unto our Merchants by your great Officers at Aleppo; who giving eare to an vnjust complaint against our people, for a fact done by Sardinians, subjects to the King of Spaine, upon your Ma- D *jesties Subjects of Austes, and not admitting of any pleas or proofe, produced on the behalfe of our Merchants to the contrary, did after many vnsufferable indignities, offered to the person of our publike Minister the Consul, to the great dishonour of Vs, and our Nation, most injuriously, and directly contrary to the Capitulations, imprison our said Subject in a loathsome dungeon for many daies, threatning to take away his life, with the lives of others of our People, to make slaves of the residue, and make seisure of their estates, caused his Druggerman in most bloudy manner to be murthered; and in conclusion, before he could be released, there was great summe of money extorted from our said Subjects.*

The former unsufferable injuries (of which as yet we have not any satisfaction) and also sé last intolerable oppressions, all done upon our Merchants and Subjects, are most displeasing unto Vs, and we cannot in respect of our own honour, and care of the safety and protection of our said Subjects, passe them E *over without due consideration, and representation to your Imperiall Majesty.*

We do therefore hereby demand, and shall expect by your high nesse Princely order, such ample satisfaction in every particular, as unto justice appertaineth, to the end, we may as our Predecessors have formerly done, hold all good correspondency with your high nesse, in maintaining an Embassador our publike representant in your Port, and in encouraging our Merchants to continue their trade into your Dominions, which otherwise, neither the respect of honour to our selfe, or profit to our Subjects, will suffer Vs to doe. And for the better satisfying of all complaints and setling of differences, We have expressly imployed our trusty and well beloved Servant Iohn Wandesford *Esquire, unto your Princely Port upon this occasion, whom we have addressed to our Embassador* Sir Peter Wyche *there residing, to be presented to your Imperiall Majesty, with order and instructions to them both more amply, to acquaint your Majesty* F *with all occasions of complaints and differences, praying your majesty to give them audience and credence, and to establish some such effectuall order, for the behoofe of our Subjects in the quiet prosecution of their trade in your Dominions for the time to come, as may be agreeable to your high and Princely justice, and the good correspondency continued betweene vs. Given at our Royall Palace of Whitehall the 22 day of February, An. Dom. 1629, in the fifth yeare of our Reigne of England, &c.*

1629.

The grand Signiors Letter to his Majesty of Great Britaine.

TO the glorious amongst the famous Princes of IESVS, [illegible] Prince of the Ottoman Empire, Lord of Heaven and Earth, Possessor of Greatnesse and Glory; CHARLES King of England, [illegible] and his happinesse.

AT the report of this sublime and noble [illegible] Vizier Hassan Bassa, [illegible] Generall by sea, being [illegible] Port, That sending the Bagh of the Island of Lemnos, called Hassan Bagh, [illegible] the Enemies coasts, to take information, and the [illegible] meeting with a Sattia of the Enemies, laden with Sugar, Spices, and other Indian commodities, tooke her, and put into her some of his owne men, and sent her [illegible] most glorious Port: Which in the way coming neere unto the Island of Zante, was met by John Barker Master of the ship called the Golden Garter, [illegible] and taken her [illegible] input on land, and the lading of the said goods and merchandises in the same ship, having sold the Sattia in the said Island, sailed hence for England, [illegible] together contrarie to the due rennes of peace, friendship, and [illegible] vs, [illegible] advised to your Maiestie by our Imperiall letters, requiring that the author of such outrage thy affaire might be punished, and the goods of the said Sattia so taken, might be recovered and sent to our Imperiall Port. Whereupon being [illegible] the Christian Lords, Sir Peter Wyche your Embassadour, [illegible] in our sublime Port, That when our Letter should come unto you, and that you should understand our Resolution herein, your Majestie in contemplation of the great affection and love which we beare unto you, when the said Master should arrive in your Dominions, would give order that he might presently be laid holden, and for his [illegible] committed in [illegible] contrarie to our correspondence and friendship, be severely punished, and all diligence used for the recovery of the said goods and merchandises so unjustly taken.

Now forasmuch as all the said goods and merchandises by the said John Barker taken out of the said Sattia is recovered, as also the value of the said Sattia, and [illegible] our Imperiall Port, and the same delivered into our royall Treasurie by the hands of the said Embassadour; and that of the particularities of the said goods and Sattia, there resteth no further pretence or demand against the said Barker, having received for the same mutine and full satisfaction; we have written and sent you this our most affectionate Letter: The tenor whereof being declared unto you, it is convenient, that as your Majestie hath bin pleased to demonstrate in this particular your good love and sincerie which you beare unto our happie Port; so in time to come, in all other our occasions, in contemplation of the good amitie and correspondence betweene vs, you will also vouchsafe yeeld your most noble attention and favour. For by the grace of the most high God, for our part, the most exquisite tearms of our friendship shall be always most readily observed, and for what concerne the conservation of our sincere peace and correspondence, you shall always see our exquisite diligence for showing mutation

tation thereof; applying our desire and Imperiall determine to reserve a most affectionate regards your Majestie. In this particular of the Prize, the Bailiff of Venice hath made some small motion, pretending that the lading of the said Prize did belong to Venetian Merchants, and therefore demanded of vs authentique writing, that the goods be consigned unto them: but in regard that his said pretence was vain and unjust, it [illegible] goods, neither was there given unto him any such writing, neither were we pleased with his said unreasonable demands. Therefore in conclusion, all the monie for the value of the said goods and merchandises, as also of the said Sattia, is by your Embassador Sir Peter Wyche fully and intirely delivered unto vs, and all entred in our Imperiall Treasurie, and we rest fully satisfied. For which particular there remaines no further pretence against the said John Barker: And so much be known unto you.

Written the first day of the moneth called *Ramazan*, in the year 1041.

In the Imperiall city of Constantinople.

C The grand Viziet in October, following his first entrance on the design for Persia, after many visiall accidents of War, interruptions in his march, and so strong a resistance of his siege 1630.
to the losse of the third part of his army, together with the approch of Winter (the common hinderer of the Turkes proceedings, as greatest enemy to their constitutions) hee withdrew his forces, and returning by the way of Aleppo, remained there some time to practise his tyrannies. Which had these grounds of policie: The Turks being men that conclude all actions from the successe, and thence allow them merit, grew into some suspition of the great Vizier; besides, their depredations being sometimes hindered by the enemies, other times recovered with the losse of some liues, most of their souldiers returned home poorer than they
D went forth; a strong motiue to a mutiny. To preuent which, and to keep his scattered troops in some order, as also to hinder the Persians further attempts, at Aleppo he vsed a tyrannicall seueritie against all Nations during his stay there; the end of which was exaction onely of fines vpon his iudgements, which past vpon euery complaint, iust or vniust, which either malice or conetousnesse could beget vpon intention; which soon became pregnant vpon obseruance of the grand Viziers disposition. With these exactions he inriched himself, appeased the muttering of his soldiers, and made himselfe popular: and the aspersion thrown vpon his valour, was presently lost in the opinion conceiued of his justice. The English Merchants felt more of this storme than any other nation; for the businesses before declared being reviued, pretences were soon found to imprison the English Consul there, and for the more terror to hang his Druggerman. An insolencie much distastefull to the Embassadour, who notwithstanding as yet found not conueniencie for a complaint; the Viziers greatnes and fauor
E with the grand Signior beating him out in all his actions.

The Captaine Bassa returning from the Blacke sea, after a dispute vpon his proceedings (some of which wanted a cleare iustification) was dismissed his place vpon the fourteenth of October; and another assigned to it, who was Master of the grand Signiors horse, a man of great esteeme, and reputed for a very good Turke, howsoever it be. For Turkes (as Topographers obserued the Carthaginians to be perfidious *Natura loci*) are noted by Historians to be vitious for the most part, *Natura populi*.

The great Vizier could now no longer conceal his ill successe before Bagdat, but that it arriued at the Port, and caused the grand Signior to suspect him. For the Vizier had long
F time by his Instruments filled euery place (especially those remote) with reports of a prosperous proceeding; which multiplied at length to a rumour of certaine victorie. The contrarie of which appearing, his displacing was determined, and the aduancement of the new Captaine Bassa vnto it. Of which the Vizier receiuing a priuate information, strengthened himselfe in Mosul, and hauing won to him the hearts of the Janizaries, resolued to refuse a

surrender

1630. surrender of his authority. When upon [illegible] Visier [illegible] Bassa was made, an old man of a peeuish [illegible] disposition, and [illegible] commanded to prepare anew for the war of Persia, [illegible] Spring. In the mean time the old Captaine Bassa [illegible] in Grecia [illegible] away for Persia: which proceeding his [illegible] hundred and [illegible] for great performances employed in the [illegible] the same [illegible] the Ianiziaries.

The French Fleet [illegible] by Turkes that were taken [illegible] French Ships, and carried to Malta. Hereupon before the Chimacham so choose the [illegible] found fault with in his defences, that he was dismissed without any [illegible] this Disgrace [illegible] his face in the Bassa's house. On the last of [illegible] French Ships from the Fleet [illegible] the Port, wherein came [illegible] French Fleet [illegible] quiet as formerly were renewed.

The new Captaine Bassa made the entrance into his authority with an acceptable present; returning to the Port with some ships taken in the Archipelago, three small French ships, and one Sauoyard, having received safe conduct from all other ships he met, according to their formalities and conditions.

The old Visier being displaced (who was yet bound with the souldiers) there was published a cessation of armes with Persia for two yeares. Which though really it proceeded from feare in the Grand Signior, yet was it interpreted, to saue his honour, a policy: for the souldiers by this cessation, having [illegible] and [illegible] every man to his owne home, and place of repose, they would be pacified [illegible] and the sooner the more easily from the late Visier, if the disgrace [illegible] upon him should enspirit his high spirit to be obstinate and seditious.

This politicke intention found a contrary end; for after the displacing of the great Visier *Husseyn Bassa* (who had [illegible] affection of the souldiery in generall) a discontent began to appeare and breake out amongst them, and the same, in that they conceiued a disdaine against the placing of *Hassan Mahomet Bassa* in that office, a man for his want of liberality towards them in great commaunds and hatred. For though those souldiers in Turkie in peace almost necessitated, yet the souldiers finde the difference in their [illegible] small Commaunds, some being seiz'd by disposition, others for State ends. But this *Hassan Mahomet Bassa* was the most noted with that marke of infamy, which (according to *Sophocles*) includes in it selfe all sorts of barbarisme.

This Visier, [illegible] by many prudent sutes with his owne nature (which neither danger nor any thing else could alter) to specifie the [illegible] of the souldiers conceiued he had [illegible] specially, and perfected the [illegible] of his owne quiet proceedings. But in [illegible] for three dayes after, in his [illegible] three hours riding to the Diuan, diuers Ianizaries and Spahies [illegible] suddenly together, make head towards the Seraglio, where they surprised him in the fields, and fetched him from his horse, which [illegible] for the present he escaped, by the help of some [illegible] entering into the Seraglio, where the Grand Signior [illegible] and no satisfaction to the great Visier, for the souldiers persisted in their sedition so violently, that the Grand Signior was compelled [illegible] the multitude, performing so, *Regere diffi-cile minus & pollutum est*, qualifying the [illegible] of their infamous [illegible] which the souldiers would neither endure, nor receiue any other satisfaction from the Grand Signior to specifie them, but a delinquency of *Hassan Mahomet Bassa* into their hands. When being compelled by the Grand Signior to their [illegible] the Grand Signior himselfe could at last find him a successor of far higher [illegible] by the souldiers, without any regard to his great dignity, [illegible] the Grand Signior [illegible] in pieces. Which [illegible] in the [illegible] of the Grand Signior (who then likewise found himselfe at the mercy of the [illegible]) [illegible] of the death of his brothe *Osman*, no way differing from this but only in the [illegible] of the person.

After their furious [illegible] the Visier, the souldiers began for the present to be a little quiet: but the next morning [illegible] of their violence increased, and rouled them headlong [illegible] insolency; [illegible] the Seraglio in a disordered

A dered tumult, they brought new feares vpon the Grand Signior, by demanding him in person to deliuer them likewise the Mufty and the Tefterdar with many other persons in office: but at the great instance of the Grand Signior, and in a manner submissiue intreaty made to them, the souldiers mitigated their intended punishment (for the multitude would haue all their acts called justice) which was death, and desired onely a displacing of those officers; which through feare of a worse progression in their vnruly course, was presently effected: which together with putting into the office of great Visier the late Chimacham *Regeb Bassa*, 1630.
again quieted the storme for the present; the souldiers amongst themselues proposing a condition, That *Regeb* should hold the place of Visier no longer, but till the return of *Husreph Bassa*, though himselfe and some others hoped it for longer continuance.

B These stormes had now a shew of being calmed, and gaue some liberty to the Grand Signior for consideration: in which, his reuenge vpon such insolencies guided him to circumstances, that concluded *Husreph Bassa* to be the onely instigator of the souldiers to these attempts: the first was his disgrace by being displaced from his office of great Visier, which might enspirate him, and pricke forward his discontent to such actions, as might aduantage his desire of proceeding to a vindication of his lost honours: another was the opinion he had amongst the souldiers, to which he had won them by his liberality, and distribution of those emotions he had practised in Asia: a third was his keeping out vnder pretence of prouiding for the next Summers war; all which interpreted and wrested to the worst sence, confirmed the Grand Signior in a resolution for his death. For which *Mustafa Bassa* had secret instructions, that wheresoeuer he was found, he should be strangled, and his head sent C with all priuacy to the Grand Signior. This command did not long want execution, but that within few daies after at a place called Tocat, in the Prouince of Amasia on the Asian side, *Husreph Bassa* yeelded to that fate, against which (though his policy and prouidence were great) he had not the power of preuention.

This act could not be so closely carried, but that the next day after his head was presented to the Grand Signior, the Spahies and Ianizaries arriuing from suspition to knowledge of it, suddenly made vp their many headed monster, full of resolues to take reuenge vpon euery one that had beene directly or indirectly a mouer in this business of the death of their beloued *Husreph*. Their fury first guided them to the house of the present Visier *Regeb Bassa*, D where rudely entring, they demanded cause, why *Husreph* was put to death, and who were the Grand Signiors counsellors to such an worthy fact, towards a man that had so well deserued of the Grand Signior, and his State; that he had beene the protector of their liberties, and scourge of their enemies, as it were flattering his memory with many attributes of praise. To which the Visier *Regeb Bassa* made answer with protestation, that he was wholly ignorant thereof, in being contriued and resolued vpon at such time as he was out of place. Whereupon the souldiers compelled him to go with them to the Seraglio where the Grand Signior was, that by him they might receiue some satisfying answer, & against of leaue to execute justice vpon the homicides. When they were entred into the first yard of the Seraglio, out of a respect to their King they staied there, sending in *Regeb Bassa* to expostulate the business E with him: who enforced through feare to be their vnwilling agent, did accordingly, and returning to them somwhat late in the euening, after declarations of the Grand Signiors promises to satisfie them in all that they demanded, his persuasiue Oratory prevailed for that time, and won them to withdraw themselues; till the next morning taking head againe, they compelled *Regeb Bassa* as before to be their speaker: who yeelding to necessity (which *Valerius* calls, *Summum malum, sic ita effectum, dar mentum*) seemed to the jealousie of the State, a ring leader of this seditious faction.

By this time the multitude had fallen vpon new pretences, and from a grounded suspition of the Agas of the Ianizaries, (who at their first rising by conueying himselfe away had betrayed some guiltinesse) as also of the late Mufti and Tefterdar, together with an inward F seruant of the Grand Signiors, whose accusation was grounded only vpon the great grace and fauour he had with the Grand Signior (a misery that no court immunion could euer shun) they gaue instructions to *Regeb*, that their persons should be demanded of the Grand Signior, who fearing his outer danger (that had now no preuention but the satisfying & appeasing of the tumultuous souldiers) answered the demand with protestation, that they were not in his custody.

Where-

1629. Whereupon a new and sudden mutiny arose among them, that the Grand Signior had murdered his three younger brothers: thus kindled a new flame of rage that could none hee quench but by presenting the three heads to the fire them; which for that night quieted their disorders. G

The next morning they had a new mutiny before the house of the great Vizier *Rocab Bassa*; whereafter he had long given and promised to pacifie them by his eloquence (a gift he had) but whether he made *Ex alumnum falsum fecunda fatuum, ex alumnum pejus & pernicium* (that which according to *Cicero* may be the effect or abuse of eloquence) is much to be doubted, their fury began to rage farther; an occasion whereof he presently delivered into their hands the famous Sorcerer, sent to him the night before: Upon him they acted a second Scene of their Tragedie, leaving him in pieces as they had formerly the Great Vizier *Halil Achmet Bassa*. But the day being yet scarce half spent, this mischief had no specification; neither had the Vizier or the Grand Signior power sufficient for their suppression; but that in this height of rage, enforcing against *Rocab Bassa* to bee their Governor, they entered the Seraglio: where after some expostulations they received by *Rocab* an answer like the former, and no more satisfying; nay with bending bee the chiefe Officers and Commanders, by taking their oathes upon the Alchoran, That they saw the Grand Signior lay his hand upon the Booke, swearing there should be no more given them in such sort as they demanded. They were prompted now to a new suspicion, That the Grand Signior the night before had caused his three brethren to be made away, after they had been preferred to the souldiers. This emboldened them to an insolence that had force enough: for no resistance had power to repell them from entring the Grand Signiors chamber, upon which his force expect themselves, and as *Virgill* said of *Turnus* when the fury appeared to him, H I

Illi membra novus solvit formidine torpor.
Arrectæque horrore comæ & vox faucibus hæsit.

Which include this sense:

A new amazement made his limbes to shake;
His haire stood up, and words his mouth forsake. K

So this sudden fear proceeding from the apprehension of an apparent danger, and pacifying to him now the manner of his brethren, of which hee appeased it selfe in a trembling and long silence. But as there is in *Mars* (this or certaine fore secret) that commands fabricks and swears their actions and encourages by bloud making so bee it begot a precedent Tragedie, neither had the souldiers beheld their King, but his presence was enough to the pacifie of their wonted innocence, and suffered them only to demand the death of *Mustaph Bassa* their beard General; finishing it with a complaint, That the King would formerly yeeld to the counsels of them that contained and procured such an ill as his death: desiring withall, that they might again for the three heads on the Grand Signiors for that matter, (on which the Vulgar feed eagerly, and L

minimis saepe malis in magna cadit)

had pollisht them with a suspicion of a mutiny. The Grand Signior finding himself distressed, and in such a plaine, suffered himselfe to be humbled so far by his force, that hee gave way to all their requests, and finding for his brethren the expected three noble souldiers. When seeing them [illegible] grant their request; accompanying them to the grand Signiors favour [illegible] to the chiefe Officers and Ministers about them (even the face the King's face) to be counsell of the young Princes safety; for if they M misconstrued, the souldiers [illegible] their lives from the officers.

The upshot of this [illegible] especially by the grand Signiors command for finding out the figure of the Sorcerer, and the Defender, with towards proposed to the diligence concerning of his Commands. So that the next morning following, the

Aga

A Aga being distressed, was by order from the grand Signior delivered into the hands of the Souldiers; who presently tore him in pieces, and hanged up diverse parts of his limbes in several places of the city. His death was the chastisement of this tragedie, which had few spectators more than the actors themselves, for all men, especially strangers, were inforced to secure themselves as well as they could within their own houses, till the violence of the storm being quite over, and a serene skie of peace and order appearing, they might without danger attend their severall occasions.

This mutinie left behind it the dregs of many ensills, that poisoned the State, and made it breake out into many dangerous impositions: which fearing of revenge on the grand Signiors part, for the losse of his officers and servants, durst not venture on to cure by violent incision, neither policie of Counsellors practise upon, by the digestion or purging of precious humours. For if the grand Signior had anew provoked the souldiers by punishment, hee had brought upon himself and the Empire an inevitable danger: for the souldiers were now grown perfect in the Tenent, *Populus consentiens regnum dat & auferit*; and if the counsell had prevailed, That *Mustafa Bassa* (because the death of *Hussemph Bassa* being the ground of the mutiny, there could be no perfecter quieting of the mutiniers, than the full revenge of his death upon the instruments of his death, the chiefe whereof was *Mustafa Bassa*) should be delivered up to the souldiers, he being a gallant brave fellow, and in charge of General upon the borders of Persia, would rather have turned rebell to the grand Signior, and been a scourge to the souldiers, than yeelded up himselfe a sacrifice to their fury; either of which would have brought B the State into a new disorder, and consequently into a new danger of subversion: For, C

Ordine servato, mundus servatur, at illo
Neglecto perit, totus & orbis abit.

Order being kept, the world is kept, but when
That is neglected, all the world's gone then.

The time now of the Turks Bayram was come, which helpt much to the setling of these disorders, which having found successe according to their unruly wils of the souldiers, begot such insolence amongst the generalitie of common people, That all bloudactions, thefts, and murders were coloured under the name of the souldiers, and executed many times even in the presence of the Magistrate. And of this danger the Dutch Embassadour very narrowly missed his share, for the souldiers having pretended their interest in certaine ships lading with corn (a trading thing of the most dangerous consequence) taken in the Archipelago by Flemmings, and by them made prize of, assaulted the Embassadours house, who had no other rescue than to refer it to a tryall of justice. Upon which judgement was given by the Captaine Bassa, that a present restitution should be made: but the Embassadour appealing to the great Vizier, it was ordered he should stand to a tryal before the Cadilisker. The event whereof was that some severall restitution to the souldiers and many bribes to the officers (men seldome without the vice of which *Diphilus* saith; *Nisi lucrum fecerit, nemo quidem improbum fuerit*: he purchased a costly peace, and remained for a time in some safety. 1632. D

E The French Embassador likewise had trouble of the same nature, about a ship of Tripolis in Barbary bound for the Port. Which falling into the hands of some Maltezi supposed to be French, a French ship that was bound out was detained for restitution, and after the like trouble and expense of mony, released to the Embassador.

Elcan Bassa about this time, having for some time concealed his discontents (the grounds whereof were likewise unknowne, unlesse his Ambition, that whetted him to the desire of of honours, which either the grand Signiors jealousie, or the States, refused to bestow upon him) declared himselfe in open rebellion, and having fortified in a towne called Magnesia, but two dayes journey from Smyrna, hee much infested the Countrey round about with his outrages and depredations: insomuch that the Consull and merchants at Smyrna were inforced for their safety to transport themselves and goods to Scio.

The news of this rebellion no sooner arrived at the Port, but the grand Signior gave order for the suppressing of it, and forthwith a sufficient strength was sent against the Rebel, under the conduct of severall Captaines: who falling upon *Elcan* (being abroad in pursuit of prey) a fierce battel was fought, in which victory fell to the grand Signiors party, most of the rebels being

being slain or taken, only [illegible] kept himselfe undiscovered. G

This Victory [illegible] Port. But the Grand Signior amongst other resolutions, [illegible] punishment, because the [illegible] *cassé, peut est innocent*, [illegible] his Sonne, and amongst his subjects, the memory of the souldiers [illegible] the great Visier: who though in himselfe innocent, [illegible] to be the first mover in those tumults, which [illegible] One argument to convince him, [illegible] a voluntary occasion of himselfe. But [illegible] the Grand Signior vsing [illegible] sentence, [illegible] H

Absolutum non fugit, dum fugit.

Vpon this sentence [illegible] into the Seraglio, under pretence of some serious affaires, [illegible] upon the seventh day of May, and the same day another [illegible] This act of the Grand Signiors caused some [illegible] to venge his death: but sufficed it for their actions: [illegible] being placed in Perisa with some part of them, and the rendezvous of the rest, [illegible] against the Rebell *Elias Bassa*, I not yet fully dissolved, the want of number to perfect such rizzons attempts, might be the occasion of their quietnesse; which some opposed disturbed in any the least murmuring.

1633. The Captaine Bassa being a man insinuated into the very bosome of the Grand Signior, became the chiefe mover in many actions of this place: the fatal relation to the English chiefely, and one the most lamented for the ill successe, which caused a losse not to be repaired, the order of which followeth. The Captaine Bassa being aboard with the squadron of gallies in the Bay of Callandra, there lay then at anchor in the same Bay two English ships, called the *Hester*, and the *Willow* and *Triple*, which ships were lade and ready to come. Vpon Whitsunday in the morning, by the breake of day, the ships discovered thirty sayle of gallies to come suddenly vpon them, whereupon they weighed anchor, got vp their yardes, and fitted their ships, and towed out; for that they were two miles from shore when the gallies came thwart them, and it being a flat calme, were easily by them; the ships saluting them peaceably, but receiving no answer, till the Bassa put forth his bloody colours, and running betwixt them and the shore, by those signals declared his intention of fight, having put his gallies in forme of a halfe Moone. The [illegible] which was Master *Harrison* Master) being the accomplisht, and [illegible] the Bassa distributed his prisoners twice, the second being so lamentable, when presently the Bey of Algiers lay hard aboard with some gallies that discharged their pieces at the boarding, with which they did so much spoil, that the Bey commanded the ships to be fired, and possest themselves of the cuddy round house, and got to sea, carrying many some of the men from the Captaines quarter into their owne gally. By this time the Captaine Bassa, and the Chiaus, with divers other prime gallies, did the like by the other ship the *Hester*; who at first encounter beat them off, then from their [illegible] and enforced the Captaine Bassa to leave his owne gally, and betake him to the main mast, where had there been enough in the ship, they might have taken the Admirall gally easily. The endeavour of the other ship beginning to play against, there was some hope of victory, but the main strength of the gallies comming vp and encompassing them, they were enforced to shoot the ordnance at anchor, which for want of cooling fired their ships, the Admirall gally [illegible] by being fastned in one of their ports: for that seeing themselves [illegible] (whereof there but a small endeavour) holding out to offend the gallies [illegible] and plying their fire vollies, at length being no longer able to endure [illegible] should be fained [illegible] all the men that remained alive, [illegible] gallies, and yielded to the mercy of the water or the

A the enemy, refusing in this desperate state, like good Christians, to be their own executioners. Some of them were killed as they endeavoured to get to shore. The two Captaines, Master *Harris* and Master *Wilde*, with others to the number of threescore, were taken vp and put on the water: for the ships (after their decks were burnt) sinking, the fight ended, which had continued foure houres. There were slaine of Turks in this sea fight, one thousand and seven hundred: amongst whom were diners Beglies of great note; the Captaine Bassa himself escaping very narrowly, not without some hurts, and the Admirall gally with many others made vnremeiceable. 1633.

The Captaine Bassa returning to the Port, having insinuated himselfe into the favour of the Grand Signior, preferred his complaint, which he hoped a satisfaction from English Merchants: howbeit the actors in this were hastily punished, for their ill shewing their English valour, by the losse of their ships, and their miserable captivities: so that they might be conceived capable of no more, but death: the execution whereof had beene next to liberty, a mercy. There was some pretence of plea against the Capitulations of Peace on the English part in this point broken, for that the voyage of the two ships was vnlawfull: but the Embassadours endeavours prevailed, to have the severity of that opinion mitigated, and construed otherwise, by declining it to the persons; who notwithstanding had his compassion so faire, that he laboured earnestly for their redemption, and procured Letters from his Majesty of Great Britaine to the grand Signior in their behalfe. The forme whereof followeth. B C

CHARLES, by the grace of the most high God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, the most puissant Defendor of the true Christian Faith.

D *To the most high and mighty Emperor, Sultan Mocra Han, chiefe Lord and Commander of the Mussulman Kingdomes, sole and supreme Monarch of the Eastern Empire, sendeth Greeting.*

WE have received advertisement from our Embassadour resident at your glorious Port, That this Summer your Captaine Bassa being at Sea, assaulted with his whole fleet, two of our Merchants ships, and forcing them to their defence, did with the spoile of many of his gallies, and with the desperation of many hundreds of his men, gain nothing in the end, but the burning of both the ships, and the retreating from the Sea, E of a few resolute men, whom he hath worthily made his slaves. If they had committed Piracy, or done any violence or wrong to your Subjects, we would not present or defend them in any such offence, but would our selves have executed some justice upon them, as have your selves upon such like complaints we have done: But being now assured that these ships peaceably in faire and peaceable manner, not for spoile or wealth, but for trade, as Merchants use in those parts; and that so soone as the Bassa came in sight, the Sea-men did hinder them, and shewed him such the vsuall respect, that to a friendly sit the Merchants in honour to your Imperiall person, offered him a present. We can no other wise esteeme of the Bassaes hostile inventions, without commission, & in fury, but as a most vnjust act, and most dishonourable in a Commander, under so great a Monarch, whose power he disteyned by so vnworthy and vnpolitic engagement. That then we expect from your Majesties Imperiall justice, and therefore we assure our selves in regard of the antient amity between our Crowns, is, That

1629. you will make [illegible] of [illegible] in setting G
free all our Subjects, and of [illegible] to signify disappro-
ment of your Magnificence and [illegible] so [illegible] and so finde
no Aft.

This will [illegible] so doing been profitable to the
interests of both our Princes, [illegible] more the free com-
merce of our Subjects, to the great [illegible] of your Customes: And finally, will magnifie in
your mentue the lustre of the [illegible] in the eyes of all the world. This We
commende [illegible] H

Given at our Royall Palace of White-Hall, in
the yeare of our Lord 1633. being the ninth
yeare of our reigne of Great Britaine, France,
and Ireland.

These Letters being delivered by the Embassadour, prevailed but little to the end intended, which was redemption of the Captaines: but rather raised the memory of the losse suffered on the grand Signiors part by the action of the two ships, which on the suddenly brought him to a determination of putting them all to death. But the execution was prevented by the diligence of the Embassador, and some of them delivered to him upon securitie. In the meane time a Proclamation was made in his Majestie of great Britaines Court of Starre-Chamber, that prohibited all English from Contrade in the Levant, thereby to give the Grand Signior a fuller satisfaction, and to prevent the other Public [illegible] under dissolution. By this the Embassador conceived new hopes to perfect his mediate of Charitie, and the Captaines. But the two Captaines, before any thing could be brought to effect, were made incapable of any benefit but buriall and memory; the one dying in the English Embassadours house, the other in the Bastio. I

In this year a sudden fire [illegible] (the original whereof though directly suspected, could have no clear discovery) made [illegible] part of the City of Constantinople, that it is left as it were of purpose unbuilt, to confirme the report which the Turkes give of it, that it consumed in a very short space seventy thousand houses. A [illegible] which may aptly [illegible] K

Notque [illegible]

The Persian Wars [illegible] and noise, but little successe: the Persians being [illegible] they [illegible] to command it, seeming in the beginning [illegible] L
fortune (the [illegible] confidence of their confidence Disorder. [illegible] made for the succour thereof, and so [illegible] in Persia. Orders being sent to all the Bashas in Asia, that they should repaire [illegible] succour, who should meet at a place appointed for [illegible] Spahies to be joined with them.

This resolution of [illegible] the grand Signiors intent to go himself [illegible] M
keeping of some souldiers at home [illegible] and the
fect that [illegible] fresh discontent [illegible] danger, inva-
sion. The grand Signior [illegible] them to some sa-
with a part of the [illegible] forth
the report of Vans being [illegible] in
strength

A strength and number) his judgement commanding his valour, hee withdrew himselfe by the way of Aleppo; where hee remained some time, under colour of staying the further proceeding of the Persians. And that hee might not returne without the doing of some thing that might render him honourable to opinion, he wrought so, that a notable [illegible] was executed upon the Cadee there, a man that was learned, and so had practised himselfe to sell justice honourably, to the best advantage of the buyer, and some [illegible] cheaper than other Ministers had formerly done. This had so great a shew of an offence, that it caused him to be arrested by the grand Signior, and as he was found, so caused in fetters to be a slave at Cyprus; his haire being first cut, and the great estate of which he was possessed, seised upon and confiscate to the vse of the State: who rather complied with the severe proceedings against 1629.
B this great Iudge for that end; and though his crime were not personall, it was a politique act of state, for the vse which the grand Signior had of his money, to satisfie the souldiers and prevent a mutiny.

The suspition had of strangers, began now to move the wheeles of some practises upon them. The first whereof was, the searching of all Christians houses in generall; as well subjects as strangers, that the intention of the State might not so easily be discovered; & the longer they were kept in suspense, the greater their feares would be, and work the more upon them to the advantage of what was intended:

C *Multos in summa pericula misit*
Venturi timor ipse mali.

So the feares of all men, joined with their ignorance of what would be the event, made them fell vselesse to the prevention of what they most feared would follow. The officers imployed in this search of houses, sealed up many, and after three or four dayes continuance of it, a new terror was added to the former, to increase the apprehension by an example. For they having taken one that being borne in that countrey, had for many yeares together passed for a Venetian merchant, and had married one of his daughters to a Drugge man of the Venetian Embassadors, (by which he had better commeniencie for his practise in the trade of merchandise) they caused him to prison, and on the day following, after some formal triall and a sentence of
D death were passed upon him, they returned him home to his own house, and there upon a net which he had made on his house, hanged him; putting forth a red flag for a signall, but of what, the amazed beholders were still ignorant: until at length it was [illegible] that the flag was a signe only, whereby the grand Signior might discern, that the merchant [illegible] and his house and goods confiscate, which the next day were seised upon by the officers, and all things portable caused away.

This entrance being made, the same day they proceeded further, in apprehending all stranger merchants, in whose houses they had found a sword, a gunne, or pistoll, or any the least weapon whatsoever; making it so criminall, that judgement was presently given for their
E deaths, who would not yeeld to purchase their lives with money; and but a very short time allowed for consideration. But this was condescended to, and the ransome of every Merchant of the foure Nations, English, Venetian, French, and Dutch, set at 2000 dollars apiece. The feares still of what end these proceedings would have, increased by new actions that seconded the former, and had shew of greater consequence; as if they had ordered the mischiefe intended, to have its gradation, and so conclude. For now the Captaine Bassa sent to the foure Embassadours to convene them into the Arsenall: Whither they being come, the Bassa appearing, desired their expectance of what he should say when hee returned from the Grand Signior to them. Their doubts questionlesse were great, and they [illegible] resolution, that

F *Gaudet patientia duris.*

for they were where they were sure securitie of justice would be vsed if they were delinquents, and libertie in outrages would find but little suppression by the [illegible] of their persons,

1633. persons, as the [illegible] Leaves of Nations. After they had some time expected the Captaine Bassa, [illegible] Ambassadors, requested [illegible] his Majesty of Great Britain might have; and that if two small ships had done so much mischiefe, more might be done with two hundred; declaring withall to the chiefe officers of the Port, the ridgednesse of the fact so fully, that not one would stand to the defence or justification of the same, but rather from their owne mouthes condemning it, in so much, that the course of the proceeding was knowne to be repented, and the death of those that were the projectors of such a disturbance. This gave some encouragement to the Ambassadors to demand a satisfaction by restitution, as also security for future times. To the first answer was made by the Captaine Bassa in the name of the Grand Signior, That whereas their weapons were brought before the face of the Grand Signior, they could not be with his honor returned against, but they might have others freely: and for restoring of the money extorted from Merchants, the Grand Signior had such vegent occasions for it, that at the present it could not be well done; but a large recompence should be made in due time. Thus did these Turkish policies when they had no other colour, plainly declare themselves in their colours; and the Ambassadors were now sued to and intreated by the Captaine Bassa in the name of the Grand Signior, that they would speake no farther of the business, but that all might be forgotten, and no farther resentment had: and it should be confirmed for the future, that all due respect should be given to them, and especiall care had of the Merchants. In whereof he presented them severally with vests in the name of the Grand Signior, according to the custome when he honoureth and admitteth any one. The French Ambassador only shaked not in these testimonies, for the small satisfaction he gave, [illegible] the chiefe cause that a suspition was begotten of others; and their weapons being taken away was a prevention by disabling them from joyning in any attempt. For the Grand Signiors tyranny had caused all men to feare him; *metuisse est vi nolens tiranni, quem nolis timere.* But such were the distastes conceived against the French Ambassador by the Grand Signior, that his death was determined; the execution whereof was with much danger to the disturbers deferred, and afterwards upon advice changed to another punishment. Yet there was no other knowne reason for this hate of the new Ambassador, but what has formerly been related; so that it seemed rather an antipathy in the Grand Signior, that could like no thing of the Ambassador *Comte de Marchevilles* well, though he could [illegible] thing for his dislike, but like *Catullus*,

Nescio quis Volusi, &c.

I do not love thee *Volusius*, but for what,
Know not: I only know I love thee not.

Some small time as length made a perfect discovery of the true foundation on which these practises were built. Which was this, The former Ambassador [illegible] had declared himselfe ready to comply with occasions, and some necessity, as he [illegible] which he seemed to have more regard of his Nations, than his owne particular [illegible] during the time of his employment, more through the many offences committed by the French (for which the Grand Signior would have satisfaction) than through any personall [illegible] nesse, he borrowed so much, that his debts were summed to three hundred thousand Dollars, of which a share belonging to the English was sixty thousand Dollars. This being signified the French King sent his command in an expresse to the towne of *Marseilles*, that they should comply with this debt, and gave the towne a priviledge to lay [illegible] upon the trade for six yeares; which was accepted of, and to principall men (of the Deputies of the towne) arrived some sooner at the Port to take order in the business, bringing with them thirty six thousand Dollars to repay amongst the Creditors. Which money the Ambassador,

1633. G H I K L M

they

A ——they are tyrants, which
Kill and rob others themselves to enrich.

1633.

This being the present state of things in the Imperiall Port, the English Ambassador, in the behalfe of his King and Nation, did some offices to make known the [illegible] his Majesty of Great Britain might have; and that if two small ships had done so much mischiefe, more might be done with two hundred; declaring withall to the chiefe officers of the Port, the ridgednesse of the fact so fully, that not one would stand to the defence or justification of the same, but rather from their owne mouthes condemning it, in so much, that the B course of the proceeding was knowne to be repented, and the death of those that were the projectors of such a disturbance. This gave some encouragement to the Ambassadors to demand a satisfaction by restitution, as also security for future times. To the first answer was made by the Captaine Bassa in the name of the Grand Signior, That whereas their weapons were brought before the face of the Grand Signior, they could not be with his honor returned against, but they might have others freely: and for restoring of the money extorted from Merchants, the Grand Signior had such vegent occasions for it, that at the present it could not be well done; but a large recompence should be made in due time. Thus did these Turkish policies when they had no other colour, plainly declare themselves in their colours; and the Ambassadors were now sued to and intreated by the Captaine Bassa in the name C of the Grand Signior, that they would speake no farther of the business, but that all might be forgotten, and no farther resentment had: and it should be confirmed for the future, that all due respect should be given to them, and especiall care had of the Merchants. In whereof he presented them severally with vests in the name of the Grand Signior, according to the custome when he honoureth and admitteth any one. The French Ambassador only shaked not in these testimonies, for the small satisfaction he gave, [illegible] the chiefe cause that a suspition was begotten of others; and their weapons being taken away was a prevention by disabling them from joyning in any attempt. For the Grand Signiors tyranny had caused all men to feare him; *metuisse est vi nolens tiranni, quem nolis timere.* But such were the distastes conceived against the French Ambassador by the Grand Signior, D that his death was determined; the execution whereof was with much danger to the disturbers deferred, and afterwards upon advice changed to another punishment. Yet there was no other knowne reason for this hate of the new Ambassador, but what has formerly been related; so that it seemed rather an antipathy in the Grand Signior, that could like no thing of the Ambassador *Comte de Marchevilles* well, though he could [illegible] thing for his dislike, but like *Catullus*,

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bassador *Count de [illegible]* [illegible] upon, and connected to his owne vse, without any re-
G gard to clere the all[illegible] [illegible] laid in his new buil-
dings. Vpon this [illegible] Creditors,
finding no other relief [illegible] office. Where having centred and pressed
their [illegible]
[illegible] Bassa [illegible]
[illegible] for the Cri-
minall of [illegible] Bassa [illegible] the
[illegible] Bassa [illegible] which
[illegible] and their
[illegible]

1634. The Captaine Bassa [illegible] with the
Grand Signior [illegible] H
the [illegible] Bassa [illegible]
[illegible] Selfe, all
that in the [illegible] remembred,
the owe [illegible] the Mufti:
fested himselfe secretly, [illegible] Signior [illegible] his ni-
ece for in himselfe [illegible] and by the command
of the Grand Signior [illegible] such si-
I tisfaction, that the [illegible] before they had begun any di-
stance.

By the [illegible] the Gallies and Galeasses [illegible] some messages
upon the [illegible] Grand Signior [illegible] with Po-
[illegible] their fa-
[illegible] Mounth of Aprill, the Grand Signior withdrew himselfe to his [illegible] pitched two
miles out of the [illegible] and [illegible] in his march to-
wards [illegible] rill all the forces of the Bassa were joyned to his
army. The Captaine Bassa [illegible] with the gallies to receiue the fa-
ther [illegible] of the Gallies, and [illegible] to Belgrade, by land to the
general rendezvous. The Bassa [illegible] with his troupes, consisting of about fe-
K ven [illegible] Mounth marched to Nalliach, and [illegible] to Belgrade, where the
Bassa of Temesvar, joyning his forces with those of Belgrade and Bosna, they held them-
selves [illegible] side of the [illegible] leaue to the Ian-
zaries, Spahies, and Venturies, at their owne discretions, [illegible] the generall ren-
dezvous. Here they expected *Mourath Bassa*, who five dayes after came in with a few foot, but
foure thousand horse of the Spahi Timariots, [illegible] and dexterous men in
the vse of their armes that the Grand Signior hath. From thence they marched all together
to Adrianople, where the Grand Signior [illegible] shift a messenger vnto
sent into Poland with [illegible] and [illegible] to his satis-
L faction. For conceiving an honourable peace to be much better than a vengeance by an in-
[illegible] sent by the Grand Signior [illegible] for
[illegible] for the King of Poland [illegible] they were [illegible] agreed
[illegible] Grand Signior [illegible] dismissed,
[illegible] into a procec-
[illegible] it [illegible] the last in-
[illegible]

[illegible] Grand Signior [illegible] these new difficulties
[illegible] French [illegible] the Captaine Bassa gaue
[illegible] the Grand Signior, that he commanded presently
M the [illegible] France, [illegible] the Captaine Bassa conten-
ting [illegible] of [illegible] was presently given
[illegible] and to carry
[illegible] commanded
within

A within three houres after to set saile and depart, in a most confused and disordered manner,
not allowing the Embassador so much time were disposed of anything in his house. Neither
were any suffered to be imbarqued with him [illegible] Yet his Secretary and
the rest of his family were suffered to remaine here in the Bassa, till they had [illegible]
all things and follow him with the Bassa, and to remaine behind as the Cadiis.

This difference and distraction flung up new stones in the other Embassadors way, that he
would be practised upon them. But these feares vanished quickly, by a declaration of the
B grand Signiors Order, That the Captaine Bassa should [illegible] the ancient friendship, of the good
friendship and correspondence which he would preserue with their Masters, and the effects
behaued [illegible] his person. Requesting them not to vnderstand it truly, that the French Embas-
sadour [illegible] offending, but alone should bee punished; and that of the officious the French
King should be thoroughly informed. It was concluded likewise, that the old Embassador *Mon-
sieur de Cesse* should execute the Charge, which he condescended vnto, and all the former
distractions were settled in a second quiet. It was expected that this difference would cause
C great resentment to be had abroad amongst the Frenchmen, and produce some hostile effects,
but it happened otherwise. For the French knowing of what great consequence their Trade
in the Leuant is, and that it cannot bee maintained but by a peaceable correspondence with
the grand Signior, dissembled it so fare, that it scarce became questionable; and in stead of
vindicating the Embassadours honour so much as with a complaint, prouided to accomo-
date the debts of the old Embassador *Monsieur de Cesse*, and then to send another.

The Captaine Bassa, who had long preserued himselfe in grace and fauour with his master, 1632
and managed the great employments of the State without suspition, ended his office vnsa-
tisfactorily, by being preferred and sent Bassa to Buda. For amongst Turkes the policie is frequent,
to squeeze the wealth gotten by any one in office, into the grand Signiors treasury; & where
pretences faile sufficiently to gloss the act, plaine tyrannie shall shew it selfe, rather than
their wills want execution. With this Bassa it fell out otherwise; for though he had more in-
riched himselfe than any other, by his seuere justice, exactions, and interposing himselfe
wherefoever the business might assure his profit, yet did hee escape without being qualifi-
ned. And though the grand Signior might know his faults, and commiserate them, yet his
D missiou, that should haue beene a punishment, was nothing but a translation vnto another
Honour, and a reward for his vertue that found an Opinion; by this fortune as it were con-
firming.

——Sors & virtus miscentur in vnum.

A resolution began now to settle it selfe in the grand Signiour, to make Persia the onely
object of his attempts: for his Honour had suffered more by that Enemy than any other, and
their force [illegible] had lessened him both in Fame and Empire. Now great designes require
their counsels, (without which the beginning cannot promise a fine end) he begins to lay
E a foundation for his proceedings, & to order them so, that many particulars should haue some
relation to policie. The ground of the Warre was the same in euery one, which could not
yet be remoued, and had for many ages vpheld a quarrell. The Other was, that himselfe
would go in person, performing as *Cæsar* did, that Fortune was bound to attend him. Then his
Iniziaries were all designed for the expedition, that in so dangerous an enterprise he might
deface them politiquely, as men that he had great reason to be jealous of, for that they were
almost growne to a militarie Anarchy, like the Prætorian bands of the Romans. Besides, their
late vprores were yet vnpunished; for their disobedience would not submit to any justice, and
when a sentence had past, their own strength would resist the execution: so that no practise
but this, could expresse the grand Signior in his power over them. All things being now in
F readinesse, he caused his Tents to be pitched in Scutari on the *Asian* side, whither after two
dayes he passed over himselfe, and thence matched forward to *Erzirum*, where he appointed
the generall Rendezvous to be hope. From thence he proceeded with his numerous army, and
besieged *Erzirum*, a place of great consequence; where for a time he [illegible]
but at length took it, and furnishing his souldiers with some spoile, [illegible]

Lauris; where finding no resistance (for the Persians [illegible] their strength for some [illegible] and barren country) he [illegible] C
ter he had made a [illegible] venienceses, and some [illegible] for hostes of revenge [illegible] sumoway of Arzinum [illegible] spell.

The Captaine Basha [illegible] of Gallies; pretending [illegible] Archers to lade Corn and [illegible] into the
in-cury Port, with intent [illegible] outrageous [illegible] H
But the Captaine Basha's [illegible] science, to others [illegible] likewise being lesse powerfull [illegible]

1636. The grand Signior [illegible] strength of the Persians (which being [illegible] it were vnterly dissolued) he [illegible] die of a most power in Army. When all their [illegible] payd sacrifices of vowes to *Nemesis*, and confirmed in a resolution of revenge, they marched
I toward Reivan (which the grand Signior the year before had [illegible] against which they layd
a strong siege. The Garrisons of the Turks which [illegible] the grand Signior, to
prevent their intrenching [illegible] them, where the losse
was more on the Turkes part than the Persians; for [illegible] to their
walls and victualling, till they had [illegible] Signior, with declaration
of their distresse. Which the grand Signior [illegible] dispatched Basha both into
Asia and Grecia, to hasten and [illegible] souldiers to their relief. He appointed also the
Ianizarie Aga to follow with the Ianizaries. [illegible] of their Bayram, by re-
[illegible] which their deuotions delayed the [illegible] Iouis also re-
solued, that the grand Signior should [illegible]
K and if the successe were not answerable to their designes, he should Winter at Aleppo, and
the Spring following fall again into Persia. But the Persians taking hold of opportunitie,
stayed not to expect famine for their instruction, [illegible] the Turkes
but fiercely assaulted it, and with [illegible] all the Turkes they found therein either to the sword or ransom.

The report of this losse [illegible] the grand Signior fell [illegible] consult his own safety, which [illegible] a possibilitie in humane providence. For the [illegible] much discontentment, [illegible] L
zier: for the Embassage with the Persians [illegible] by the grand Vi-
war, but the consultation of greater [illegible] mighty Empires. Besides, they [illegible] spoiles: so that
they are either incited by [illegible] the later of which [illegible] to the Wars of Hungary and Poland [illegible] ward them by [illegible] booty, where the [illegible] of large
This danger of the [illegible] Signior, nor
put him into any personall feare, till [illegible] M
nence of what they [illegible] Basha, [illegible] by the [illegible] of some
mischeuous State-[illegible] Signiors intention of [illegible] of his fetching,
fell in the Persians [illegible] they could
come

A come to the relieve of Reivan, they were not yet much weakened, and this [illegible] the 1636.
Grand Signiors disaffection towards them, instructed their disloyall inclinations to all sorts
of agreeable practises. Besides, they had now learned amongst other diuellish secrets since
the shedding of themselues in their Soueraigns blood, Sultan *Osman*, and in the deposing,
restoring, and deposing again of *Mustapha*, how to make and vnmake a King at their pleasure.
So that the Grand Signior seemeth a Steward only intrusted with a government, which his
slaues crave account of, and transferre as their humours and affections sway them. Every
one amongst these rebellious tumultuants seemed very full of counsels; and none would al-
low a proceeding to action, till they had ordered the progresse by a rule: which was so di-
uerslie proposed, that it could haue no positiue confirmation. For some aduised to the depo-
B sition of their Emperor, which others that were not so well affected to innouation opposed,
with reasons of satisfaction: and that if the Grand Signior would make amends by some
acknowledgement of his il intents towards them, and confirme their order and priuiledges,
his gouernment (being one that by experience had made himselfe sensible of their power)
might be more profitable to them than euer, whose disposition as yet vndiscouered, might
make their courses and liues subject to incertainties. For the Grand Signior in the begin-
ning of his reigne, by reason of his few yeares (which exceeded not fifteene) expressed a mou-
tall inclination to action, which he hath since continually practised: and this had settled
some good opinion of him in the inconstant souldiers, who liue by it; though many of late,
(contrary to their first institution, and the long continued course which the former emperors
C had seuerely tied them to) applyed themselues to merchandise, and other enriching meanes,
neglecting as it were the profession they were ordained to, but as the very instant of imploi-
ment. A third sort whom the thought of reuenge had possest, (to which the worst spirits are
most subject;

——Quippe minuti
Semper, & infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas
Vltio) ——

D proposed their Soueraignes death, who had practised their subuersion. But this relisht not
so well generally; for their former outrage had made them the subjects of censure so sauce,
that all States condemned it, and themselues lamented. Many dales were wasted with these
conuentions, that dissolued still with new doubts; so that the Grand Signior had time e-
nough for preuention, which was ordered by the great Visiers, remaining at Arzinum with
the army, where he wintered, that so the want of number might make their suppression the
easier. For if the Spahies that were discontented abroad, had beene joyned to the Ianizaries
mutining at home; their addition would haue beene oyle to a flame, and haue [illegible] *inuiolate*, till there had beene left no matter for their fury to feed on. The Grand Signior like-
wise distributed large sums amongst them, and purchased some part of his safety thereby.
The great Visier likewise being waiting, they had no object for their outrage: for he was
E only suspected to practise with the Grand Signior (as *Delauie Basha* did formerly with *Osman*) to erect a new *Militia*, for the supplanting of the Ianizaries, that should be maintained
with lesse charge and danger. In conclusion, there remained not the [illegible] of this
confused building, but the feare that another might be raised, if the Ianizaries should haue
their new proportions to fall again to worke. And though their idlenesse at home, might
haue giuen occasion of disturbance from the vnsettlednesse of their thoughts (for

——Variam semper dant otia mentem)

which would be feared if action diuerted them from other objects, there had beene no de-
F signe thought of since, but the regulating of these Ianizaries, and preuenting the [illegible]
temper, by a more fair distribution of dowries amongst them. Only the great Visier made
some incursions into Persia, the successe whereof answered not the expectation of [illegible]
vnlikelihood.

This being the present state of the *Ottoman* Emperors, contented with [illegible]

[illegible] accident; (which have [illegible]) and the procedure, given occasion to the ensuing consideration.

First, the greatness of the Turkish Empire, [illegible] by fortune, [illegible] by [illegible]; [illegible] influence, [illegible] Further they have found it by experience; [illegible] time [illegible] way to manage, [illegible] the Power of Christian, [illegible] in [illegible] patience. Besides, whose [illegible] accessing [illegible] H

Cunctis [illegible] quisque [illegible].

This conjecture [illegible] in the disposition of all force [illegible] any time will [illegible] the hands of all they conquer, [illegible] signe that is [illegible] the *empire*, though [illegible] ing [illegible] nature.

[illegible]
[illegible]
At Imperi [illegible]
Et [illegible] est.

Which have this sence: I

The valiant Lion, when he Vanquished
Lies at his feet, [illegible]
But Wolves and [illegible] the Dead;
And [illegible] of [illegible] K

How much this [illegible] Nations, the procedure is [illegible] by the effects; according [illegible] the contrary. For he [illegible] got such a disorder, [illegible] of that sence.

[illegible] tion, [illegible] upon L [illegible] the most difficult [illegible] of Christians would be so force [illegible] fenciblous to [illegible]

And hence [illegible] the Empire declining [illegible] M [illegible]

Secondly, by the success of the Persian, who [illegible] the grand Signior much, by [illegible] addition to it

A [illegible] of the which have been substracted from the grand Seignior. Neither [illegible] fraise be once hoped, where there is nothing but emulation, and [illegible] equally.

——miserâ ambitione laborant.

There are yet other considerations which may infuse a doubt of the empire's dissolution, [illegible] alteration, and to such a form as will scarce present any footsteps of the other. One of which is the Ianizaries disloyall disposition, that hath so dangerously declared it self of late. Insomuch that if the discontented Strangers and Christian subjects were but B able to doe mischiefe, as the souldiers are to desire it, question [illegible] some great event would some show it selfe, and the desire of liberte establish perhaps [illegible] *Ottoman* Kingdom, [illegible] Empire descendeth to the Tartar, whom the Turkes so inwardly hate, that they would admit of any innovation, rather than his government. There would be many by-adventurers of this progresse, if it were set on foot: for every Bassa substituted for his funeral province, would with his owne power endeavor to make himselfe absolute. The Persian would compasse his ends easily; The Egyptians cast off their bondage, and all the Tributaries [illegible] their expences.

C Some aid it would receive by the diversities of the many Nations, whose Kingdomes are subject to this Empire: for being many, doubtlesse they cannot be all so regulated by one forme of government, or made so absolute Turkish, but that the Natives of many Countries preserve something of their owne primitive institutions, which they likewise are better affected to, than what they have learned by a new composition. And though it commeth not within our ease apprehension, how so many Kingdomes should be gotten, and preserved so long (which *Augustus* dissuaded his Romanes from, as an apparent indanguring of all) yet the present Emperor is observed to be more valiant than politique; which is dangerous according to *Euripides*,

[illegible]

D *Sir Thomas More* hath these following, almost to the same purpose:

Regibus ex multis regnum vix sufficit unum.
Vae Reei [illegible], si [illegible].
Regibus è multis regnum [illegible] qui regit unum.
Vae tuae [illegible], si [illegible].

'Tis kingly to desire many Kingdoms; but better to governe one well, than by addition of numbers make the rule dangerous.

E To *This* might give advantage to the Bassa's, if the grand Seignior [illegible] by his policies (whether they be the effects of his tyrannie or his reason) [illegible] strength, and application of it to any vse in designe of [illegible] *Bassa* slew the mother of *Osman*, and *Hassan* slew his disgracer [illegible] cruelty resisted it; the loss of whose destinie could [illegible] policie. Yet there is a kinde of protection, by making the [illegible] themselves, that they feare all in generall degrees to be [illegible] other Nations, which are chiefly the subjects of the grand Seignior [illegible] F the Turkes are single [illegible] all others that are subjected.

A consideration may be had from another argument, of the declension of [illegible] pire, by age, and the present infirmeties that are practised about the [illegible] Sense is singly compared to the little world of man, the infancie [illegible]

the Youth increasing, the mainhood [illegible] but the old age difficult and notable to holdout long, [illegible] yeeld to death, when it finds its ex-C mination. Now as this aged Empire hath many inbred diseases, so is it the more distressed by th. Persian on one side, by force of the Egyptians and Arabs getting hold on another, by the Christians on a third, of which the Polanders in [illegible] being neerest in place, and ofteneest provoked. Besides, his successe hath been some weakning to the grand Signior, insomuch that the free proposition of peace on his part, in the yeare 1634, argued a feare, and doubtlesse there is a fouler season than [illegible] than ever.

The Pyrates and Renegadoes of Algier, Tunes, and Sally (whose actions the grand Signior proceeth, though not their persons, having them in [illegible] point of fidelity to themselves) H have distasted the Christians of late very much, especially our English, by committing diuers outrages on the Westernecoasts of England, as also on the South, South West and West of Ireland, where they adventured to make some inroades, and there carried many much cattel and people for slaves, burning diuers Villages.

Vpon the knowledge whereof, his Maiestie [illegible] appointed a fleet to goe to the Seaights for their suppression, and the redemption of his subjects that were in those parts Captiues. Which Fleet returned towards the latter end of the last yeare 1637, victorious, bringing along an honourable Embassadour from the Emperour of Morocco, with gratulations for the happy successe which he had against the Christians by the aid of the English. The particulars whereof are of more consequence, than to be made (as they are) the subjects of I ridiculous pamphlets, and other idle [illegible] in this History. For the Morocco being a Mahometan in Religion, is likewise a friend of Tolerance to the grand Seignior, though perhaps he payeth it somewhat easily, [illegible] under the colour and [illegible] of a Present, the which doth make it but a degree more honourable. This Prince, (who hath all the attributes of a good man, and is not so much affected to [illegible] particularly obliged for this good seruice of the English, or generally desirous to publish his good inclination, hath from circumstance given hope to Christians of aid in any laudable designe, as this of suppressing Theeues and Rebels, and redeeming Captiues. For the Trade of the Levant hath not so much danger from the vices of Turkish Ministers, as from those former places, the receptacles of Pyrats, most of which are Renegadoes.

Now if the grand Signior should have any alienation of this, and that a Warre should follow between him and the Mosco (who is a powerfull Prince and a [illegible]) he must of necessitie, by translating the seat of it to some Wintering, [illegible] K defenced against the Persian; and the Emperour of Germanie with the aid of the Pole, might be able to do somthing prosperously in Hungary. Besides, the Malteses and Sicilians, if but for neighbourhoods sake, most of necessitie [illegible] the honour of the Order, which hath of late upheld it selfe more by the secrete economies of it in Courts of peace, than by wonnoted action.

But these conceits must be doubtfull, in that they are grounded upon secret and vncertaine intentions. Certaine it is, that the grand Signior is [illegible] in his power, by the corrupted L [illegible] of his [illegible] of any [illegible] much, but that [illegible] Turkish Soldiery consistes now of [illegible] than it formerly did, [illegible] from their [illegible] than the [illegible] of their [illegible] (which [illegible] the [illegible] equalled the [illegible] though the spirit [illegible] of the [illegible].

Some have formerly thought [illegible] to the dissolving M of this so mighty Empire of the Christians, [illegible] of their original, and being the children of Christians [illegible] of the [illegible] accounted Turkish [illegible] by Christians, to supply the number of

A of tributary children, by which their own are preferred to pay the grand Signior tribute and customes; which if they had bin Ianizaries, should have bin distributed to their own [illegible] tenure: The happinesse in this great difference is, by making the lesse part subject to necessities, they preferre the immortall one capable of glory. But those that have learned a Religion full of libertie, and the end (though vainely) promising eternitie, with full fruition of greater pleasures, would hardly be withdrawn to embrace a strict one, whose progresse is conscience and austeritie.

One thing is most remarkable, and may include some apparancies of a change at least in that government; which is, That the Turks begin more and more to leave their barbarisme, and fall to the study of Arts: insomuch that diuers Bassa's write the Annals of their seuerall B Prouinces, in the Arabick, of which they labour also to attaine the elegance. Every one besides is instructed in the Italian, which is now grown the Court language. It is reported likewise by a Gentleman that hath published his journal, how he had obserued some of them affected to Poetry, and that he had seen some Sonets of their composing, which without doubt wil cause some alteration in their manners; according to *Ovid*,

Adde, quod insidiæ sacris à vatibus absunt,
Et facit ad mores ars quoque nostra bonos.

From sacred Poets fraud is absent far,
C And manners by our Art much better'd are.

Yet perhaps the effects of ease and softnesse will shew themselues, as they grow more Scholers, and lesse martiall; which many times hapneth where men are best instructed: And heretofore the lives of the Turks hath bin more practiue than speculatiue, and their actions ordered more from necessitie than consideration.

But as certain and constant fortune is an euill (according to *Sophocles* in *Ajace*;) so the long flourishing state of this empire hath made it the obiect of greater danger, and the change and dissolution is imminent; but to what aduantage of others, is in the prouidence only of him that ordereth all, and hath long suffered this to continue a D scourge for Christians, whose irreligious negligence of their principal duties, have deservedly drawn down that punishment.

FINIS.

¶ A Table or Index, pointing vnto all the most notable things in the History of the Turks before written: wherein such directorie Letters as are set without numbers, are to be still referred to the next number of the Page precedent.

Alexius

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Conrade the third, Emperour of Germanie taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy land, 31, c. cannot be ſuffered to enter into Conſtantinople, but is treacherouſly dealt withall by the Greeke Emperour, 32. with a notable ſpeech encourageth his Souldiers to aduenture the riuer Meander, 33, a. with a great ſlaughter ouerthroweth the Turkes, 34, g. beſiegeth Iconium, and ſo returneth, h.

Conſtantine prince of Bulgaria, with the Tartars inuadeth the territories of Paleologus the Greeke Emperour, and ſpoileth Thracia, 117, b.

Conſtantine the Deſpot ſent by the old Emperour Andronicus his Brother, againſt yong Andronicus his Nephew, 163, a. taken priſoner at Theſſalonica, and miſerably vſed, f.

Conſtantine the Greeke Emperour in vaine craueth aid of the other Chriſtian Princes, 340, k. at the winning of Conſtantinople by the Turke troden to death, 347, b.

Conſtantinople built by Pauſanias, deſtroyed by Seuerus, re-edified by Conſtantine the Great, 342, a. how ſeated, 340, k. taken and ſpoiled by the Latines, 83, a. recouered from the Latines by Alexius Strategopulus, 115, d. betraied vnto the young Emperour Andronicus, 171, d. in vaine beſieged by Amurath the ſecond, 257, f. againe beſieged by Mahomet the Great, 340, k. aſſaulted by the Turke, 346, k. won, 347, c.

Contarenus the Venetian Admirall ſlain 413, f.

Corcutus ſaluted Emperour before his father Baiazet, 437, d. kindly reſigneth the Empire to his father, 438, g. giuen to the ſtudy of Philoſophie, and therefore not beloued of the Ianizaries, 498, k. commeth to Conſtantinople, 491, d. his notable ſpeech vnto his father to perſuade him to reſigne vnto him the Empire before the comming of his brother Selymus, 491, e. comforted by his father, and put in hope of the Empire, 492, m. flieth to Magneſia, 495, a. ſought after by Selymus, hideth himſelfe in a caue, 501, f. is found and taken, 502, g. by the commandement of Selymus ſtrangled, h.

Cortug-Ogli the pyrat perſuadeth Solymanus to beſiege the Rhodes, 570, g.

Coron, Pylus, and Criſſenis Cities of Peloponneſus belonging to the Venetians, yeelded vnto the Turkes, 460, k.

Coron beſieged by the Turkes, 627, f. reliued by Andrea Doria, 632, b. abandoned and forſaken by the Spaniards, 631, f.

Cornaro and Barbadico two ancient Venetian Captaines perſuade the giuing of battell vnto the Turke at Lepanto, 872, b.

Coſſyda ſlaine, 799, d.

[illegible]

327, a. obtaineth divers towns.
Melechsala Sultan of Ægypt and Gerusalem Sultan of Damasco, sueth for peace to the Christian princes at the siege of Damiata, 92, a. encountereth Damiata, before taken by the Christians, 95, c. overthrowetth the Christians, and raiseth the siege, 102, death, 103, c.
Melechsala Sultan of Ægypt overthroweth Robert Earle of Arthois the French Kings brother, 104, f. taketh Lewis the French King prisoner and overthroweth his Army, 105, g. maketh peace with the French King and is suddenly slain by two Mamelukes, 106.
Melechsala Ægyptian Sultan invadeth Syria, and winneth Damasco from the Tartars, 114.
Melechsafaro the Ægyptian Sultan determining to root out all the Christians in Syria and the land of Palestine, is by sudden death taken away, 122, k.
Melechsala Sultan of Damasco by the treason of his Nobilitie dispossessed of his Kingdome, 58, m.
Mestres Bassa sent by Amurath to invade Transylvania, 267, f. beeteth 20000 Turkes were slain by Hunniades, 269, e.
Michael Ducas the Greeke Emperour by Nicephorus Botoniates deposed of his Empire, after he had reigned six yeares and six moneths, 12, c.
Michael Palaologus sleeth vs the Sultan of Iconium, 109, c. called home again by the Emperor Theodorus, and made Great Constable, f. relieveth, and by common consent made Tutor unto the young Emperour, 112, a. himself proclaimed Emperour and crowned, 112, b. by Alexius Cæsar his Lieutenant surprisetth Constantinople, 115, a. enjoyneth the destroyed City, 116, b. murtheth the young Emperour upon a sudden, 117, a. his Army overthrown by the Turkes in Bithynia, 118, g. submitteth the Greeke Church unto the Latins, and for ambition, 144, l. confounded his Subjects in hope of the alteration of their Religion and Government, 145, a. raiseth persecution in the Greeke Church, c. banished by domesticall trouble, doth no despite to accord unto the danger arising from the Turkes in Asia, d. disinherited, e.
Michael Cassi by Orchanes taken prisoner, by him against his will made, 136, m. father of the unhappie Family of the Michael Ottoman the Turkes, 137, a. disinherited

Of [illegible] against him, 140, b. [illegible] by Orchanes, overcome by the Turkes, 144, b.
Michael [illegible] Emperour [illegible] by the Christians, 152, [illegible] overcome by the Turkes and Christians, 155, c.
Michael Emperour by Amurath [illegible] Despot of Moldavia, 1052, a. persuaded by the Transylvanian Prince, conclude against the Turkes, and kill all the Turkes and Janizaries in his Country, 1052, b. [illegible] of the Turkes ground Emirs with all his followers, 1053, b. [illegible] the Turkes [illegible], c. [illegible] the Turkes [illegible] unto the King of Bohemia by his Embassadors displaine, [illegible] d. [illegible] the Turkes Emperour, 1062, g. [illegible] his displeasure against the Turkes, yet [illegible] against the Christians, 1099, d. [illegible] of the Turkes, [illegible] himself with his people under the Emperours protection, 1100, l. [illegible] Nicopolis, 1107, d. [illegible] Emperour [illegible] into Transylvania, 1112, f. [illegible] Bathor, [illegible] the Cardinall [illegible] 1112, g. [illegible] for a Protector to the Emperour, f. death [illegible] of Transylvania by the Emperour [illegible] unto him, 1120, i. [illegible] Despot of Moldavia Turkes, [illegible] Transylvania [illegible] Prince, [illegible] the Despot of Moldavia, 1122, [illegible] in Transylvania, 1123, a. informed by the Transylvanian [illegible] aid of George Basta the Emperours Lieutenant [illegible] Despot of Moldavia, [illegible] Transylvania [illegible] Basta, [illegible] 1127, a. for fear of being betrayed unto the Polonian, [illegible] the Polonian [illegible] Moldavia, and made Despot [illegible] and banished, [illegible] himself unto the Emperour, 1129, b. [illegible] unto Basta [illegible] Basta [illegible] Moldavia [illegible] to Basta [illegible] 1141, a. [illegible] Constantinople, [illegible] b. [illegible] 1364, g. [illegible] the Turkes, [illegible]

[illegible] Moldavia [illegible] 1372, h. with an army of the Turkes, by Mahomet sent into Transylvania against Sigismund King, h. overcome and put to flight by Sigismund King, 374, g. [illegible] of the Turkes, flyeth from Constantinople, and against [illegible] King, f. to Scanderbeg, [illegible] others of Scanderbeg chief Captaines by Rodolphus [illegible] prisoners, and by Mahomet slain [illegible] 356, i.
Mahomet and Partaw two of the Visier Bassaes, by the insolent Janizaries finally interrected, 823, f. Mahomet for feare of them for a time refuseth to come into the Divan, 824, g. displeaseth Selymus from the conquest of Ægypt, 839, b. and for [illegible] unto the Venetians, persuaded by Ayas Bassa, 857, f. cunningly displeaseth Selymus from the conquering of the Christians, by filling his head with more necessary considerations, 866, b. strangely murthered, 950, f.
Mahomet King of Tunis conducted unto Sinan Bassa, 642, g. for feare of Barbarossa fleet bent of Tunis, 643, a. [illegible] unto his fare, 645, d. [illegible] unto Charles the Emperour, 661, d. his speech unto the Emperour, e. his behaviour, 662, b. his opinion concerning the present war, l. three things by him effectually admitted in the speech made by the Christians in the Castle of Tunis, 668, b. fearing the comming of Barbarossa departeth from Tunis into Italie, to create aid of Charles the Emperour, 745, c. fleet out of his Kingdome in the mean time by his fleet divided, [illegible] unto Africke to Goletta, 746, g. going to Tunis, is by them [illegible] Barbarossa, [illegible] his eyes quite out by his [illegible] fleet, 747, d. at the request of Tunetti is sent to Goletta, 748, f. by Charles the Emperour sent to Sicilie, there to be kept of the [illegible] 749, b. refuseth to kisse the Popes foot, f.
Mahomet by the [illegible] people created Emperour, [illegible] to [illegible] Tunisine Elem, 82, b. with his [illegible] strangled the young Prince Alemin, d. [illegible] his souldiers, e. being [illegible] 82, f.
Mahomet sent to Baiazet the first, his speech unto his brother Mahomet, 243, [illegible] the Prince of Tokatia his daughter, e. in the absence of his brother [illegible] at Trebizonda as King, f. [illegible] against his brother Selymus, 244, i. [illegible] with

with his brother Mahomet, 248, l. his chiefe Captaine revolt to Mahomet, 248, l. [illegible] strangled, 249, b. f.
Mahomet a Christian Captaine contendeth with a Turke his prisoner for his ransome, 367, d. is afterward slaine, 370, m.
Mahaphia the supposed sonne of Baiazet raiseth rebellion against Amurath, 255, c. being in feare, flyeth, 256, m. is shamefully hanged, 257, f.
Mahaphia the younger sonne of Mahomet raiseth new troubles against Amurath, 258, k. is betrayed and strangled, l.
Mahaphia Bassa sent by Amurath against Scanderbeg, 302, m. being assaulted in his Campe, flyeth, 303, d. desirous to redeeme his friend disgrace, e. [illegible] Amurath to enter into Epirus, [illegible] it, 311, d. Amurathes letters of admonishment to Mahaphia, e. fighteth with Scanderbeg the second time, 313, a. is overthrown and taken prisoner, b. and afterwards ransomed, c.
Mahaphia Bassa sent by Selymus to the besieging of the Rhodes, 569, g. upwhich [illegible] the siege [illegible] with [illegible] Selymus, 583, f. in danger with Pyrrhus Bassa to have his head executed, 588, k. made Governor of Cairo, 589, [illegible] Selymus sent to Constantinople, [illegible] to Cairo, 754, l. landeth in the Port Marsa Siroc in the Isle of Malta, 798, k. besieged the Castle Saint Elmo, 797, a. assaulteth the Castle, c. in vaine giveth it second assault, 798, g. with losse assaulteth it the third time, [illegible] 799, c. [illegible] 799, c. with great losse [illegible] Goletta, [illegible] Malta, [illegible] the request of Tunetti is sent to Goletta, 748, f. by Charles the Emperour sent to Sicilie, there to be kept of the [illegible] 749, b. refuseth to kisse the Popes foot, f.
[illegible] by the [illegible] people created Emperour, [illegible] to [illegible] Tunisine Elem, 82, b. with his [illegible] strangled the young Prince Alemin, d. [illegible] his souldiers, e. being [illegible] 82, f.
Mahomet sent to Baiazet the first, his speech unto his brother Mahomet, 243, [illegible] the Prince of Tokatia his daughter, e. in the absence of his brother [illegible] at Trebizonda as King, f. [illegible] against his brother Selymus, 244, i. [illegible] with

[illegible] 373, a. put to flight by the Christians, c. hunting lost above four and twenty thousand of his Turkes at the siege, departed from Malta, d. he with Piali Bassa impugneth the counsel of Mahomet the chiefe of the Visier Bassaes, and persuadeth Selymus to invade Cyprus, 839, c. for his behaviour against the Christians made General of his Army for the invasion of Cyprus, 846, g. his Letters unto the Venetians in the Isle of Cyprus, i. he landeth his Army in Cyprus, m. besieged Nicosia, 848, c. in vaine persuadeth them of Nicosia to yeeld, 850, h. he encouraged his souldiers, and giveth a most terrible assault, 851, a. winneth the City, e. besieged Famagusta, 852, raiseth his siege, b. returneth again to the siege, 862, m. after many assaults hath the City by composition yeeld unto him, 866, m. shamefully and contrary to his faith before given, murtheth the valiant Governor Bragadinus, 867, b. tyrannisith upon his dead body, d. by Amurath made General of his Army against the Persians, 929, d. commeth to Erzirum, e. musteretth his Army in number [illegible] and ten thousand strong, 930, g. relieveth his souldiers distressed by the Persians, 931, c. maketh a bulwarke of the heads of the slaine Persians, d. he surveyeth his Army at Archiebeck, and lacketh forty thousand of his men, 932, h. fortifieth Tostia, 933, a. loseth ten thousand of his forces, 934, b. reviveth their heads, l. his [illegible] assaulteth unto his [illegible] souldiers, 935, b. loseth [illegible] thousand of his men in passing the river Choma, c. [illegible] fortifieth Erzi, 936, g. sendeth Osman Bassa to take in Sumachie and Derbeke, h. relieveth his distressed garrison at Tostia, m. his Army in great [illegible] passing the streits of Georgia, 937, [illegible] Erzirum, and discharged his Army, 938, g. [illegible] for the next yeares [illegible] his Army at Erzirum, 942, d. [illegible] Tostia, f. sendeth Sinan to Tostia, 944, f. returneth [illegible] Army, 945, d. discharged of his Government [illegible] Sinan, [illegible] Mosfaphia [illegible] the distresse of Amurath [illegible] suddenly, 948, [illegible] 949, a. [illegible] the Sultan [illegible] 949, b. [illegible] 950, [illegible] 951, [illegible] 952, [illegible] 953, [illegible] 954, [illegible] 955, [illegible] 956, [illegible] 957, [illegible] 958, [illegible] 959, [illegible] 960, [illegible] 961, [illegible] 962, [illegible] 963, [illegible] 964, [illegible] 965, [illegible] 966, [illegible] 967, [illegible] 968, [illegible] 969, [illegible] 970, [illegible] 971, [illegible] 972, [illegible] 973, [illegible] 974, [illegible] 975, [illegible] 976, [illegible] 977, [illegible] 978, [illegible] 979, [illegible] 980, [illegible] 981, [illegible] 982, [illegible] 983, [illegible] 984, [illegible] 985, [illegible] 986, [illegible] 987, [illegible] 988, [illegible] 989, [illegible] 990, [illegible] 991, [illegible] 992, [illegible] 993, [illegible] 994, [illegible] 995, [illegible] 996, [illegible] 997, [illegible] 998, [illegible] 999, [illegible] 1000, [illegible] 1001, [illegible] 1002, [illegible] 1003, [illegible] 1004, [illegible] 1005, [illegible] 1006, [illegible] 1007, [illegible] 1008, [illegible] 1009, [illegible] 1010, [illegible] 1011, [illegible] 1012, [illegible] 1013, [illegible] 1014, [illegible] 1015, [illegible] 1016, [illegible] 1017, [illegible] 1018, [illegible] 1019, [illegible] 1020, [illegible] 1021, [illegible] 1022, [illegible] 1023, [illegible] 1024, [illegible] 1025, [illegible] 1026, [illegible] 1027, [illegible] 1028, [illegible] 1029, [illegible] 1030, [illegible]

[illegible] in great [illegible] unto the people, 797, k. [illegible] Governour [illegible] in danger [illegible] 860, k. [illegible] for by his [illegible] of his [illegible] 862, g. troubled [illegible] his [illegible] by [illegible] 863, k. [illegible] to his [illegible] 863, [illegible] of his [illegible] his [illegible] Mahomet strangled also, d. a [illegible] taken from his death, 763, f.
Mustapha Tocoma Spanish [illegible] sendeth a [illegible] unto the Christians [illegible] 833, f. [illegible] 1000, e. [illegible] by the [illegible] 1111, e.

N

Napolitans, otherwise called Lombardes, in vaine besieged by the Turkes, 413, b. yeelded to Ferrara, 459, c.
Nicopolis the first Regall seat of the Ottoman Kings, 143, b.
Nicopolis [illegible] 856, g.
Nicopolis [illegible] by Mahomet the Great, 339, d.
Nicrius, [illegible] Mamugiorsky the Venetians, 482, k.
Nice taken by the Turkes, 142, k. recovered again by the Christians, 280, g. [illegible] by the Turkes, 281, f. by Orchanes made the regall seat of his Kingdome, 283, e.
Nicholas Giustiniani Prince of Napolitans [illegible] Turkes and his [illegible] 364, k.
Nicholas Kunesfhen [illegible] Gisbon the Turkes, [illegible] 1030, [illegible]
Nicephorus Botoniates [illegible] Emperor [illegible] 12, c.
Nicomedia yeelded unto the Turkes, 283, a.
Nicopolis yeelded unto the Christians, 1030, f.

O

Ottomans of [illegible] Christians, [illegible] 1338, [illegible] f. [illegible] for his [illegible] 138, k. by [illegible] Emperor of the Ottomans, 137, d. [illegible] the Castle of Cilica, 138, b. [illegible]

[illegible] the Castle of Geme Chisar, [illegible] the Captaine, [illegible] 139, c. [illegible] the Captaine of Cupri Chisar, [illegible] by the Captaine of Belecuga, 140. i. [illegible] him, [illegible] head of the Captaine [illegible] surpriseth his Castle, 141, [illegible] surpriseth the castle of Lar Chisar, [illegible] the castle of Eingiell, and cruelly executeth the Captaine, 142, g. [illegible] good administration of iustice strengtheneth his gouernment, h. taketh the City of Nice, [illegible] the honour of a King or Sultan, 143, [illegible] Neapolis his royall seat, b. in a [illegible] the Christians, 143, c. besiegeth Prusa, d. [illegible] amongst themselues, layeth the foundation of the great Othoman Empire that now is, 162, g. 166, k. dieth, and lyeth buried at Prusa, 177. a. the wealth he left unto his sonnes Orchanes and Aladin, 179, c.

Orchanes, his father Othoman yet liuing, [illegible] the Turkish kingdom, 179, c. surpriseth the Castle of Tanpri Chisar, [illegible] the Greeke Emperour at Philocrene, [illegible] surpriseth Nice, 181, [illegible] yeelded unto him, 183, [illegible] the gouernment thereof unto his son Solyman, c. first of the Turkes that built Monasteries, e. subdueth the Countrey of Carasius, 184, h. dieth, 187, b.

Orchanes and Mahomet [illegible] by Cheliffe & Techellis [illegible]

Osman Bassa [illegible] 970, h. [illegible] 974, d. [illegible] 975, [illegible] the Persians, 976, k. [illegible] 980, c. [illegible] 992, [illegible] 992, i. [illegible]

[illegible] 995, c. [illegible] 996, h.

P

P[illegible] Othoman, 181, l. [illegible] 370, k. [illegible] 340, l. [illegible] 779, [illegible] 1133, e. [illegible] 275, d. [illegible]

[illegible] the Christians under the Turkes and Persians, 13, l. [illegible] 14, g. [illegible] the Holy Land, 14, k. [illegible] 15, d. [illegible] for his fidelitie [illegible] 20, k.

Peter D'Aubusson Grand Master of the Rhodes, [illegible] 457, e. [illegible] 726, h. [illegible] 978, l. [illegible] 189, e. [illegible] by the Christians, 1074, k. [illegible] by the Turkes, 8, l. Philadelphia [illegible] 204, h. [illegible] 357, a. [illegible]

[illegible] Solyman comming from Buda, 725, d. his request to Solyman, e. returneth into France, 726, g. sent backe againe to Solyman, by the way soliciteth the Venetians to take up armes against Charles the Emperour, h. grieued not to finde the Turke so ready to send his fleet in the aid of the King his Master, as he had before hoped, yet is sharply taken up by Solyman Bassa, 727, c. brought to the speech of Solyman himselfe, 728, i. by him entertained untill the next Spring, k. setteth forward with Barbarossa and the Turks fleet, 735, a. by his Letters from Ostia comforteth the Popes Legat in Rome, d.

Podolia & Russia inuaded by the Turks, 457, a.

the Pope and the King of Spaine fearing lest the Venetians should make peace with the Turke, hasten their confederation with that State, long before by them delayed, 859, a. a perpetuall League concluded betwixt the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Venetians, 880, k. the League proclaimed, m.

the Popes Letters unto the King of Polonia, to disswade him from inuading of Moldauia, to the trouble of the Transyluanian Prince, 1081, b.

Preiance commeth to the Rhodes, 581, f.

Presents of great value sent by the Persian King unto Selymus, 837, f.

Prince Ciarcas slaine, 219, b.

Princes of Germanie ioyne their forces with K. Ferdinand against the Turke in Hungarie, 728, l.

Prusa yeelded unto the Turks, 176, l. burnt by Isa, 240, l. repaired by Mahomet, 241, a. againe burnt by the Caramanian King, 249, f.

Q

Queene Isabella with child, 695, e. deliuered of a sonne, 696, i. that son by the name of Stephen crowned king of Hungarie, 697, a. her answer unto the Embassadours of king Ferdinand, demanding of her the kingdome of Hungarie, 699, d. inuaded by king Ferdinand, craueth ayd of Solyman, 749, k. by the commandement of Solyman departeth with her young sonne out of Buda, 753, e. yeeldeth up to king Ferdinand all the right she had in Transyluania and Hungarie, 756, b.

Quinque Ecclesie yeelded to the Turks, [illegible]

Quinsay in the Prouince of Mangi, of all the cities of the world the greatest, 75, f.

R

Raab besieged by Sinan Bassa, 1041. k. battered and assaulted, 1044, b. by treason yeelded unto the Bassa, l. notably againe surprised by the Christians, 1103, b.

Rama forsaken by the Turkes, 21, l.

Ramadan Bassa slain by the insolent Ianizaries, 978, m.

Rayschachius for sorrow of his sonne slaine by the Turkes, suddenly dieth, 760, k.

Rhodes by the Knights Hospitalers recouered from the Turke in the yeare 1308, 162, b. besieged by Mesites Palaeologus, 428, l. for feare of the Turks the Rhodians destroy their Suburbes and places of pleasure without the City, 578, l. the Rhodes described, 581, d. besieged by Solyman, 584, g. in fiue places at once by the Turks assaulted, 587, b. the distressed estate of the Rhodians, and their resolution therein, 592, g. the Rhodes yeelded unto Solyman, 600, i.

Richard the first, king of England, setteth forward toward the Holy Land, 68, b. reuengeth the iniuries done to him by the Cypriots, and taketh prisoner Isaac Comnenus their king, 69, a. arriueth at Ptolemais, c. causeth all the Turks his prisoners in the sight of Saladines Army to be executed, 71, a. giueth Cyprus to Guy in exchange for the titular kingdome of Ierusalem, f. with great slaughter ouerthroweth Saladin in plaine battell, 72, b. returning homeward, taken prisoner by Leopold Duke of Austria, 73, f.

Rodolph the Emperour prayeth aid of the Germane Princes against the Turke, 1017, e. his Embassadour shut up in close in his house at Constantinople, 1018, l. his Letters to Amurath, 1019, a. his Letters to Sinan Bassa, d. presented with the spoyle of the Turke ouerthrown at Alba-Regalis, 1029, b. requesteth ayd of the great Duke of Moscouia, the king of Polonia, and of the Prince of Transyluania, 1031, k. holdeth a Diet of the Empire at Ratisbone for the withstanding of the Turke, 1038, m. receiueth ayd from the Pope, the king of Spaine, and the Princes of Italy, 1130, k.

Robert Duke of Normandie by generall consent chosen K. of Ierusalem, which honour he refuseth, 22, f.

[illegible] Peter, [illegible] Emperour of the Latines in Constantinople, [illegible] goeth to Rome [illegible]

[illegible] Adrian, 97[illegible] a.

Rogendorff his victorie ouer the Turks, 613, e. with king Ferdinand commeth into Hungarie, and besiegeth Buda, 702, i. [illegible] the Queene, k. [illegible] Buda, 707, [illegible] his siege by night, receiueth a great ouerthrow, 708, k. returneth by the Riuer to Comaron, there dieth, 709, b.

[illegible] sometime a noble Pyrat, entertained by Alexius the Emperour against the Turkes, 150, k. relieueth Philadelphia, l. for lacke of pay spoyleth the Emperours territorie in Asia, 151, a. suddenly slaine.

Roschid rebelleth against his brother Muleasses king of Tunes, 642, l. flyeth to Barbarossa, [illegible] Constantinople, 643, a.

[illegible] robbeth [illegible] Baiazet the Great Turkes Embassadour to Pope Alexander, 451, c.

Roxolana conspireth with Rustan Bassa against the noble Mustapha, and faineth her selfe religious, 758, e. sent for by Solyman, refuseth to come, i. procureth the confusion of Mustapha, 759, f. bringeth him into suspition with his father, 760, g. she with Rustan put Solyman in feare of his life and Empire by his Sonne Mustapha, 761, a. loueth her younger Sonne Baiazet better than her eldest Son Selymus, 768, g. intreateth Solyman for Baiazet, and obtaineth his pardon, 770, i. comforteth him going in feare unto his father, 771, a.

Rustan Bassa a man of [illegible] 757, c. furthereth the deuises of Roxolana for the destruction of the noble Mustapha, 760, [illegible] c. returneth in haste, [illegible] 762, a.

S

S[illegible]

Sahamel the Georgian cutteth off the head of Aider, 922, i. submitteth himselfe unto Mahomet the great Bassa, [illegible] slaine by Osman Bassa his son in law, 941, d.

Saladine the Turke chosen Sultan of Ægypt, killeth the Caliph and all his posteritie, 57, [illegible] of Ierusalem, and by Balduin suddenly by sallying out of Ascalon, overthrowne, 59, d. besiegeth Berytus both by sea and land, taketh Edessa and Carras, 60, l. spoyleth the Holy Land, 61, c. in vaine besiegeth Ptolemais, 63, b. besiegeth Tiberias, and by the treason of the County of Tripolis overthroweth Guy the King, comming to the reliefe thereof, and taketh him prisoner, 63, winneth Ierusalem, with all the other Cities and Townes in the Holy land, except Tripolis, Tyre, and Antioch, 64, g. besiegeth Tyre, and with the losse of his best souldiers and of his Tents retyreth, l. taketh Antioch with all the provinces and townes thereunto belonging, 65, a. [illegible] the Christian captives, 71, g. dieth, and forbiddeth any funerall pomp to be used at his buriall, 73, f.

Salangus a cowardly Knight, 797, c.

Salazar a Spanish Captaine, goeth as a spie into the Turkes campe at the siege of Malta, 811, d.

Sanguin the Turke overthroweth King Fulke, comming to the reliefe of the castle of Mont-ferrand, and hath the castle yeelded unto him, 30, b. taketh Edessa, and there [illegible] of murthering against the Christians, 31, a. besieging Calogember, is there [illegible] of his owne friends, and slaine.

[illegible] slaine, 691, d.

[illegible] Osmans Brother, slaine, and [illegible] of the Turkes for a Saint, [illegible]

Scanderbeg with his brethren by their father Iohn Castriot given in hostage to Amurath, 260, l. wisely dissembleth his desire for the deliverie of himselfe and his countrey, 283, d. by great policie recovereth the City of Croia out of the hands of the Turkes, 284, i. hath the strong cities of Epirus yeelded unto him, 285, c. [illegible] Macedonia, 287, c. in a great battell overthroweth Alis Bassa with fortie thousand of his Turkes, 288, l. going to the aid of King Uladislaus [illegible] Despot [illegible], 290, b. [illegible] Despot [illegible] Epirus, 299, f. his resolute answer unto Amurath [illegible] Letters, 301, d. [illegible] Ferisetes flight, 302, l. [illegible] the [illegible], and [illegible], 313, [illegible] 314, g. [illegible] Turkes, 315, [illegible] Army, 316, [illegible] Army, 319, [illegible] killeth Feri Bassa, 320, [illegible] the siege of Croia, 324, l. [illegible] slaine or taken [illegible] Mahomet the young [illegible] 326, b. [illegible] Epirus, 371, c. his answer by letters unto the letters of Mahomet, 385, c. his answer unto Mahomets letters concerning the renuing of the league, 391 [illegible] 398, b. Scanderbeg dieth, 402, m. buried at Lyssa, 403, a. his bones digged up by the Turkes, and of them [illegible], 404, b.

Scodra besieged by Solyman Bassa, 411, [illegible] by Mathias King of Hungarie, 412, [illegible] by Mahomet [illegible] of the siege of Scodra [illegible] by Mahomet the Great, [illegible] 418, [illegible] 419, [illegible] 421 [illegible] yeelded unto the Turks, 425, k.

the [illegible] rebelled against the Turkes [illegible] Bassa [illegible], 1134, g. [illegible] of fifty thousand Turkes, 1142, [illegible] of the [illegible] 1150 [illegible] Bassa [illegible], [illegible], b.

[illegible]

[illegible] fact by his father sent souldiers, 491, c. chosen Generall by his father, to goe against his rebellious brother Achmetes, [illegible] by the Ianizaries saluted Emperour, 494, g. causeth his father to be poysoned, 495 d. putteth three of his fathers pages to death for mourning for their Master, 496, b. bountifully rewardeth the souldiers of the Court, 499, c. murthereth five of his brothers sons, 500, g. causeth Corcutus his brother to be strangled, 502, b. treason intended against him, discovered, 503, a. craveth aid of Aladeules and the other Mahometan Princes against the Persians, 507, c. Selymus perplexed, 508, i. receiveth great losse in passing the river Euphrates, 513, c. he and Ismael encountred together, 515, d. Selymus with a great Army entreth into Armenia, and taketh Campsons a City of the Persian Kings, 518, k. vanquisheth Aladeules the mountaine King, putteth him to death, and converteth his kingdome into the forme of a Province, 520, l. invadeth [illegible], 521, b. sendeth his Embassadours with Presents to Campson the Ægyptian Sultan, 525, f. encourageth his souldiers to goe against the Mamalukes, 528, b. passeth the mountaine Antaurus, and commeth into Comagena, l. in the battell of [illegible] overthroweth the Mamalukes, 530, g. in doubt lest Sinan Bassa had been lost, sheweth exceeding melancholie, 536, k. meeteth with Sinan Bassa at Gaza, 537, c. passeth the sandy Desarts, and meeteth with Tomumbeius at Rhodania, 538, a. giveth him battell, and putteth him to flight, 540, m. encourageth his souldiers to the winning of Caire, 544, l. fighteth a great and mortall battell with the Mamalukes in the City of Caire, [illegible], b. causeth the City to be [illegible] Mamalukes [illegible] City, [illegible], i. his Embassadors sent [illegible] Mamalukes, [illegible] 550, k. [illegible] 553, [illegible] his [illegible] the Christians, [illegible] 561, a. [illegible] Bassa, [illegible]

Selymus the [illegible] by the Ianizaries saluted Emperour [illegible] Ianizaries, 828, g. [illegible] his Embassador to Venice, to demand Cyprus of the Senat, 841, c. rageth to have it denied him, 842, m. he invadeth the Venetians, 845, c. in his rage about to have put to death all the Christians in his dominions, 885, f. sendeth out Uluzales his Admirall with 200 gallies against the Christians, 888, l. desirous of peace, concludeth the same with the Venetians, 904, k. by his Bassaes taketh Goletta from the Spaniards, and the City of Tunes, 915, d. dieth, e.

Serinus Governour of Sigeth, 821, e. his comfortable and resolute speech unto his souldiers, 822, g. burneth the new towne, not now to be longer defended, and retyreth into the old, i. his last speech unto his souldiers, 823, d. slaine, and his head sent to County Salme, f.

the Servians in mutinie amongst themselves, are with a great slaughter overthrowne by the Turkes, 192, i.

Servia becommeth tributarie unto the Turkes, 192. wholly yeelded unto the Turkes, 356.

Sfetigrade besieged by Amurath, 316, l. in vaine divers times by the Turks assaulted, 319, b. by the working of a Traitor, Amurath had the strong City yeelded up unto him, 321, f.

Sigismund King of Hungarie, with the Christian princes his confederats, with a great army invadeth the Turks dominions, 205, b. his proud speech upon the greatnesse of his army, d. in a great battell overthrowne by Baiazet at Nicopolis, 206, b. hardly escapeth himselfe by flight, i.

Sigismund Prince of Transylvania in danger by his owne subiects to have bin betrayed unto the Tartars, 1046, l. the conspirators apprehended and executed, 1047, d. giveth his subiects leave to spoyle the Turks, e. entreth into a confederation with the Emperour, 1048, k. perswadeth Michael the Vayvod of Valachia, and Aaron the Palatine of Moldavia, to revolt from the Turkes, 1049, c. sendeth Aaron the Palatine with his wife and some prisoners to Prague, 1062, l. marrieth Maria Christierna the late Archduke Charles his daughter, 1072, k. overthroweth thirty thousand Turks comming to the hindering of his marriage, l. in a great battell overthroweth Sinan Bassa with his Turks, 1073, c. receiveth the Zatu[illegible] into his protection, and hath [illegible] great aid, 1074, m. putteth Sinan Bassa to flight, 1075, d. by force taketh Tergovistum from the Turks, f. taketh also [illegible], 1076, b. [illegible] the Emperour at Prague, 1088, g. besiegeth Temeswar, 1092, g. with 18000 men commeth to the aid of Maximilian the Archduke going to have relieved Agria, 1096, l. doubting the power of the Turke, resigneth his principalitie of Transylvania unto the Emperour, 1100, k. repenting himselfe, returneth againe into Transylvania, and taketh upon him the government, 1106, g. by his Embassadors offereth againe his principalitie unto the Emperour, 1109, d. in a great battell overthrowne, together with the Moldavian, by Michael the Vayvod of Valachia, 1122, b. by the favour of the Nobilitie recovereth his state againe in Transylvania, 1139, d. in battell overthrowne by Basta and Michael the Vayvod, flyeth out of Transylvania, 1140, i. by the favour of his subiects, and connivence of the Polonians, recovereth againe his state, 1142 g. doubting himselfe to be able to hold it against the Imperials, yeeldeth it by composition unto Basta the Emperors Lieutenant, and goeth himselfe unto the Emperor, 1143, c.

Sigismund King of Polonia his Letters unto Amurath, 1003, c.

Simon County of Montford sent by Philip the French King into the Holy land, represseth the fury of the Turkes, and so concludeth a peace with them for ten yeares, 74, k.

Sinan Bassa the Eunuch overthrowne by Achomates, 503, c. restoreth Selymus his battell against Campson, before almost lost, 530, g. by Selymus sent before into Iudea, 533, c. hath Gaza yeelded unto him, 534, g. discomfiteth Gazelles, comming to have oppressed him at Gaza, 535, f. slaine in the battell at Rhodania, 540, g.

Sinan the Iew his short answer to Barbarussa, 661, b.

Sinan Bassa by Amurath chosen Generall for the Persian wars, 951, b. relieveth Teflis, 954, l. loseth some thousands of his soldiers, 955, b. derided of his owne souldiers, 956, g. his proud answer to Amurath, 962, b. disgraced and cast into exile, l. againe received into favour, 1003, d. [illegible] the upper Hungary, 1006, b. his Letters unto the Emperour, 1020 g. sent Generall of the Turks Army against the Emperour, 1023, f. taketh Vesprinium, 1025, c. hath Palotta yeelded unto him, f. with an Army of 150000 men commeth againe into Hungarie, 1040, i. taketh Dotis and S. Martine, l. besiegeth Rab, 1041, b. [illegible] 12000 of his army, [illegible] by corrupting of the Governour [illegible] the City yeelded unto him, l. besiegeth Comorra, 1042, [illegible] his siege, and breaketh up his campe [illegible] craftily seeketh to trie the Emperours mind concerning peace, 1058, l. sent for home to the Court, 1060, l. by Sultan Mahomet appointed Generall of the warres against the Emperour, 1073, b. invadeth Valachia, d. in a great battell overthrowne by the Prince of Transylvania, e. in flying in danger to have bin drowned, f. with a great Army commeth againe into Valachia, 1075, b. seeing the generall feare of his Army upon the comming of the Transylvanian, flyeth, d. for feare [illegible] Constantinople, [illegible] and there shortly after dieth, 1087, b.

Sisseg by the Turke besieged, 1022, g. notably relieved, 1023, a. againe besieged and taken by the Turke, 1024, l.

Solyman Orchanes his sonne, by his father made Governour of Nicomedia, 183, c. taketh the Castle of [illegible] in Europe, 185, b. he the first that brought the Turkes over into Europe with purpose there to conquer and inhabit, d. taketh the castle of [illegible], e. winneth Callipolis, 186, g. dyeth, 187, a.

Solyman the Unfortunate, Baiazet his eldest sonne, by the great Bassaes set up in his fathers stead at Hadrianople, 221, b. goeth over with a great army against his brother Mahomet, 241, c. by policie taketh the castle of Prusa, 242, i. besiegeth his brother in Amasia, i. returneth into Europe, to appease the stirres there raised by his brother Musa, and recovereth Hadrianople, 244, b. in his excesse regardeth not the approach of his brother Musa, k. forsaken of his souldiers, flyeth, l. taken prisoner, is by the commandement of his brother Musa strangled, 245, a.

Solyman the Eunuch Bassa dealeth treacherously with the Kings of [illegible], 670, m.

Solyman hardly perswaded [illegible] his fathers death, 567, d. saluted Emperour by the Ianizaries, f. his Letters to Villerius great Master of the Rhodes, 572, b. his Oration to his men of warre [illegible] for the besieging of the Rhodes, l. [illegible] for the siege, 573, a. his threatening Letters to them of the Rhodes, 578, b. commeth himselfe in person to the siege, 583, b. his [illegible]

his

[illegible] by [illegible] King, 1149, c. yeelded to Charles the [illegible], 667, e. by [illegible] 869, [illegible] yeelded unto the Turks, 915, d.

Turks, their originall [illegible] diversly reported, 1, c. descended from the Scythians, 2, b. the [illegible] they left their [illegible] seats in Scythia, to seeke for other countries more Southerly, 2, l. where they first [illegible] themselves in Asia after their departure out of Scythia, 3, b. their first kingdome erected in Persia by Tangrolipix their first Sultan, 4, l. the Turks first called into Europe by the Catalonians, 152, g. they differ not from the Persians about the interpretation of their law, but about the true successor of their false Prophet Mahomet only, 462, i.

[illegible] chosen Sultan of Ægypt, 160, h.

[illegible] the noble [illegible] his brothers wealth and treasure [illegible] by his father Solyman, [illegible] for sorrow killeth himselfe, 763, e.

V

V[illegible] first spoyled by the Turks, 204, g. invaded by Mahomet the Great, 362, g. oppressed by the Turks, 1050, h. in great troubles, 1143, d.

Valona fortified by Mahomet the great, 402, g.

Valetta the Grand Master of Malta advertised of Solymans purpose for the invasion of them and his Knights, 793, f. his [illegible] speech unto his Knights, 793, g. his great preparation against the Turks comming with his whole strength, 796, g. he certifieth [illegible] of Toledo, Viceroy of Sicilia, of his [illegible] the [illegible] Castle of S. Elmo, [illegible] by the Turks, 798, [illegible] of a supply [illegible] him by his [illegible] gallies, [illegible] his Letters to Garzias the Viceroy of Sicilia, 800, g. he sendeth three of his Knights to know the state of them in the Castle S. Elmo, 801, e. encourageth his souldiers after the losse of the Castle, 803, c. his [illegible] Letters to the Governour of the city of [illegible], c. his [illegible] answer to the Messengers [illegible] from the Great Bassa, 804, i. he receiveth a small supply from Sicilia, 805, [illegible] hard [illegible] of his distresse to the Viceroy of Sicilia, 808, l. his comfortable speech unto his soul-

[illegible] 18, g. [illegible] 875. [illegible] Gilisia, 29, [illegible] Island of Candie or Crete, 84, b. [illegible] Turks, 389, c. [illegible] 407. [illegible] of the other Christian Princes, [illegible] 904, k.

[illegible] 1072, i.

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[illegible] to forsake the siege.

Villerius chosen Grand Master of the Rhodes, 569, [illegible] 572, [illegible] fence of his City, 573, b. 575, e. his notable speech unto the Rhodians, 576, g. his [illegible], 581. in vaine craveth aid of the Christian Princes, [illegible] the Spanish bulwarks from the Turks, 588, g. his resolute opinion concerning Solymans demand for the yeelding up of the Rhodes, 594, g. his answer unto Solyman offering unto him [illegible] conditions, 599, h. departeth from the Rhodes with his Knights upon New-yeares day, 600, g.

Vladislaus King of Polonia chosen also King of Hungary, 262, i. [illegible] 263, [illegible] himselfe in person against the Turks, 277, [illegible] for his good service, 278, [illegible] of the passage [illegible] army, 279, b. by the [illegible] and others [illegible] seeketh to have [illegible] passage, 281, d. in his retreat much troubled with the Turks, 282, h. in great triumph returneth to Buda, m. upon [illegible] concludeth peace with Amurath for ten yeares, 289, b. by [illegible] the League he had made with Amurath, [illegible] of that [illegible] by Julian the Cardinall of S. Angelo [illegible] for the prosecution of [illegible] against the Turks, 292, i. by [illegible] is slaine, [illegible] k.

[illegible] 328, d.

Vsref

Vsref Bassa of Van inciteth Amurath to make war against the Persians, 925, a. by Amurath commanded to begin the war, which he readily performeth, 926, b.

Vsun-Cassanes the Persian King sendeth Embassadors with Presents to Mahomet the Great, 359, f. marrieth Despina the daughter of Calo Ioannes Emperour in Trapezond, 409, h. in a great battel overthroweth Zenza the Persian King, & killeth Cariasuphus his son, the last of the posterity of the mighty Tamerlane, 409, g. in a great battell overthrowne by Mahomet the Great, 410, l. his death, 411, a.

W

Walpo trecherously yeelded unto the Turks, and the traitours iustly rewarded, 736, b.

Warres by Amurath the third proclaimed against the Emperour Rodolph, 1023, f.

Waswood an old Ianizarie his presumptuous speech unto Mahomet the Great Sultan, 1063, b. taken out of prison by the rest of the Ianizaries, e.

Water deare sold, 665, b.

Wihitz the metropoliticall city of Croatia taken by the Turks, 1015, e.

William king of Sicilia invadeth the Tirant Andronicus his Dominions, taketh the City of Dyrrhachium, passeth through Macedonia and spoileth the countrey, meeteth with his fleet at Thessalonica, which he also taketh by force and spoyleth, 51, b.

William Long-Espie Earle of Sarisbury with a band of tall souldiers goeth into the Holy land, 102, l. his stout answer unto Earle Robert the French Kings brother, 104, k. valiantly fighting is slaine, 105, a.

Wladus Prince of Valachia putteth Mahomet the Great in feare, 362, k. Wladus cruelty, m. dieth in battell against the Turks, 363, e.

Wine for a space running downe the streets of Constantinople as if it had been water after a showre of raine, 1142, l.

Wolfgangus Heder upon the Danubius doth good service against the Turks, 612, k.

X

Xaycus pay-master of the Rhodes intrapped by the Turks, and sent prisoner to be tortured at Constantinople, 575, c.

Xene the faire Empresse, the yong Emperour Alexius his mother, malitiously accused of treason, and so wrongfully condemned, 47, f. by the commandement of Andronicus strangled in prison, and so poorely buried, 48, k.

Xiphilinus by Alexius sent over to Andronicus, dealeth unfaithfully in his message, 45, c.

Y

Yoland daughter to king Iohn crowned Queene of Ierusalem, and after by her father given in marriage to Fredericke the Emperor, 96, g.

Z

Zacharias Groppa fighteth a combat with Albemazo a Turke, 373, a.

Zachel Moyses the Transyluanian princes Lieutenant in battell overthrown by Bassa, 1143, c. flyeth unto the Turks, 1145, e.

Zacynthus, Neritus, and Cephalenia, taken by Achmetes Bassa, 426, l.

Zamoschie the great Chancellor of Polonia, stayeth the Tartars from the invading of Moldavia, 1079, c. invades Moldavia himselfe, 1080, g. his letters unto Clement the Pope in defence of himselfe and of that he had done in Moldavia, 1084, k. driveth Michael the Vayvod out of Valachia, and placeth another in his stead, 1128, h.

Zanius the Venetian Admirall with a fleet of 117 saile commeth to Corcyra, 849, h. he with the Confederates setteth forwards towards Cyprus, d. upon the foule disagreement of the great Commanders returneth, 853, e. discharged of his office, and sent in bonds to Venice, 854, h.

Zembenic Castle the place where the Turks began first to settle themselves in Europe, 185, b.

Zemes riseth in rebellion against his elder brother Baiazet, 438, h. overthrown in battell by his brother, flyeth to Caytbeius the Sultan of Ægypt, 439, k. he with the Caramanian king goeth against his brother Baiazet, 441, b. flyeth to sea, 442, g. delivered unto Pope Innocent the eighth, 446, k. by Pope Alexander delivered to Charles the French King, 452, h. dyeth within three daies after, being before by the Pope poysoned, as is supposed, e. his dead body sent to Constantinople, and honorably afterwards buried at Prusa, 452, k.

Zenza the Persian King in a great battell overthrowne and slaine by Vsun-Cassanes, 409, e.

Zerbe Island invaded by the Christian Fleet, set forth for the recovery of the City of Tripolis in Barbarie, 783, e. the Castle of Zerbi yeelded unto the Spaniards, f. a great part of the Christian fleet oppressed at Zerbi, by the sudden comming of Pial Bassa the Turks Admirall, 784, m. the castle of Zerbe besieged by the Turks, 785, b. yeelded unto the Turks, d. the Turks in triumph returne with victorie to Constantinople, 786, g.

Zingis passing over the mountaines Caucasus and Taurus, conquereth the Turks dominions, 75, e.

Zaganes Bassa by the device of a wicked Christian bringeth seventy of the Turks gallies eight miles overland into the Haven of Constantinople, 343, f. persuadeth Mahomet to continue his siege, 345, a.

Zolnoc a strong fortresse of the Christians in the upper Hungarie taken by the Turks, 756, g.

FINIS.

Another Table of the principall matters contained in the three last Continuations of this History, from the yeare of our Lord 1603, vnto the yeare 1619.

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